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2. *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales. By* WILLIAM DANSEY, M. A. *Prebendary of Salisbury, Rural Dean.* London: Rivington. 1844. Second Edition.

3. *Rural Synods. By the Vicar of Morwenstow, Cornwall.* London: Edwards and Hughes; Burns. 1844.

A REVIVAL of discipline is now actively going on within the Church of England. The clergy and laity are no longer contented with the performance of divine service in their churches, and the legal regularity of ecclesiastical duties; they are not satisfied with the laborious ingenuity of those who think that by the intricate and uncouth verbiage of Acts of Parliament the Church will be adapted to the exigencies of the times, and rendered capable of withstanding her enemies, and satisfying all the wants of her flock. The insufficiency of modern legislation, and the mere administration of property for the attainment of those great ends, has now become an undeniable proposition in the eyes of all but pedants or superficial reasoners. Instead of confining themselves to these things, Churchmen now inquire into the origin and nature of institutions which have long been neglected as antiquated rubbish, or at least as no longer required in these enlightened times. They look back to ancient experience, instead of relying on their own inventive powers. They no longer suppose that to the present generation was reserved the faculty of intuitively knowing all the arcana of ecclesiastical policy and government; and they see the danger of wounding, by experiments and new inventions, principles which have their roots deep in the Divine institutions of the Church.

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We look upon Mr. Dansey's book with peculiar interest, as an indication of this improved state of public opinion and feeling in ecclesiastical affairs. A few years ago such a book would have been considered a mere matter of antiquarian curiosity. Sylvanus Urban would have made honourable mention of it, and it would have lain on the table of the Society of Antiquaries beside a broken pot or a pair of rusty spurs, while the active men, carrying on the real business of the Church, would have turned away to an Act of Parliament, the report of a society, or papers printed by order of the House of Commons. But there is now no danger of its being neglected by practical men. It will be read and studied with a view to the revival of the institution of rural deaneries in all its completeness, and not as a mere record of what that institution was in former times. It will be read, not as a mere history of the past, but as affording practical knowledge for the future; and in that practical light we propose to bring before our readers the leading points of Mr. Dansey's book, and the chief principles and features of the institution and government of rural deaneries.

We must, however, begin by taking a somewhat wider range than the author of the Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, in order to enable the reader to form a distinct idea of the place which that institution occupies in the economy of the Church.

The office of the parochial clergy is held by the canonists to be of divine institution;* for, as the bishops represent the apostles, so the parochial clergy represent the seventy disciples. It is, however, clear, that during the first two centuries there were no separate titles or benefices, and no distinct parishes. The whole diocese of each bishop was governed and administered by the bishop as one parish, with the assistance of the body of his clergy who resided with him at his episcopal see. Thus the clergy formed an ecclesiastical senate, over which the bishop presided. They performed their functions under his direction, either in the town where he resided, or in the churches to which, from time to time, they were sent. Thus the bishop alone held a permanent office or benefice; and the revenues of the Church, which consisted in the alms and offerings of the faithful, were received by him, and he distributed them amongst priests, deacons, and inferior clergy, and the poor. Moreover, he did nothing of importance without the advice of his clergy. He was the president and supreme head of the assembly of the clergy. Thus the Fourth Council of Carthage says, "Ut Episcopus in Ecclesia et consessus Presbyterorum sublimior sedeat;"† and St. Ignatius says, "Omnes episcopum sequimini ut Christus

* Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Univ. par. i. tit. iii. cap. 1, *passim.*

† Decret. Dist. 95. Can. 10.

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Patrem, et Presbyterorum Collegium ut Apostolos." "Et Diaconos revereamini ut ex Dei præcepto administrantes." "Sine Episcopo nemo quidquam faciat eorum quæ ad Ecclesiam spectant." But the same St. Ignatius calls the body of the clergy *consistorium sacrum, conciliarios et assessores Episcopi*;* and in the passage cited above he speaks of them as the College of Apostles; and St. Jerome says, "Et nos habemus in Ecclesia senatum nostrum, cætum Presbyterorum."†

We dwell upon these passages because they refer to very important principles of ecclesiastical polity, which have a direct bearing on our subject. They show the character of the authority exercised by the bishops in the early Church. That authority was essentially different from the authority exercised by temporal sovereigns and civil rulers; and this distinctive character is clearly referred to in the Scriptures as essential to the government of the Church instituted by divine authority. We mean a character of moderation and deliberative prudence totally different from tyranny, or even mere despotism,—a combination of monarchical authority with humility and gentleness, which leads the ruler to distrust his own judgment and seek the advice of others, and to avoid the display of power. It is from analogous principles that the laws of the Church have ever been called not laws, nor edicts—but *canons*, or rules.

The chief persons in the assembly, or ecclesiastical senate, after the bishop, were the archpresbyter or archpriest, and the archdeacon. They were the heads of the two orders of priests and deacons, and usually held their offices by right of seniority of ordination.‡ The archpriest officiated in the absence of the bishop, and acted as his representative, while the archdeacon was entrusted with the chief management of the funds of the Church. Such are the leading features of the constitution of the Church in the first three centuries.

In the fourth century the increase of the Church, which spread from the cities into the provinces and rural districts, rendered a change necessary. The bishop and his clergy could no longer satisfy the wants of their growing flock. We accordingly find that particular priests were appointed to perform spiritual duties in specified districts away from the bishop's see, and thus only a part of the clergy remained with the bishop, the remainder being scattered about in different parts of the diocese.

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* Συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Philadel. viii. Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Magn. vi.

† Van Esp. eod. tit. viii. cap. i. § 1; p. 119.

‡ Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccles. tom. i. c. xviii. p. 160. Van Esp. par. i. tit. vii. cap. i. p. 167.

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Out of this change arose the institution of Chapters; for the bishops chose certain persons among the clergy to perform the duties of counsellors, which had formerly belonged to the whole body. But that selection was not fully introduced before the tenth or eleventh century.* Previously to that time, the clergy in the immediate vicinity of the bishop's throne formed his ordinary council, by whose advice he always acted, unless the importance of the matter to be determined required the convocation of a diocesan synod.

The rise of monastic institutions had an important effect on the bodies of secular clergy. In the fourth century, St. Eusebius, travelling through Egypt, saw in that country a community of anchorets living under an abbot, and having all things in common. He was subsequently elected Bishop of Vercelli, in Italy, and he instituted in that city a society of clergy resembling the lay association which he had seen in Egypt, including the archpriest, the archdeacon, and a decanus, or dean. St. Augustine, who at that time taught rhetoric at Milan, heard of this new foundation, and when he became Bishop of Hippo, introduced the monastic mode of life among the clergy of that Church. These two great men thus founded the institution of Canons Regular,† whose constitution was afterwards formed and settled by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle and St. Crodogang.

The societies of canons regular were no more than the adaptation of the ancient episcopal communities to the monastic or ascetic life. The ascetics were chiefly devoted to the contemplative life and the ascetic practices of devotion. To these the canons regular added the discharge of those active duties which belonged to the ecclesiastical senate of the diocese, and the ordinary council of the bishop, preserving their ancient dignitaries, the archpriest and the archdeacon; the latter of whom, however, was usually not a deacon according to the primitive institution of the office, but a priest set over the deacons, and performing the functions of the ancient archdeacon.

From this combination of the monastic system with the ancient ecclesiastical assemblies, arose the introduction of the title of Decanus, or Dean, into the latter. The decanus was originally a chief of ten monks; the subdivision of the anchorets being necessary in the Egyptian monasteries, which were composed of very great numbers of brothers.‡ But the decanus, or dean, of the capitular bodies was the same person as the archpriest, and presided over those assemblies as the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. viii. cap. i. § 2, p. 119.
† Ibid. tit. vii. cap. i. addit. p. 91, 92.
‡ Reg. Sti Benedicti, cap. 21.

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representative of the bishop. He was the head of the priests, and the vice-bishop over them. From these cathedral archpriests and deans were derived the rural archpriests or deans.

While the system of the three first centuries existed, there was but one archpriest, as there was but one bishop, which Van Espen shows from a passage of St. Jerome.* The multiplication of the faithful, however, brought about a change in this respect.

The cathedral archpriest could not preside over the whole clergy of the diocese distributed about an extensive tract of country; archpriests were therefore appointed to preside over and direct the clergy in the rural districts. Those officers were called rural archpriests or rural deans. Their functions consisted in the same superintendence over the clergy of the district which was exercised by the cathedral archpriests over the clergy immediately around the bishop.

It is remarkable that after the establishment of the parochial clergy the same system was carried out among them which had existed in the earlier ages. The bishop, in the first centuries, himself directly governed all his clergy. When they increased in numbers he was assisted by the archpriest. When they still further increased, rural archpriests were instituted. The rural archpriest was a vice-bishop—the representative of the bishop in his rural deanery, as the cathedral or urban archpriest was the representative of the bishop and vice-bishop over the urban clergy. Thus the jurisdiction of the bishop was carried by representation into every part of his diocese. Every rural deanery was a diocese in miniature, but without injuring the unity of the authority vested in the bishop, from whom all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanated. The rural archpriest was still not the ordinary, but the officer of the bishop, and responsible to him as the great and supreme governor of the Church. These principles are to be found in Canon XII. of the Council of Ravenna, held in the year 904, the text of which (given by Van Espen) we will lay before our readers.

"Ut singulæ plebes archipresbyterum habeant: propter assiduam erga populi Dei curam singulis plebibus archipresbyteri præesse volumus qui non solum imperiti vulgi solicitudinem gerant verum etiam eorum presbyterorum qui per minores titulos habitant, vitam jugi circumspectione custodiant, et qua unusquisque industria divinum opus exerceat, Episcopo suo renuncient, ne obtendat Episcopus non egere plebem archipresbytero. Quod si ipse gubernare valeat qui est valde idoneus, decet tamen ut partiatur onera sua, et sicut ipse matrici

* Epist. ad Rusticum.

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præest, ita presbyteri præsint plebibus ut in nullo titubet ecclesiastica sollicitudo." "Cum tamen ad Episcopum referunt ne aliquid contra ejus decretum adjicere presumant." *

A remarkable point in this canon is, that the bishop is required to appoint archpriests even *si ipse gubernare valeat.* The canon says, *decet tamen ut partiatur onera sua.* The policy of the Church has ever been, that the bishop should not be overwhelmed with business. The contemplative part of the pontifical character has ever been a matter of solicitude to the ancient councils and fathers. The bishop is the Vicar of Christ. The holy serenity of the pontifical office must, indeed, be maintained; and the bishop must, therefore, be protected from a distressing and engrossing pressure of duties, which would necessarily disturb that serenity, interfere with his practices of contemplation and devotion, and render him unable to exercise his paternal solicitude towards both his clergy and his laity. "*Decet ut partiatur onera sua.*" Thus, in the early ages, the bishop shared the burthens of his office with his whole clergy, and afterwards the law provided him with a variety of officers, whose duty it was to alleviate the burthen of his arduous functions. Under this point of view the institution of rural deans is especially important. It is not merely a matter of convenience for local government, but it has a bearing on the maintenance of the episcopal office in its full sacredness and majesty. And here the reader has an instance of the way in which details of ecclesiastical government, which seem to be mere matters of convenience, are intimately connected with great principles. This shows how important the study of principles is in ecclesiastical public law and government. The study of principles is very important in temporal affairs; but it is still more so in spiritual government, for this reason—because the standard of spiritual government is far higher than any human practice. That standard is to be sought in abstract truth, because experience must fall short of its excellence. It must be discovered by the investigation of principles *à priori*, and not by experience and practice, though experience and practice are necessary for the safe application of those principles to any given state of circumstances. Yet we constantly see ecclesiastical legislation carried on, not only without investigation of principles, but without the guidance of experience. We see contrivances devised *pro re natâ*, by mere ingenuity. May the Church be speedily delivered from such crude and dangerous innovations! But let us return to our subject.

Mr. Dansey has collected the chief authorities relating to the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. i. addit. p. 83.

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distinction between urban or cathedral archpriests and rural archpriests, and we will now lay them before the reader as a specimen of the industry of the learned author.

" ' Urbani dicuntur, (in the words of Duarenus,) qui in urbe et in majori ecclesia officio suo funguntur. Cum enim episcopus propter absentiam forte vel occupationes suas non possit omnia episcopi munia vel solus vel una cum presbyteris obire, sed curas suas cum eis partiri necesse habeat; utilius visum est ex presbyteris unum cæteris præponere qui ea quæ ad presbyterorum officium pertinent partim ipse exequatur partim aliis facienda prescribat; quam omnibus simul presbyteris id committere ne contentio aliqua inter ipsos ex communione administrationis orietur. . . . . Archipresbyteri vicani nullam in urbe potestatem nullum ministerium habent sed in majoribus celebrioribusque pagis constituuntur. Ac singulis præter ecclesiæ propriæ curationem certarum ecclesiarum certorumque presbyterorum qui videlicet per majores titulos habitant, inspectio, observatioque committitur.' See also Morin. de Sacris Ordinationibus, par. iii. Exercit. xvi. cap. ii. 23, p. 215. Boehmer. Jus. Eccles. Protestant, tom. i. lib. i. tit. xxiv. pp. 582-3. And Morisan. de Protopapis, cap. vii. p. 104, where the twofold distinction is extended to the Greek as well as to the Latin Church :—' quemadmodum in occidentali ecclesia *archipresbyterorum* duo genera erant quorum alii quidem quos *urbanos* dicebant cathedralibus ecclesiis incardinati essent; alii vero quos *rurales rusticos forenses paganos vicanos* cognominabant pagorum presbyteris post sublatum præsertim usum chorepiscoporum ita mandato episcopi præessent ut plebis capita parochique constituerentur: haud secus in ecclesia Græcâ præter cathedralium *protopapas* seu primos post episcopum in ecclesia cathedrali presbyteros in numeri occurrunt horum *protopapæ* et plebium *curiones*.'

" The distinction here made is the popular one generally received; but Bishop Kennett's is somewhat different,* though he refers to Duarenus as his authority. Severing altogether the cathedral archipresbyters from the deans rural of his interesting episode, the parochial antiquary says of the latter, These deans were constituted over a certain number of churches within a large city, and were then called *decani urbani* and *vicani*, or else over the like extent of country churches, and were then strictly called *decani rurales*. Gibson, too,† applies *urbani* in the same limited sense to the exclusion of cathedral deans, but *vicani* he uses as a synonyme of *rurales*.

" Upon this view, the reader will perceive that urban and vican deans were merely rural deans set over parochial churches and their incumbents *in urbe* or *in vico*, distinct from cathedral deans, whose presidency was only over persons. But I prefer the popular notion of Bishop Atterbury (no very high authority in these matters), because it is supported by the *Summa Silvestrina*, fol. xxxix. (which makes the archipresbyter civitatensis the same as *ecclesiæ cathedralis qui alio nomine* dicitur decanus), and by such learned canonists as

* Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 339. † Codex I. E. A. tit. xlii. cap. viii.

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Cardinal Hortiensis, Panormitan, Lyndwood, Augustin Barbosa, Ferro Manrrique, Galganetti, Van Espen, Molanus, and others, as well as the above cited author, De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis ac Beneficiis.

" To quote only a few: 'Est autem duplex archipresbyter,' writes Augustin Barbosa,* 'unus *urbanus*, et alius ruralis seu foraneus: urbanus est qui in urbe degens dignitati præest cathedrali, vel collegiatâ ecclesiâ; ruralis vero seu foraneus qui ruri ecclesiæ præest parochiali seu plebaniæ . . . . et hic proprie videtur dici decanus . . . . non quod necessario decem præesse debeat sed quia facta translatione et perfectione denarii numeri, decanus solet appellari omnis ille qui alicujus ordinis primus et præcipuus est.'

" 'Archipresbyteri sunt in duplici differentia,' says Ferro Manrrique, 'alii namque dicuntur civitatenses . . . . alii autem rurales seu plebani . . . . archipresbyter ruralis seu plebanus sollicitudinem plebaniæ suæ tam in rusticos tam in sacerdotes in divinis et vitæ circumspectione gerant.'†

" Molanus having noticed the archipresbyteri civitatenses, subjoins: 'Reliqui vero pastores pastorum usitate dici solent decani rurales vel decani Christianitatis: sed hodie archipresbyteri suarum regionum dici malunt.'‡

" To speak in the phrase of the present age,' § says the scrupulous pastor of Great Badworth, 'the urban we may call cathedral deans, the vican, deans rural.'

" From these brief but sufficient definitions and explanations of the archipresbyteral duties, the reader will understand, *in limine*, their distinction, nature, and character; though our present business is only with the titles of the office, not with its duties.

" Of the first here defined, the urban, or cathedral archpriest, his origin and office, it is foreign to my office to say anything otherwise than as sharing with his more humble namesake the title of archipresbyter and decanus, or assimilating, in some of his functions, with his vical representative."‖

We must here remark that our author has confined himself too strictly to the subject of rural deans. We have shown that those officers are derived from the urban, or cathedral archpriests; and, without examining the origin and nature of the latter officers, it is impossible to form a comprehensive and clear idea of the precise position which rural deaneries occupy in the scheme of the church's constitution. It is indeed dangerous to separate the study of any one ecclesiastical institution from the consideration of the portions of the constitution of the Church to which it properly belongs. All the parts of the system fit together with such nicety, and all are pervaded by

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* Barbos. de Canon. et Dignitat. cap. vi. p. 64, de Archipresbyteris.

† D. M. F. Manrrique de Præcedentiis et Prælationibus Ecclesiasticis, Quæst. vi. p. 3. i.

‡ Molan. de Canonicis, lib. ii. c. viii. p. 157.

§ Ley's Defensive Doubts, p. 44.

‖ Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, vol. i. pp. 8—13.

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such extensively ramified principles and theories, that no portion of it can be really understood if considered by itself. This defect of Mr. Dansey's plan we have endeavoured to supply, so as to put the reader in possession of the general information required for the thorough comprehension of the subject. Having done this, we will, in future, endeavour to adhere more to the plan of Mr. Dansey's work.

The learned writer is of opinion that the first assistants of the diocesan bishops were the chorepiscopi, or villan bishops, mentioned in the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, and he argues that the rural deans succeeded to those prelates. We, however, prefer the opinion of Van Espen and Hericourt, who consider the history of the rural archpriests, or rural deans, to be unconnected with that of the chorepiscopi. It seems, indeed, natural, that when the numbers of the clergy increased, and they spread over the country, the same system whereby the bishop was assisted in his government in the city, should be extended to the agrarian districts. In the city where the bishop resided he was assisted by the archpriest, as the head of the order of priests; and it was most natural that an officer of the same nature should be appointed to perform the same duties in the country. And it is to be observed that the office of the rural archpriest could not clash with that of the chorepiscopus, any more than that of the cathedral archpriest could with that of the bishop. The chorepiscopus was a subordinate bishop, under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, and having a limited territory within the diocese; and the rural archpriest was the chief of the priests within his deanery, as the cathedral archpriest was the chief of the priests in the episcopal city.

We, however, admit, that while the institution of chorepiscopi was in full vigour, the rural deans necessarily were less conspicuous and important than they became after the suppression of the former.

Van Espen, in commenting on the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, holds that the chorepiscopi were probably originally real bishops, having the same authority over their dioceses which the bishops in the cities enjoyed over theirs, and differing from the latter only in respect of the inferiority of those dioceses. He believes that when the Church increased in extent, its government followed the temporal government, and thus the bishops of cities assumed a supremacy and jurisdiction over the lesser bishops presiding over small towns and rural districts.* In the same way the bishop of a metropolis or capital sometimes acquired the prerogatives of a metropolitan, or arch-

* Van Esp. Schol. in Canon. Antioch, Can. x. Op. omn. tom. vi. p. 502.

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bishop, over the bishops of a province. This theory certainly renders the history of the chorepiscopi intelligible. And there may also have been cases where a chorepiscopus was appointed as an inferior bishop within a diocese, and originally under the authority of the diocesan bishop. These obscure questions of ecclesiastical history are, however, not matters of great importance, because no principle depends on their solution; we will, therefore, no longer dwell on them, but proceed.

Mr. Dansey learnedly establishes that in England the British Church underwent the same process of development which we have described above; the bishops at first living in common with their clergy, and afterwards establishing parochial divisions, and parish priests, in the eighth century.

"How soon after the organization of the parochial clergy on this new footing *archpresbyters* were appointed to overlook them and their flocks, it is difficult to determine. Scope is afforded for the commencement of their inspectional services in aidance of the bishop at the date referred to; but it does not appear that they were carried into being until more than two centuries after. At least no church-record affords any tidings of them, within the writer's knowledge, in our own islands.

"In France, the first foundation of parish churches, and ordinary cures, was much earlier than in England; and so also was the vican archipresbyteral institution of higher antiquity in the former than in the latter country. In French Councils and Capitularies mention is made of rural parishes and priests in the fifth century, and of archpriests in the sixth.

"But probable as it is that the whole machinery of the Gallican Church police would speedily find its way into Britain from the constant intercourse between the two countries, such does not appear to have been the case as to this particular department of spiritual office. The system of country *archpresbyterates*, or *decanates*, with their attached superintendents, does not appear among us until the eleventh century; owing, perhaps, to the multitude of our first parochial divisions, and paucity of distinct congregations and incumbencies, which, for a time, called not for such appointments. Besides, such as they were, they were visited every year by the highest ecclesiastical officer. The bishops annually went about their dioceses in order to an inquiry and corrrection of miscarriages; visiting, parochially, every church, and manse, and pastor, and flock. They visited, indeed, before the division of parishes at all. The Council of Clovishoe, under Archbishop Cuthbert, orders diocesans to visit their *parochiæ* (dioceses) once a year, and to teach the people of all conditions, and of both sexes, *utpote eos qui raro audiunt verbum Dei;* prohibiting all pagan observances, &c. (Can. iii.); and the same injunction is repeated in the Council of Celceyth (A.D. 735). After the division of parishes, annual episcopal visitations continued to be parochially made, as appears from the Constitutions of Archbishop Odo (A.D. 943, Can. iii.),

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the bishops going about their dioceses every year, and vigilantly preaching the word of God.

"While, then, Church discipline was thus supported by the diocesan in his own person through the whole *parochia*, we have no reason to expect the introduction of any official deputies; and none, accordingly, are found between the bishop and presbyter with any office or jurisdiction in the diocese at large. By degrees, however, the ecclesiastical condition of the country changed, and the spiritual government of the faithful became too arduous for one episcopal overseer or visitor to manage. Parishes originally coextensive with the largest manorial limitations, commensurate, as I have said already, with our modern rural deaneries, were again and again subdivided, till at last they reached the comparatively small bounds, and multiplied distinctions, which now, for the most part, obtain. Every new proprietor, by grant, or purchase, of a partitioned lordship, was naturally desirous of a new place of worship, a resident minister, a parochial circuit proper to his own estate; accommodations which the diocesan pastor liberally ceded for the advancement of Christianity."*

This account of the origin of parochial churches in England is particularly interesting. It shows the historical grounds of that intimate connexion between the Church and the natural aristocracy of the country—the feudal proprietors of the soil—the effect of which has been most valuable to both. It also shows the nature of rights of presentation or advowson. Those rights are now too much considered and treated as mere property, to be bought, and sold, and disposed of, like other property; but we are taught by history, and by all the writers on ecclesiastical law, that they are held by their possessors as the representatives of those founders and benefactors to whom they were granted by the gratitude of the ancient Church, not for purposes of emolument, but as a sacred and honourable trust, and an everlasting pledge of that gratitude. But we will return to our author.

After describing the great increase of churches which, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, was a subject of complaint, because it impoverished the older foundations, he continues as follows:—

"To reduce and preserve the multiplied cures within the pale of discipline we may suppose that about this time (the reign of the Confessor) a certain number of incumbencies, or presbyterates, were thrown together, and constituted an archpresbyterate — districtus archipresbyteri ruralis—at the sole and arbitrary appointment of the bishop of the diocese; or as population thickened within the limits of the same, and new churches arose, that a certain number of contiguous cures, in classes of ten or more (the ecclesiastical in this matter

* Horæ Decan. Rur. vol. i. pp. 78—81.

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copying the civil state) were severed off from the primary jurisdiction, and modelled into deaneries; or, in other words, dioceses were broken into archipresbyterates, and then again remodelled into decanates, and placed by the diocesan under the vicarious tutelage of deans rural, who still preserved, in ecclesiastical language, the title of archpriests. 'Archipresbyteri dicti videntur Decani,' says Morinus; 'eo quod antiquitus diœceses erant per decanias divisæ quibus præerant archipresbyteri; ut videre est in capitul. Carol. Calv. iii. t. iii. Conc. Gall.'" *

We cannot concur with the hypothesis of our author, which would make rural deaneries inferior archpresbyterates, or subdivisions of archpresbyterates, for of this we see no sufficient evidence. And, indeed, Mr. Dansey himself, in a note to the passage extracted above, adds: "Or the archpresbyterate may represent Bishop Stillingfleet's primary parochial division or section of the diocese corresponding to the modern rural deanery."

As for the supposition (which our author himself discourages, at p. 100) that the name of decanus, or dean, was derived from the civil state, we have already shown that that title was introduced into the Church by the monastic institutions of the third and fourth centuries. It must, therefore, have been perfectly well known as the title of an ecclesiastical office when the English dioceses were subdivided; and it is, consequently, needless to seek for any other origin, especially as we know that monastic bodies existed on a very extensive scale in the British Church. With respect to the time when the arrangement of rural deaneries took place in England, Mr. Dansey believes it to have been the middle of the eleventh century, if not earlier.†

With regard to the right of election of the rural dean, it is vested, by the Common Law of the Church,‡ together with the power of removing him from office, in the bishop and the archdeacon. "Quia cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit approbari debeat et commune eorum decanus officium exerceat, communiter est eligendus, vel etiam amovendus." Mr. Dansey, however, shows elaborately and learnedly that the law in this respect varied at different times and places. He informs us that in the West, the archpresbyters were originally chosen by their own clergy, subject to the bishop's confirmation; and he cites the Seventh Canon of the second Council of Tours (A.D. 567), providing that when their election had been ratified by the diocesan, they could not be removed by him without the consent of the electors.§ Still, however, it is to be remembered, that the archpresbyter, or rural-dean, always was the bishop's officer,

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 84. † Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 85.
‡ X. c. 7. Tit. de Officio Archid. (Decret. Innocent III. A.D. 1214.)
§ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 112.

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deriving from him all his jurisdiction. The election of that officer by any other persons must, therefore, be considered merely as the designation of a person by whom that delegated jurisdiction should be exercised. And this is the more evident as there is reason to believe, that in the ninth century the people, in some places on the continent, shared in the election of the rural archpresbyters. But to return to our own country. In the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, (1660,) the nomination of rural deans is recognised as vested in the bishop: "rural deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese." In the proceedings in Convocation about rural deans, A. D. 1710, the Upper House seems to have been desirous of restoring to district clergy the power of electing their rural deans, subject to episcopal confirmation alone; but they proposed that the rural deans should be appointed only for three years, unless the bishop should see cause to alter that term. The latter part of the projected Canon was pertinaciously resisted by the Lower House, who wished the archdeacon to share with the bishop jointly the power of removing rural deans.

As for decanal appointments in modern days, they are much influenced by local usages. There is no general rule of election and institution, and every diocese adheres to its own customs.

"In some places," says Mr. Dansey, "the mandate of election proceeds by the bishop's grant from the archdeacon alone, as (to quote from our insular usages) formerly in the diocese of Canterbury, and at one time, seemingly, in that of Lincoln; in others, from the bishop and the archdeacon jointly, that is, from the bishop, through the archdeacon, as now-a-days in the diocese of Exeter, where the clergy are the actual electors. In others, again, from the bishop alone, as in the dioceses of London, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chester, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lichfield, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Winchester, Gloucester, and Bristol, St. Asaph's, St. David's, Worcester, and Salisbury; in the latter of which the office is, on the authority of our venerated diocesan himself, entirely dependent on the personal jurisdiction of the bishop, the archdeacon having nothing to do with the appointment, except so far as the bishop may desire him to mention the names of clergymen eligible to the duty, which has been occasionally done by the rural presbyters themselves, but in neither case with any power of nomination, as in official right. Such, likewise, was the constitution of the office in the days of Bishop Ward, and also in those of Bishop Fisher, in the diocese of Sarum. And yet to show how much the usages of the Church have varied at different periods, in relation to the economy of this office, even in the same diocese, we find traces of an opposite custom to that now prevalent, in the early constitutions of the diocese of Sarum. . . . Clearly showing that, in the days of Bishop Poore (A.D. 1222), and Bishop Bridport (A.D. 1256), the institution of deans rural was, partially at

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least, a matter of archidiaconal concernment in our diocese. Nor, indeed, in that of Winchester has the act of appointing been always with the bishop, to the exclusion of the archdeacon, though in the present age the latter is no party to it."*

With respect to the duration of the office, we are informed by Mr. Dansey that it is held now in England generally *durante episcopi beneplacito.* In the diocese of Exeter it is an annual appointment, and in that of Winchester it is the same, in the instance of the older institution (still nominally kept up), while in the new foundation, under Bishop Sumner, it is of unlimited duration, as in the other dioceses of England.†

We recommend particular attention to the very judicious observations of our author on this part of the subject. He recommends that rural deans should not be annually changed, on the ground that an annual officer is not likely to be so efficient as one whose tenure is more permanent. The annual rural dean ceases to be in office at the very time when he has become fully acquainted with all the churches under his jurisdiction, and thoroughly used to his duties; besides which, he, in many instances, has not time to carry out and finish measures which he has commenced. He cannot acquire experience, which must be required for the thorough performance of the duties of an office of trust. These reasons are well worth consideration.

We will proceed now to a very important division of Mr. Dansey's book—that which relates to the functions of rural deans.

The Canonists call them *Pastores Pastorum*, because they have the care of all the clergy within their district.‡ They are vice-bishops within their deaneries, for the maintenance of discipline, and of the due performance of all ecclesiastical functions. But they are not *ordinaries* with respect to their clergy, as the parochial clergy are with respect to their parishioners. The rural deanery is a mere office, and neither a dignity nor a benefice, and its jurisdiction arises entirely by delegation from the bishop.§ These are the general principles regarding the functions of rural deans.

Bishop Gibson denies the right of parochial visitation to rural deans; but that learned prelate clearly refers only to visitation *as ordinary*, for our author abundantly shows, that rural deans have visited, as the bishops' delegates, for a thousand years, in every part of the Church. Van Espen, indeed, commences his chapter on the Visitation of Archpriests, by saying—

"As the archpriests are bound to superintend and watch over all the pastors and ecclesiastics in their districts, they must take notice

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 127—129.
† Ibid. p. 156.
‡ Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. ii. p. 83.
§ Ibid. p. 83.

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whether any thing is neglected relating to the due government of the parishes subject to them, and the cure of souls: it is, therefore, evident, that the exact and frequent visitation of the parishes under their authority, is among the first duties of the archpriests, whereby they may acquire a knowledge of the parishes, and correct those things which require correction, or report them to the bishop. And, in all the synods, the archpriests are enjoined to visit every parish in their district, at least once in every year." *

This annual visitation seems to have been onerous to the clergy, who were bound to entertain the archdeacon and his attendants; and Mr. Dansey has collected some curious regulations of divers synods, limiting their liability in this respect, that the visitations might not be rendered less frequent, and also requiring the archpriests to visit in person and not by officials. Among the documents relating to this subject, not the least curious is an indulgence granted to the clergy of Berkshire, by Pope Alexander III. in the year 1271, exempting them, among other things, from presenting hounds and hawks to their archdeacon. We must not, however, necessarily infer that the archdeacons of Berks, in those days, were what would now be called "sporting characters," for hawks and hounds were, in the feudal days, used as part of the paraphernalia of rank and dignity, as well as for more obvious purposes, and the presents referred to were probably usual marks of respect to a superior.†

Mr. Dansey gives a very interesting account of the articles of inquiry, which rural deans were required to observe in their visitations, and we cannot refrain from laying before our readers one of these regulations, regarding the duties of foraneous vicars, made by St. Charles Borromeo, in the fifth Council of Milan, A.D. 1579. It demands that profound respect to which all the writings of that great saint are entitled. The foraneous vicars are to inquire:—

"....Qui parochorum in primis zelus in animarum salute procuranda; quæ in sacramentis ministrandis sedula diligentia; quam frequens in pascendis verbo Dei fidelibus officium; quæ denique in omnibus parochialis muneris partibus vigilantia quæve assiduitas. Quæ populi in Christianæ charitatis operibus exercitatio, quam religiosus festorum dierum cultus, quam pia in ecclesiis conversatio, quæ in doctrinæ Christianæ scholis frequentia: tum denique de reliqua omni ejusdem populi disciplina, et in via Domini progressu. Post videant qui singularum ecclesiarum præsertim parochialium status, an si quæ instau-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iii. p. 85.

† It may be noticed, however, that in the well-known case of Archbishop Abbot, the common lawyers cited the Carta de Foresta, and argued that the old custom by which a bishop's hounds were escheated to the crown, implied that he might use them. Spelman, however, denied the inference: and it does not seem a necessary conclusion that possession involves a personal use.

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rationem desiderant; an debito cultu fraudantur; an sacris vestibus, ornamentis, supellectileque ecclesiastica ad cultum necessaria instructæ sunt; an denique ulla ex parte incultæ.

"Postremo an si aliqua sint provincialium diœcesanarumque synodorum decreta et edicta, visitationum præscripta, aliave episcopalia jussa quæ executionem non habent; quid item impedimenti aut difficultatis, aut denique causæ sit quamobrem eorum executioni non sit locus, &c."*

This charge to the rural vicars of the diocese of Milan contains a beautiful summary of the duties of rural deans in their visitations, and of the species of superintending influence which they should exercise over their clergy, and the congregations entrusted to their care.

We come now to the synodical duties of rural deans. They were necessary attendants on episcopal synods, to report concerning matters within their inspection, and thence, according to Somner, Kennett, Atterbury, and others, they are called Testes Synodales, from the information communicated by them to the synod as witnesses. But it is necessary to observe that Gibson mentions other Testes Synodales, properly so called, who were persons appointed in each deanery to report to the synod whatever they thought worthy of animadversion.

The functions and influence of the rural deans in episcopal synods were formerly very important.

"The Canons of the Church," says Mr. Dansey, "vary in their injunctions as to the frequency of holding episcopal synods, (still existing, Bishop Stillingfleet tells us, under the type of diocesan visitations,)† at which deans rural heretofore made their attestations and presentments. Once a year, at least, such a convention of the clergy, under their diocesan (the most ancient form of synod, though not the most dignified) was assembled.

"At this council of the district, the rural deans of England were rightful coadjutors for deliberating on the affairs of the Church: and when duly constituted, the synod consisted of the bishop, as president, the cathedral deans, in the name of their collegiate body of presbyters, the archdeacons as deputies or proctors of their inferior order of deacons, and the rural deans, in the name of the parochial clergy, as the proper delegates and standing representatives of that body, to consult with the bishop upon all matters connected with the Church and its local discipline.‡ 'Ut quæ ex ipsorum judicio reformatione opus habere comperientur communi consilio emendentur.' . . . .

"The number of these synods in each year varied as above stated, at different periods and places, once, twice, thrice—no general rule prevailed. Once, however, may be said to have been the most frequent usage.§ . . . . . In council assembled, the deans deli-

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 193. † Stillingf. Eccl. Cases, p. 2.
‡ Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 363. SS. CC. tom. xix. col. 2292. Can. xviii.
§ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 215.

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vered to the presiding bishop their acta visitationis, attesting the same by oath; and otherwise informed him orally, or by letter, of the temporal and spiritual circumstances of their respective decanates—particularly delivering to him formal presentments in scriptis of all that was amiss in the rural districts under their charge; and availing themselves of the opportunity of paying the several taxes due on account of the parochial clergy to the diocesan, of which imports, as we shall hereafter show, they were the official collectors. Such was the usual routine in obedience to the oft-repeated injunctions that bade them to be diligent in their delegate responsible overseership, and to report everything to the bishop. But when the matter of their presentment was urgent, and required immediate episcopal interference, they waited not for the slow formality of the periodical synod, but went at once with their complaint to the bishop in private, and received his instructions thereon."*

We cannot but admire the ancient institution of diocesan synods. There the bishop sat in the midst of his clergy, *assisted by them* in the decision of the important affairs of the diocese. There, in the presence of the whole ecclesiastical parliament, the reports of the rural deans were made concerning the condition of each deanery. The clergy were thus made acquainted with the affairs of the whole diocese; they had the opportunity of consulting with their bishop, and with each other, and seeking whatever assistance they might require. The bishop, on the other hand, was enabled to act with the advice and concurrence of his priests, according to the ancient apostolical constitution of the Church,—not as a despot, or an autocrat, but with the mildness and the modesty of a christian prelate, who desires rather to find wisdom in the multitude of counsellors, than to indulge his own will by acting by his own unaided judgment. This is very different from the formality of a modern visitation, which consists in little besides hearing the bishop's charge after the morning prayers. But institutions have been allowed, in this and many other particulars, to dwindle down to mere form. Business is doubtless transacted more speedily, and with less trouble now when it is confined to a very few hands, than it was under the ancient system of diocesan government. But this is the common trite argument in favour of despotism; and it cannot stand for a moment against the undoubted fact that the autocratic form of Church government is directly contrary to the constitution of the Church in the first century, and even to the practice of the apostles themselves. Thus, however well a bishop may govern his flock under the modern system, that system cannot be really good and sound. We do not blame the bishops, for they take the system as they

* Hoïæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 218.

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find it, but we feel confident that, in proportion to the advancement of ecclesiastical learning, the doctrine will more and more prevail that the bishop ought to govern *communi consilio presbyterorum*; that is to say, with the advice either of an ordinary council or chapter, or with that of his diocesan synod. But while we urge the importance of the bishop's council, we do not mean to deny that the real authority and jurisdiction is vested in him alone.

And this is an answer to the arguments of those who say that the form of government which we maintain to be orthodox, would practically constitute many bishops in every diocese instead of one. We do not say that the bishop is to be ruled by his clergy, but that he ought to seek their advice in all matters of importance, according to the ancient practice, and give all due weight and deliberate attention to that advice. Having received and considered that advice, it is for the bishop to act according to the dictates of his conscience and judgment; and he is bound by the opinion of his council only in those cases in which the law restrains him from acting without their consent.* Thus we recommend no republicanism in the Church. These observations naturally suggested themselves to our mind as being required in this place; but we will not engage our readers in a digression, however important at the present day.

The canon law requires the rural deans to act as overseers of the laity as well as the clergy. Van Espen says, "Decani rurales laicorum suorum districtuum mores diligenter observent."† And Dr. Kennett writes, that if any Christians lived in any open and scandalous sin, the deans were bound to reprove and admonish them.‡ But the rural deans by themselves, and apart from their chapters, appear to have had no power of punishing lay offenders. This head of their jurisdiction appears to have been confined to presenting or accusing offenders before the archidiaconal or episcopal courts. Whether the rural deans still possess this cognitional power in England, which the Anglican ecclesiastical law vests in churchwardens, quest-men, or synod-men, (vulgarly called sidesmen) is a question which Mr. Dansey does not discuss, but which we are inclined to decide in the affirmative. It is, however, of little practical importance to us, for in the present decayed state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the episcopal office itself, such a power could not be exercised with advantage in England. In fact, its exer-

* See Van Espen, par. i. tit. viii. cap. iv. § 5. p. 128, et ibi cit. S. Carol. Borrom. in Synod. Provinc. V. par. iii. c. 11. Resolut. S. Congreg. Cardinal. apud Piasecum Prax. Episcopor. par. ii. c. 3. n. 8.

† Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. c. 11.

‡ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 233. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 354.

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else would produce an outcry, and be followed by the interference of parliament. We may safely assert this, for, as our readers are probably aware, a royal commission, composed of not only the highest temporal judges in the realm, but of archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical judges, and civilians, has lately unanimously recommended the total abolition of the correctional jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts over the laity,—and this recommendation has not been carried into effect only because it has been brought before parliament coupled with proposed enactments obnoxious in the House of Commons on temporal grounds, especially the abolition of the local testamentary jurisdictions.

In fact, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised professedly, *pro salute animarum*, has so totally lost its essential penitential character, and the episcopal office has become so exclusively confined to the administration of property and the superintendence of the clergy, and the performance of episcopal rites, that we cannot expect to see any useful discipline exercised by the Church over the laity in the present state of things. Perhaps a more apostolical state of the Church may obtain at a future time. Then the laity will be ready to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the civil magistrate to receive assistance from the spiritual power.

The first step towards this salutary change would be for the bishops to consider themselves more practically than they now do, the bishops of the laity as well as of the clergy. They are not only *pastores pastorum*, but they are *pastores gregis*. They should, according to the real nature of their office, take the most prominent and authoritative part in everything that regards public morals, and all that belongs to the moral and religious government of the people. The bishop should not merely deliver a formal written charge to his clergy at his triennial visitation:—he should issue his pastoral letters to his laity whenever the interposition of his paternal authority appears to be required. Those letters should be solemnly read by the bishop in his cathedral, and published by the parish clergy at his command. In that solemn manner the father of the diocese would fulminate his censure and his holy indignation against the offences which the temporal law cannot, or at least cannot effectually suppress, and exhort the violators of the laws of Church and State to amendment and repentance. Sometimes he would give praise to those who have benefited religion, encouraging them to continue their labours, and others to imitate their virtue. Whenever any public scandal was proved, such as that which lately shocked all honest men in the collieries, where human creatures were degraded to the condition of beasts, the

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bishop might seasonably exert his spiritual censorship, severely reproving the transgression of christian laws, and calling for immediate amendment and penitence.

The people would thus be taught by degrees to look upon the bishops as their spiritual pastors and teachers, not merely in theory, but really and practically. They would be led to consider the bishop as the spiritual *custos morum* of the diocese, and his throne as the great tribunal of christian morals and penitence. Some might, perhaps, be refractory, but the force of good sense and good principle would soon check them; and the proudest could not, without incurring ridicule, disdain an authority to which a Cæsar—the successor of Constantine—humbly submitted.

Then the true nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in causes of correction would come to be understood and realized: then the true penitential character of that jurisdiction would be felt and appreciated; and that jurisdiction would be exercised in a different manner and with a different spirit. It would be exercised as a part of the power of the keys, and not for the emolument of legal practitioners, nor for the indulgence of private animosities. It would become really what the canonists call *medicinal*, and not, as it now frequently is, vindictive. These results cannot be obtained until the episcopal office is fully understood; for from that office all ecclesiastical jurisdiction flows. When this great change has been brought about, the jurisdiction of rural deans over the laity may become a useful branch of ecclesiastical discipline. These reflections lead us naturally to the consideration of rural chapters, a very important and interesting branch of our subject.

Van Espen cites Canons of the Synods of Ipres, Malines, Cambray, and Namur, requiring the rural archpriests to call chapters of the clergy for the purpose of deliberating concerning the affairs of their district:—

"The object of these assemblies," says the learned Canonist, "is that abuses, defects, and difficulties may be remedied or prevented, or that they may be accurately ascertained by mutual consultation; after which they must be reported to the bishop, and by his authority what is expedient must be established." *

Mr. Dansey cites a Synod of Meath, held in 1216, earlier than those above mentioned, in which the following Canon was enacted:—

"Archipresbyteri (decanes rurales) per se aut per suos nuncios diligenter capitula ruralia convocari faciant in præcipuis locis decana-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iv. p. 87.

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tuum de tribus septimanis in tres tenenda et aliquando extraordinarie ad voluntatem nostram si nobis visum fuerit aliquid in istis conventibus cum clero communicare. . . . . In hisce capitulis ipsi præsint et moderentur tractatus cleri de communibus negotiis decanatuum." *

The learned writer informs us that in the ancient canon law nothing is said about rural chapters; and that although continental councils and capitularies frequently notice monthly and other local meetings of the clergy, they more rarely mention rural chapters or decanal synods, properly so called. Such, however, occur in the Gallican Church, and he quotes examples in the archdiocese of Rheims, in the 9th century, and others of later date.

In our country there are traces of them in the ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1052 (Canon iii.), and Lyndwood says:—

"Of these (rural) chapters, some are held from three weeks to three weeks; some, once in each quarter of the year, and these are called principal chapters, on account of the greater number of clergy attending them, and because more important affairs are therein transacted; but as they rest rather on the custom of this country than on the common law (*the canon law*), I omit any further notice of them." †

This passage is interesting, as it describes two classes of rural chapters in use in England; one held every three weeks, and the other once in every quarter.

Such assemblies are recommended to the clergy of their dioceses by Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, in the year 1350; and by Riculph, Bishop of Soissons; and so important were they in the eyes of St. Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, in the tenth century, that he was used to interrogate the parochial clergy at the diocesan synod, whether, among other things, they were in the habit of regular attendance at the local kalendæ, or monthly rural meetings, and the performance of their duties as preachers at them.‡

Bishop Atto had in view the instruction of his clergy at their rural chapters:—

"We learn by experience," he says, "that good conferences are not less beneficial than reading. We therefore direct and establish that, in every district, all the priests or clergy shall meet once in the kalends of each month for the purpose of conferring together concerning faith, the holy Sacraments, matters of life and conversation, and all the duties incumbent upon them. And if it should happen that any one of them be found negligent or reprehensible, let him be

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.
† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 5, 6; Lyndw. Provinc., lib. i. tit. ii. p. 14.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 8, 9.

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corrected by the rest. But if he will not take care to amend, let them report the fact to his bishop, that he may speedily more severely correct him; that, when the diocese is visited by the bishop, and when they come to the synod, the disgrace of a few may not be reflected on the whole body." *

The assembling of the rural chapters in small villages seems to have been oppressive to the country clergy in England, and, accordingly, Archbishop Stratford, in the year 1342, enacted that they should be held in the *more eminent* places of the jurisdictions or deaneries; which put them on a more convenient, and, at the same time, more dignified footing. They, however, subsequently fell into disuse.

"A fruitless effort," says Mr. Dansey, "to revive monthly meetings of the rural deans and their respective clergy in England (under a new modification, the outline of which was probably derived from Archbishop Usher's Synodical Form of Church Government,) was made in the year 1660, by *his Majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs.* In the fifth Canon of that document it is enacted, 'that the rural dean, with three or four ministers of each deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; and also to compose all such differences betwixt party and party as shall be referred unto them by way of arbitration; and to convince offenders, and to reform all such things as they find amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed: and such matters as they cannot, by this pastoral and persuasive way, compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for and presented to the bishop; at which meeting any other ministers of that deanery may, if they please, be present and assist,' &c."

And this, our author informs us, is the last evidence of such associations in England.†

Let us now pause and consider these assemblies with reference to the principles of ecclesiastical public law and the practice of remote antiquity.

We have seen that the rural archpriests or rural deans were originally a sort of vice-bishops within their deaneries. As the Church spread itself from the episcopal cities to the whole expanse of the agrarian districts, the bishops became unable to extend their pastoral vigilance over their entire flock; the rural archpriests, therefore, represented the bishops as spiritual viceroys, and carried the apostolical office, by vicarious delegation, into the remotest corners of the diocese.

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 8. Capitular Attonis, c. xxix. in Oper. par. ii. p. 275, edit. Vercell. 1768.

† Ib. pp. 19, 20.

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We have seen that the bishop and his clergy, in the first ages, were one body, administering the affairs of the diocese by their mature deliberation, and assisting each other by their learning, their experience, and their piety, under the supreme authority of the pontifical office. The clergy in the rural districts, far from the mother Church, were prevented from participating in this system of government. They were governed by the rural archpresbyters, the vicegerents of the bishop in the country, as the urban or cathedral archpresbyters were in the city.

In this manner the principle of ecclesiastical government by the bishop *communi consilio presbyterorum* is faithfully carried out by the rural dean (the bishop's villan representative) administering his deanery with his chapter. Thus the rural deanery presents a similitude of a diocese governed after the system of the primitive Church,—the dean representing the bishop, and the rural chapter or decanal synod representing the clergy forming the ecclesiastical senate. The dean administers the province allotted to him, presiding in the midst of his clergy, hearing their deliberations, assisting them with his advice,—receiving and maturely weighing theirs,—conferring with them on his and their duties,—encouraging and honouring the good, and correcting such as are deserving of blame. All this is done subject to the supreme judgment of the bishop and his chapter. How harmonious is this scheme! How complete in all its parts!—how conformable to the apostolical doctrines! And yet all this harmony and ancient wisdom has been allowed to decay, and become obscure, neglected, and unknown. There is much to do here besides building new churches! The rulers of the Church say much of *reforming;* it is high time to think of *restoring.* But let us proceed to examine rural chapters more in detail:—

" Different dioceses of the continent held their periodical sessions of the rural clergy at different times; but the *quarterly* and *menstrual* types were rarely both observed in one and the same continental diocese, whatever distinctions may have prevailed at home.

" Where both obtained, whether in England or abroad, it may be said that the quarterly were deemed competent to the discussion and decision of matters of rural church polity above the cognizance of the menstrual capitula, and were more fully attended by the district clergy in consequence. They were called, according to Lyndwood, *principalia capitula propter majorem confluentiam cleri et quia in iis de negotiis arduioribus tractari consuevit.* While ordinary matters were transacted at the menstrual assemblies, difficult cases stood over to the quarterly sessions. Nor is it improbable that the latter were courts of appeal from the verdict of the minor and more frequent curiæ.

" The jurisdiction of both, like that of the rural dean in his indivi-

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dual capacity, was for the most part voluntary: but it will hereafter appear, that by delegation or otherwise, the chapters exercised at one time considerable contentious jurisdiction as *Curiæ Christianitatis.*

"However, not to bewilder the reader or myself at present, let it suffice that the rural capitula in general, whether monthly, quarterly, or occasional, had the same objects in view—the advancement of religion and the interests of the Church, and the detection and suppression of vice within the sphere of their influence and rule. Such was their main design; and bearing this in mind, we will proceed (after a few preliminary remarks upon the costume of the clergy on these occasions) to the various subjects with which rural chapters in general were properly and at all times conversant; deferring to our pages those which fell under their cognizance only incidentally and occasionally, and formed no essential part of their original institution."*

Such is the plan which Mr. Dansey chalks out for himself. We cannot follow him into all the details of this intricate branch of the subject; we will, therefore, confine ourselves to the leading points.

The rural chapters were eminently useful as a means of promulgating and publishing recent decrees of provincial and diocesan synods, and also of keeping alive the observance of important ecclesiastical laws by their public recitation before the assembled clergy. A more effectual method of attaining these ends it is difficult to devise.† Moreover, when a canon was read in the chapter, any of the assembled clergy had an opportunity of obtaining advice and explanation respecting any matter arising thereon. It might also happen that some modification of the canon, or in the mode of carrying it into effect, might seem expedient. In such a case the clergy had it in their power to take the matter into mature consideration, and after fully deliberating thereon, to make their opinion known to their bishop, and if necessary to petition the next diocesan or provincial synod.

In our days there are no synods and no canons to publish. This is, therefore, for the present a matter of no immediate practical use. We, however, recommend our readers to look beyond the present imperfect state of church discipline, and to observe how many are the uses to which this institution of rural chapters may be made subservient. It is a portion of a very complete system, every branch of which is nicely adapted to the purposes of the whole; so that the more the system is completed and brought into operation, the more numerous will be the uses which every part thereof may be made to fulfil.

Another object of rural chapters was to enable the deans to

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* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 23.

† Ibid. par. v. ch. ii.

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obtain from the congregated clergy a perfect knowledge of the moral and religious condition of their decanates, and devise measures for correcting defaults therein, or reporting them to the bishop.

"At these chapter meetings in general, from the date of their origin to that of their decay, reports were delivered of whatever was amiss in the respective parishes of the assembled ministers, in the economy of their churches or the manners of the clergy and their people; the priesthood being especially urged to tender such presentments in regard to the laity subject to their cure, and the deans or their apparitors in reference to the rectors, vicars, capillanes and other ministers.

"These subjects were entertained by the dean and chapter for the most part without the intervention of judicial process. They were discussed as in a deliberative assembly, and the ecclesiastical councillors advised such alterations and amendments as the circumstances of each case required; or if necessary, they reported the case to the bishop. But their jurisdiction ended not here;—the court had power, it seems, in some dioceses, of enforcing its proceedings judicially, without any previous reference to the bishop. It could render valid its decrees by compulsion; being authorized so to do by permanent delegation of the diocesan." *

Mr. Dansey informs us that the use of decanal chapters as courts of information and reformation was not confined to Great Britain, and that it obtained likewise abroad. In support of this statement he cites the synods of Cambray (1586), Antwerp (1590), Bois-le-Duc (1612), and St. Omer (1583). But the most important document cited by him on this subject is from the first provincial council of Milan, held in the year 1565, by the illustrious St. Charles Borromeo. In it the whole economy of such an assembly is circumstantially set forth under the section "De Vicariis Foraneis."

"The vicars," says Mr. Dansey, "were, it is true, mediate between our deans and chorepiscopi, and therefore the local gatherings are not to be identified with decanal chapters, strictly so salled; but the approximation of the vicarial to the decanal function is near enough to admit the description of a ceremony in which the reader will see much of the primitive character of these rural deliberative conclaves; much that probably obtained in the conventus communes of our Church, spoken of by Lyndwood; and much that in modern practice he might still perhaps approve. Some of the duties mentioned are personal, and not capitular; but it appears better not to dissever them.

"The foraneous vicars assembled monthly at the parochial churches,

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 37.

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at each in succession, with the presbyters of their respective districts as already stated, and then the canon proceeds :—

" ' Pridie ejus diei quam in unum locum conveniant, peccata sua omnes confiteantur: sequenti die in ea ecclesia in qua coacti fuerint missam singuli celebrent.

" ' Tum universi in choro missam conventualem pro mortuis vel de Spiritu Sancto solemni more cantent; in qua eorum aliquis a vicario prius admonitus concionem ad populum habeat.

" ' Confectis sacris et habita processione circa cœmiterium orationibusque consuetis, in domo rectoris illius ecclesiæ unico tantum ferculo contenti, ea qua decet modestia et caritate cibum capiant.

" ' Deinde conferant inter se quæ ad boni pastoris officium et ad curam animarum recte gerendam pertinent: et consulant de incommodis et difficultatibus suæ parochiæ quorum explicatio vel remedium aliorum consilium et operam requirat. Idem autem vicarii libellum de casibus conscientiæ episcopis ac sedi apostolicæ reservatis metropolitani cura edendum reliquis sacerdotibus legent; et aliquot capita tum horum constitutionum, tum earum quæ in synodo diœcesana decernentur, simulque quidpiam ex probata summa de casibus conscientiæ explicabunt.

" ' Præcipuè autem de presbyterorum vita et moribus quærant, et quales se in pastorali præbeant cura.

" ' An eorum culpa divinus in ecclesia cultus desideretur ?

" ' An re ipsa præstentur ea quæ episcopi vel alii eorum nomine in ecclesiarum necessitatem earumve reparationem impendi jusserint ?

" ' An libros habeant quos ex decreto habere debent ?

" ' An reliqua in hac synodo decreta serventur ?

" ' De his omnibus, et si quid proprie mandavit episcopus deque aliis quæ ad utilitatem animorum episcopi cognitionem desiderant, ipsum per literas diligenter certiorem faciant.

" ' Quoties in urbem venerint primum episcopum adeant deque eorum statu, qui sibi commissi sunt, accurate edoceant.

" ' Curati vero quicumque etiamsi quavis dignitate præditi in iisque ad officium suum spectant vicariis quos diximus obtemperent.

" ' Quod si aliqui ad conveniendum negligentes, vel ad mandata eorumdem vicariorum exequenda contumaces fuerint; episcopi in illos pro modo culpæ animadvertant.

" ' Hi autem vicarii voluntate episcopi ab officio amoveri semper possint; ac si male id administrarint, pœnas dent ejusmodi episcopi judicio.' " *

Thus it appears that, according to the discipline of the holy Archbishop of Milan, the proceedings of the assembly of the clergy under the foraneous vicars consisted of four parts: 1. Devotional practices performed most solemnly in common by all the clergy, and a sermon for the instruction of the people; 2. Conference and consultation among themselves; 3. An ex-

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 40, S S. C C. tom. xxi. col. 42, 43.

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planation, by the vicar, of divers matters regarding the duties of the clergy and of the canons of the diocesan synod; 4. Inquiry by the vicar into divers heads of ecclesiastical discipline.

It also seems that the Milanese vicars were in the habit of laying the state of their respective vicariates before the bishop and receiving his instructions thereon; and Van Espen mentions a similar custom prevailing in Belgium.

"And every year," says the learned canonist, "on an appointed day, let all the archpriests repair to the bishop, and confer with him respecting the condition of their respective districts, and let them lay before him what they have observed both in their visitations and in the assemblies of the clergy and elsewhere, which they judge to be for the benefit of the parishes; and then after mutual consultation and mature deliberation, let them hear what the bishop thinks proper to be established and ordained for the welfare of souls."*

So far we have seen the voluntary jurisdiction of the rural deans in their chapters; but Mr. Dansey informs us that they also possessed a contentious jurisdiction, consisting of several branches.

"The chapter, whether monthly or quarterly, was an inspectional and correctional court of spiritual judicature; wherein much of the contentious jurisdiction which now belongs to the ecclesiastical courts was originally transacted, personal suits were adjusted, and, upon formal presentment made of offenders against the laws and discipline of the Church, the dean, after examination and proof of minor irregularities, admonished the parties and exhorted them to repentance and amendment; while for the guilt of any greater crime, he had power to suspend laymen from the sacraments, and clergymen from the execution of their office: but according to the Dean of Gloucester and the Bishop of Peterborough, he could not proceed to any greater punishment."†

Mr. Dansey, however, produces many authorities to show that these courts were possessed of much more formidable powers of punishing.‡ But we submit to the reader that this question is one of mere historical and antiquarian interest. It might be useful that these courts should exercise the power of admonishing persons guilty of irregularities or other offences; the influence naturally belonging to such assemblies would render their admonitions in many cases highly medicinal, and preclude the necessity of recourse to a higher authority; but they could not be rendered fit to exercise a more penal jurisdiction. Neither the deans nor their chapters would have either the knowledge

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 42. Van Esp. par. i. tom. vi. cap. iv.
† Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 46. Southey, B. of the Ch. vol. i. c. vi. p. 85.
‡ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. c. v. *per tot.*

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necessary to administer justice, or the judicial habits and training requisite for such functions. The probability is that they would render themselves liable to actions at law, and cause irritation and resistance on the part of the offenders and their friends. And this is the more important to be considered, because the administration of spiritual criminal justice is a matter of infinite difficulty, requiring extraordinary tact, temper, and judgment, which can only be acquired by long and laborious study.

The temporal judge has only to apply the law as he finds it to the facts of the case, and proportion the punishment (within the limits of his power) to the circumstances of the offence; but the spiritual judge has a further and a more arduous duty to perform. The spiritual judge must most carefully avoid or suppress scandal, which is calculated to produce a prejudicial effect on the minds of the people, or otherwise to injure the interests of the Church. He must administer the law *pro salute animi*, having regard to the advantage of the soul of the offender, and so as not only to punish him, but also to bring him to repentance. Thus the canonists teach that excommunication is not to be used where its probable effect will be rather to harden and irritate than to amend. The external coercive power is entrusted to the Church by the State, partly it is true for the purpose of maintaining the external order and police of the Church considered as an institution established by law; but this is the inferior purpose, for the civil magistrate could do this. The real and great purpose of that external power is to enable the Church to carry into effect more completely than it otherwise could, that moral and religious discipline which forms the practical part of Christianity. It is to enable the Church to administer completely the spiritual power known under the name of the power of the keys. That power is *purely* spiritual. But there are men who would defy a purely spiritual power. The Church therefore has an external forum and a power of coercion entrusted to her by the Christian prince, which are essential means for the attainment of the very same objects which are the end of the spiritual power of the keys. It follows from these principles that the ecclesiastical criminal jurisdiction is one of the means by which the divine mission of the Church is fulfilled. It is a part of the penitential system of Christianity, and in that sense has a quasi-sacramental character. Whenever it is administered apart from the most lively appreciation and realization of these principles, it loses its real character, and instead of salutary results,—peace, edification, amendment, and repentance,—it causes discord, scandal, and hardness of heart. How arduous, therefore, is the office of the spiritual judge! How few are the persons to whom it ought to be entrusted,

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and what care the rulers of the Church should bestow on their selection! It would scarcely be prudent or judicious in the rural deans and chapters to undertake a task of such magnitude, even if it were entrusted to them by the law, which it never will be; and we say this, meaning nothing but what is most respectful to them.

The rural courts christian had a civil as well as a criminal contentious jurisdiction. Mr. Dansey produces many authorities to show their power in causes relating to tithes, mortuaries, and other dues, and even in testamentary and matrimonial causes and beneficiary matters. He then proceeds to the consideration of the decay and dissolution of rural chapters, particularly in England.

He attributes that dissolution principally to the 20th Constitution of Cardinal Othobon, A.D. 1237, which introduced the archdeacons to sit in them, and this introduction of a superior functionary or his official eclipsed the rural deans, who were thus discouraged from the customary convening of the chapters.

"By such means," remarks Kennet, "these ancient chapters became obsolete and abrogated, while, so far as they were courts of Christianity, they resolved themselves into one standing ecclesiastical court in every archdeaconry; and so far as they were conventions of the parochial clergy, they passed into solemn visitations, in which the clergy of every deanery should assemble once or twice a year, but rather cited as delinquents than admitted as judges and co-assessors; an honour and privilege which remained no longer than they were an ecclesiastical corporation of rural deans and chapters."*

The revival of rural chapters is the next object of Mr. Dansey's consideration, and very important and interesting it undoubtedly is. He makes many very sensible remarks on the expediency of such a revival; we have, however, anticipated the chief points of that question. When our readers consider the antiquity of the institution, its harmony with the earliest constitution of the Church, and the many uses to which it may be applied, they cannot, we think, hesitate to say that it ought to be revived. We mean to say revived in its voluntary jurisdiction; for we agree with Mr. Dansey that its contentious jurisdiction cannot at present be restored with advantage.

We, however, do not agree with the learned writer as to the expediency of reviving these institutions in the shape of *Church union societies*, or in any other shape than that which properly belongs to them *ab antiquo*. Let us have the real old institutions of the Church, and no new contrivances. Let us have

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 110, *et seq.*

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the old names as well as the old things themselves. We feel confident that Mr. Dansey himself will agree with us. And why should the rural chapters or synods not be revived in their own proper form?

We have before us a record of a rural chapter held in the present year in the deanery of Trigg Major, in the diocese of Exeter, with the sanction of the great prelate who presides over that diocese. That very interesting document begins with the form of citation, and then goes on to state as follows: that is to say,—1. Those of the clergy who complied with the citation met at the vicarage of the church of Morwenstow, of which the rural dean is incumbent, before morning prayer. 2. They walked in procession to Church, which had previously been filled by the laity of the parish. 3. The morning service was performed by the vicar of Poundstock, the junior incumbent. 4. The laity withdrew, and the doors of the church were closed. 5. The clergy assembled in the nave, and the chapter was opened by a statement of the case of rural chapters, read by the dean.

In that statement he very ably, and in a spirit truly churchmanlike, set forth the chief features of the history and functions of rural deans and their chapters; and then submitted to the assembly the following seven rules to govern the proceedings of the chapter:—

"I. The privileges usually conceded to presidents of assemblies shall reside in the rural dean; *e.g.* power to moderate the language of discussion, to maintain a grave and decent order, and, under responsibility to the chapter, to exercise a sound discretion with regard to what questions he shall submit to the synod.

"II. Every member who intends to propose a subject for deliberation shall deliver the title thereof, in writing, with his name, into the hands of the rural dean.

"III. The rural dean may submit that title to the chapter for their consideration. If the larger proportion of the members adjudge it to be a fitting matter for deliberation, it shall be forthwith discussed, or at the next chapter, as shall also be determined by vote.

"IV. The manner of voting shall be on this wise—the members who object shall signify their judgment by rising from their seats; those who assent shall remain seated.

"V. The rural dean, under correction of the chapter, shall sum up the minutes of deliberation; if so called on by his brethren to do, he shall submit any single question to the lord bishop for decision or reply; or if there should be conflicting opinions on any important subject, the dean shall, when so enjoined, place them fairly before his lordship for resolution of doubt. But the name of no presbyter shall be stated, nor the side of the question which he espoused.

"VI. The subjects introduced shall be such as have rigid refer-

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ence to the members in some department of their duty as parish priests.

"VII. A correct detail of the proceedings of the first synod shall be laid before the Bishop, and whatsoever therein his lordship shall condemn shall be immediately discontinued."*

The sixth rule especially is very judicious, as it must ensure the practical utility of the subjects of deliberation, and prevent the chapter from degenerating into a clerical debating society. The rural dean then proceeded to consider briefly certain accessories of the meeting, and among others the surplice, vested in which the clergy assembled in chapter. We must take leave to observe that, in our opinion, he attached too much importance to the surplice, as indeed some other very excellent clergymen have done. The surplice is not a sacerdotal vestment, for it is worn by deacons, and in the continental churches by persons in minor orders. It is, indeed, scarcely an ecclesiastical vestment, for it is constantly worn by laymen in our own and in other churches. As for the typical associations which have been connected with the surplice, they belong more properly to the *Alb*. But we admit that the surplice is a very proper vestment for the clergy in synod, and one agreeable to ancient usage.

The "Record" ends with the following brief outline of the business transacted at the first chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major.

"The seven rules introduced by the rural dean were then separately proposed and seconded, discussed, and unanimously adopted.

"A petition to both houses of parliament now in session was introduced and approved, and the rural dean was called on to sign it in behalf of the chapter.

"A subject was then introduced for discussion, *The admission to other rites of the Church of children who had received baptism from laymen.*

"It was resolved that the above subject be fully considered in the next chapter.

"A proposal was introduced that the rural dean do search for authorities as to the presence of clergymen from other deaneries at such chapters, or of any lay person. The result to be laid before the next assembly.

"A discussion as to the grounds of inquiry into churches, houses, burial grounds, &c. within the jurisdiction of a rural dean. To be stated formally in the next chapter.

"The chapter dissolved.

"The evening service as usual in this church."

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* Hawker's Rural Synods, pp. 15, 16.

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With regard to the suggested question of the admission of the laity, there is manifest danger of causing a desire for display by introducing a numerous body of hearers, especially women, who we think ought to be, at any rate, excluded. An assemblage of wives, sisters, and other female relations and friends of the clergy, would endanger the utility and the business-like character of the chapter most seriously. The patrons of churches within the deanery, being by the ecclesiastical law the first laymen in those churches, ought, however, not to be excluded from the chapter. But these we only throw out as humble suggestions to the clergy of the deanery of Trigg Major.

This publication by the vicar of Morwenstow is an interesting document, which we cordially recommend to both clergy and laity, and we trust that the success of this first attempt will encourage others to follow in his footsteps.

The subject of rural chapters thus publicly put forward, could not fail to attract the attention of the bishops. We will confine ourselves to the latest of the episcopal opinions to which we refer, because it is most likely to secure considerable notice at present.

The Bishop of Gloucester, in a charge delivered at his visitation held in last August, expressed himself as follows:—

"Ever since I have held my present situation I have been in the habit of recommending that my clergy should hold frequent meetings together, to consider the state of their parishes, and to give and to receive counsel on matters of interest or difficulty; in short, upon all such matters as concern the right discharge of the functions of a clergyman. If such meetings take place under the auspices of the rural deans, it will afford you an opportunity of communicating with your diocesan on all questions that may arise. I shall not disguise from you that one cause which induces me to recommend to you such meetings, is the hope that they may be the means of bringing together in friendly associations persons whom difference of sentiment or party have kept asunder, and much asperity of feeling been imbibed in consequence. Were those individuals sometimes in the habit of meeting on common ground, and for the purpose of advancing objects in which they could concur, and about which no difference of sentiment existed, a great and important object would be gained. In some places, as I understand, the ancient synodical meetings have been revived, with the addition of such solemnities as authority may justify. You are, no doubt, aware of the history of these meetings, which I earnestly recommend to my clergy, intituled, 'Horæ Decanicæ Rurales.' Whether such solemn meeting could be adopted with advantage under the present circumstances of this diocese, I am not prepared to decide; but in this case, as in the other, I desire to consult the feelings of my clergy, and should it meet your approbation, I shall be happy to give it my sanction, but with the distinct

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understanding that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated."

There is a more decided tone in this passage than is usually adopted in episcopal charges, touching matters involving a change in the practice of the Church. It may, however, be regretted that the bishop was not still more explicit, and did not take upon himself to decide how far such solemn meetings could be adopted with advantage under the existing circumstances of the diocese. There can be no doubt that his lordship is fully capable of deciding such a question. But on the general question, whether the revival of those assemblies is expedient, he evidently feels no hesitation. His lordship, however, stipulates "that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated." By questions of a controversial nature we suppose the bishop to mean especially questions of faith. Discussions of that nature must indeed be most peremptorily excluded, for this plain reason, that *rural synods have no authority to decide matters of that kind.* The same principle must exclude from being entertained in the rural chapters all affairs *not relating directly to the duties of parish priests,* according to the very judicious sixth rule of the chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major. The well-known rules of the civil law concerning *statutes,* or bye-laws, have a direct bearing on this matter. We refer especially to the rules that statutes in derogation to the general law are void,—and that statutes must not be touching matters *extra jurisdictionem statuentis.* There are also some wholesome rules in Coke upon Littleton, respecting local prescriptions, which are very much to the present purpose, and to which we refer our readers.* These are somewhat abstruse points of law. By the way, it strikes us that if the system of rural chapters should be brought into use to any extent, the clergy will soon discover the necessity of obtaining a knowledge of at least the rudiments of ecclesiastical public law, from whence alone they can get a sufficient store of general principles to keep them right in their proceedings. While they confine themselves to their churches and pastoral duties they may do without this kind of knowledge; but when they undertake to govern, the case becomes very different.

Great care will also become necessary in the choice of rural deans. If a crochety meddling person were placed in the office, or an overbearing ill-natured man, great injury might be done to the Church within his deanery, and both the dean and the chapter would be brought into disrepute.

Mr. Dansey has collected together in his appendix a number

* Co. Litt. sec. 165, p. 110 b, and n. 1.

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of very valuable and interesting documents, ancient and modern, English and continental, comprising formulæ of appointment, synodical and episcopal instructions, and other documents illustrative of the office of rural dean. We recommend those instruments to the careful consideration of the clergy: they contain a mine of knowledge and experience. And here we must observe a serious omission on the part of Mr. Dansey, that is to say, the omission of an index. His book deserves to be a text-book, and a standard book of reference on the subject on which he treats; but it grievously wants an index, for that very reason. It must go through many more editions, and the learned writer will therefore have ample opportunity of supplying this defect. We, however, feel the defect so strongly (notwithstanding the copious table of contents,) that if we were in Mr. Dansey's place, we should think seriously of publishing an index separately, for the present edition.

Having thus given due praise to Mr. Dansey, we cannot help regretting to find him going out of his way to say,—"*the blessing of bells, or other such absurd ceremonies.*"* Why should the blessing of church bells be more absurd than the blessing of churches or churchyards? In both cases the blessing means no more than a solemn dedication to the purposes of divine service. But, at any rate, why sneer at and apply hard words to the customs of other churches? It would also have been better to have said *St. Charles Borromeo*, than "*the reputed saint Charles Borromeo.*"† That great Christian was as holy as St. Augustine, St. Cyrill, and others, who are universally allowed by our divines the title of Saint; and the fact that he lived a few centuries later than they makes no difference; and that title does not necessarily imply anything that our Church refuses to sanction. But these observations are meant to be most respectful to the reverend author, who indeed would probably concur in them on second thoughts.

Mr. Dansey shows‡ that in England the office of rural dean declined simultaneously with the rural synods or chapters; and Blackstone speaks of them as almost grown out of use although their deaneries still exist as an ecclesiastical division. On the continent this ancient office has had its period of decay, though its declension was not so marked and decisive as among ourselves. Our author cites a great number of continental decrees of councils of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, including the Synod of Trent, having for their object the revival of rural deans.

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* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 149. † Ibid. p. 146.
‡ Ibid. par. vi. sec. 1, 2.

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In our own country no such decisive measure as an ecclesiastical law on this subject has as yet been adopted. Queen Anne, in the year 1710, submitted to convocation, among other heads of business, *the establishing of rural deans where they are not, and rendering them more useful where they are;* but the dissensions which arose between the two houses prevented the passing of any canon founded on the royal proposition. The letter of George I. to the convocation, about business for them, (A. D. 1715,) contains many heads of matters proper for synodical consideration, but no allusion to rural deans. Indeed, from the reign of Queen Anne to the present time, there has been no authoritative movement on the part of the State, or of the Church collectively, for the restoration of this portion of our ecclesiastical government.

Several of the bishops have, however, revived the office of rural deans in their dioceses; and we believe that they have been uniformly found to be a useful addition to the ecclesiastical system of the country. So far a decided improvement has taken place; and the augmented number of commissions issued by the bishops to rural deans of late years, shows that further progress in the carrying out of the institution may be hoped for. But as yet the use made of the office has been narrow in its range, and confined chiefly to the inspection of fabrics. As the subject obtains more public interest and attention, people will enlarge their ideas in this respect. They will see how many things are needed in the Church, of which they previously had no idea. They will discover the imperfections of the practical working of the government of dioceses in England; and, in some particulars, the absence of all government of a real and practical nature. As the progress of civilization causes new wants to be felt, and stimulates men to improve their social condition by providing for the satisfaction of those wants; so the increase of ecclesiastical learning will, by raising the standard of the perfection of government and Church polity in the minds of the clergy and laity, lead them to extend, improve, and revive institutions which they have hitherto neglected, and apply them to a variety of purposes discovered in the rich mines of ecclesiastical antiquity. Thus, when once the institution of rural deans is fully established and understood, a more enlarged view will be taken of the office. It will become evident that its uses are far beyond what those who first revived it imagined; and then this portion of the Church's economy will be made to produce all the fruits which ancient experience, and the principles of ecclesiastical public law, justify us to expect.

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ART. II.—*The Historical Geography of Arabia; or, the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion; with Maps, and an Appendix containing Translations, with an Alphabet and Glossary, of the Hamyaritic Inscriptions recently discovered in Hadramaut. By the Rev.* C. FORSTER. In 2 vols. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1844.

MR. FORSTER, who has been for several years known to the public as the author of *Mahometanism Unveiled*, has in the present work followed out into detail a matter touched upon in the appendix to that book; viz. the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, a point (as is well known) which Gibbon and his imitators have contested. To add one more to the many evidences by which the research of modern days has fenced round the holy Scriptures, was his object; for, to use his own words,—

"If infidelity could be silenced, and revealed truth vindicated, by exact scrutiny, at a single point, into the Mosaic accounts of the origin of the Arab tribes . . . [*sic*] it was clear that the most valuable results might justly be anticipated from exact scrutiny into those accounts on an extended scale, and as comprising the patriarchal origin of all the primitive tribes of Arabia."—*Dedication*, p. iv.

Accordingly Mr. Forster occupies himself with endeavouring (and we are inclined to think successfully) to prove, by a process of laborious investigation, that the four great patriarchal stocks, who (according to Moses), together with Ishmael,* peopled the Arabian peninsula—the descendants of Cush and Joktan who preceded, and of Keturah and Esau who followed the son of Hagar—are all extant, (whether we regard them under the appellations of classical or of modern geography) "in the very localities, and along the very lines, where they are placed by 'Moses and the prophets.'" And it may be mentioned that, in the course of his inquiry, he enters into the long disputed point of the derivation of the word *Saracen*, and concludes by vindicating the Scriptural origin of that celebrated name from the wife of Abraham. For Jacob (he observes) having become sole heir to the *spiritual* fulfilment of the promise in Gen. xvii. 16, its extended *temporal* accomplishment will naturally be sought in the family of Isaac's first-born, Esau; and this will at once account for the minute and reiterated exhibition of the sons of Esau, or Edom, which we find in Gen. xxxvi.—a genealogical exhibition, in the first part of which (Mr. Forster very pertinently remarks) the sacred writer "enumerates the Edomite

* It will be recollected that he proved the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, in his "Mahometanism Unveiled," vol. ii. App.

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patriarchs *individually*," while in the second he "represents them as the founders and chiefs of potent *tribes* or *nations*." To this race of Esau, then, peopling the whole Arabian peninsula, and not (as we have been too long taught) limited to the neighbourhood of Mount Seir; to this multitude of Edomite nations is to be assigned the distinguished generic matronymic *Saracens*; just as the Ismaelites were called *Hagarenes* from Hagar, and Abraham's other wife furnished their appellation to the *Ketureans*.

We feel bound to declare, that we consider this vindication of the old—though of late well nigh exploded—derivation of the celebrated name in question, to be conducted and established in a very masterly manner, opposed, as it is, to the opinions of the learned Pocock and Asseman, and the affected research of the sceptical Gibbon. (See Pocock, Specimen, p. 33. Asseman in Raheb. Chron. Orient. p. 233. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ix. 233.)

These geographical disquisitions occupy of course the larger portion of the two volumes before us; but interesting as they undoubtedly are, it is not our intention to enter further into them at present. We will merely observe, that in several cases to which we turned (for we have not been able to bestow on this part of the work in hand the attention it deserves), the results at which Mr. Forster has arrived, coincide with the native tradition at this day; as, *e. g.* that the region of Hadramaut answers to the possessions of the sons of *Hazermaveth*, (mentioned in Gen. x. 26,) and that the children of *Uzal* (ver. 27) are represented by the modern Sanâa. Now we confess to entertaining a very deep respect for the traditions of a country; we believe them, generally speaking, to be of great value; and therefore we are concerned at perceiving the position assigned to another place. Speaking of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 30), Moses says, "Their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East." Now, we believe that Mesha, according to constant Arabic tradition, answers to modern *Mecca*. Yet what says Mr. Forster? He rejects (and rightly) the theory of Bockart, which would make Sephar to be the Djebal, or hill country of Yemen, and Mesha to correspond with Muza, near the mouth of the Arabian gulf; and he sets out by inquiring "in what *opposite* quarters of Arabia the Mesha intended by Moses and his mount Sephar lay?" And then, because he admits the position assigned by Bockart to Sephar, that being near the south-western extremity of the peninsula, he looks for the other boundary in the truly "opposite," or north-eastern, quarter, and fixes upon the *Zames Mons* of Ptolemy, in lat. 26°, long. 47°, as the site of the Mesha of the

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book of Genesis. Now, in the first place, we do not understand why Mesha must be represented by a mountain: Moses says nothing of the kind, while he expressly mentions that Sephar is "a mount of the East." And we should be glad to be informed what is the matter with Mecca, that the native tradition must needs be set aside? It lies quite enough to the north to be considered in an "opposite quarter." And it is surely sufficiently distant to allow of "an interval" adequate "to one of the most numerous of patriarchal families;" the inadequacy of the space enclosed being the ground on which Mr. F. has rejected the limits proposed by Bockart. But the fact is, that our author has been delighted at the success with which Bockart employed the principle of the *anagram*, in the case of the classical Corodamum-promontorium and the scriptural Hadoram; and so he wishes to exercise his ingenuity in the same line, and therefore occasionally (like a child with a new toy) he is a little too much engrossed with his plaything. We may, of course, be mistaken; but it strikes us, that he is, perhaps, rather too fond of applying the *anagram* to the ancient names, after the fashion of the Inquisitors with the thumb-screw, when they would extort a confession of crimes never committed. Zames Mons (it will be seen at once) is wrung out of Mesha by this process.

We could not refrain from these observations *en passant*. We will now proceed to the main object of these pages; which is to direct the attention of our readers to a matter of singular interest, to which our author devotes some hundred or two of pages. It is but remotely connected with the main object of his work—it occurred quite accidentally, and has given a most unexpected turn to, and thrown a mantle of romantic interest over, his researches; it is, to let him speak for himself, no less than—

"The decipherment of an unknown alphabet, and the recovery of a lost language; that alphabet, the celebrated *Musnad*, which was known to Pocock himself only by vague and erroneous report of Mahometan writers, and whose total disappearance was deplored by Sir W. Jones, as the great gap between us and the earliest records of mankind; this language, the once famous and long-lost 'tongue of Hamyar.'"—Vol. i. p. 8.

We beg the reader in the outset not to mistake us; *we* do not mean to assert that Mr. Forster has succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions which have been brought to light: to pass an opinion, either one way or the other, would require far more critical investigation than we have yet been able to bestow on his book. All that we propose doing in the present notice, is,

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to give an account *resumé* of the manner in which specimens of the "long-lost tongue of Hamyar" have been brought to light, and of the steps by which Mr. Forster proceeded in deciphering them. We do not mean to say that he *has* deciphered them; we pass no opinion *ex cathedrâ* upon that: although, if out of regard to our self-constituted office we be expected to say something, we will freely confess that we have discovered no glaring impossibility in what he says;—we will go even farther, we will own that we took up Mr. Forster's book rather prejudiced against it, and we have laid it down decidedly impressed in its favour; our critical eyes have discovered no wanton assumptions, nor detected any unscholar-like mistakes; and we have not read any book for many a long day which has stirred in us a deeper interest. Contenting ourselves, therefore, with this caution—that we wish now to be looked upon as having dropped the pen of the reviewer, and having assumed the more humble office of the expositor, we shall proceed without further delay to place before our readers, for their benefit, a simple explanation of the matter which has interested ourselves.

About ten years ago, Captain Haines, I. N. was sent in command of the *Palinurus* to survey the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula, called the district of Hadramáut, stretching from about long. 45° (or 2° east of the ancient emporium Aden) to some ten degrees to the north-east, or as far as the province of Omân. During the course of operations, Lieutenant Wellsted (the second in command) discovered several inscriptions, all written in the same unknown character, but differing considerably in other respects; some being found cut in stones at Mâreb, near Sanaa,* (about 150 miles north-north-east of Aden), some carved in stone at the newly discovered ruins of Nakab el Hajar, (a few miles in-shore, about 3° east of Aden),† some deeply engraven in the solid rock, at the promontory of Hisn Ghorab; and, lastly we may as well mention one discovered only two years ago at Aden itself, by work-people employed in excavating

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* "Sanaá, ville principale dans l'intéricur de l'Yémen."—*Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxix. p. 20.

† Nakab el Hajar (which lies about eight-and-forty miles in a north-westerly direction from Aïn, and marked on the chart in lat. 14° 2′, long. 46° 30′) otherwise written Nukbel Hajar, stands in the centre of an extensive valley, thickly studded with villages and cultivated grounds, and called by the natives *Wadí Meïfah*. It was conjectured by Lieutenant Wellsted to be the Mœpha Metropolis of Ptolemy; a conjecture which has been confirmed by Mr. Forster, provided that his version of the inscription over the entrance be correct.

At vol. ii. pp. 195—204, he extracts a most interesting description of the ruins, from Mr. Wellsted's own account. Mr. Forster has further presented his readers with a vignette of the ruins and their rocky foundation, and with a map of the route to them drawn (we believe) originally from materials furnished by Mr. Wellsted, for the Royal Geographical Society's Journal, by its then secretary.

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for a new road. The interest of this our latest discovery in Arabian antiquities consists in this, that, though Aden was the chief emporium of the kingdom of the Homerites, no Hamyaritic inscriptions, previous to this, have ever been found either in the ruins of the ancient town, or its immediate vicinity.

The others are all evidently of nearly the same, and that a very remote, date; while this at Aden bears internal evidences of one much lower, viz. of having been cut in the reign of one of the last of the Homerite princes, *i. e.* within seventy years of the birth of Mahomet. It differs too from the rest in another particular; while *they* were found engraven on the solid rock, or, to quote Captain Haines's letter to the Bombay government, "on oblong marble blocks, generally forming part of a gateway," in *this* specimen we have a circular slab of pure, and very compact, white marble, with a raised rim round it,—brought to light, moreover, "from a depth of twenty feet beneath the present surface of Aden. The inscription," he adds, which "is not so well executed as many others,* is perfectly clear, without flaw or injury. In removing the stone, part was unfortunately broken off by the work-people."—*Forster*, vol. ii. p. 395.

Having said this much of the other inscriptions, it is to those found at Hisn Ghorab that we wish to direct chief attention.

It occurred to Mr. Forster, that if deciphered, they would probably throw light on his researches: but how to read them was the question. They had been sent within the last few years to the most learned linguists of Germany, Professors Gesenius and Rœdiger; the former of whom had given them up in despair, and the latter had confessed his inability to do more than read and render the first word of the chief Hisn Ghorab inscription, (a reading and rendering which he afterwards rejected,) and had pronounced the inscription to be *one of persons speaking of themselves in the first person plural.* Under these circumstances, Mr. Forster, having tried his own hermeneutic powers upon them in vain, had laid them aside; when, turning one day for materials for his work to a rare tract in this country, the "Historia Imperii Vetustissimi Joktanidorum" of Albert Schultens, (which happened to be bound up with his copy of the larger work of that author, the "Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ,") he opened upon a monument, which from the equal length of the two documents, and the apparent identity of their locality, as indicated by the title, instantly struck him as being an Arabic version of the chief of the inscriptions at Hisn

* The writer of this notice has been told, that *thousands* of inscriptions of the same Hamyaritic character have been discovered along the coasts of Hadramaut and Yemen. A fact which does not quite tally with Mr. Forster's "rarity even of inscriptions in the Hamyaritic," vol. ii. p. 81, note.

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Ghorab. The title, often before read without attracting any special notice, ran thus:—

"Carmina antiquissima, in Arabia Felice inventa,
Super marmoribus arcium dirutarum,
In tractu littoris Hadramutteni,
Prope emporium Aden."*

These "most ancient poems" (the history of whose discovery has been fortunately preserved by Schultens) are two translations from the Arabic of Al-Kazwînî, in his Historical Geography. They are stated to have been discovered, and translated out of the original into Arabic, by Abderrahman, viceroy of Yemen, in the course of an official progress of inspection along "the shore of Aden," (as he terms the coast stretching from Aden eastward,) about A. D. 660—670; a circumstance which proves that, like the inscriptions now discovered at Hisn Ghorab, they were written in a more ancient character than the Cufic then in use; and that, though unknown now, they were decipherable by the Arabs of that day.

Struck, therefore, with the probable identity of the longer of the two "most ancient poems" with the principal of the lately discovered Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, Mr. Forster at once applied a mechanical test to them. He compared the two together; and allowing—in consequence of the great length of the lines of the original inscription—each line of that to represent a couplet of the presumed Arabic version, he found the two documents exactly corresponded as to length, and that the number of letters in the one approximated closely to the number of characters in the other. This correspondence was afterwards increased by procuring a fac-simile of that portion of the original MS. of Al-Kazwînî, from which Schultens informs us he took the Arabic poems of which he gives the Latin version; which MS. is lodged in the University of Leyden. By means of this exact copy our author was enabled to discover that the Arabic poem was not written (as Schultens had, for convenience, printed it) in ten *couplets*, but like the inscription in ten *lines*. The context likewise of the poem in Al-Kazwînî's MS. consists of a prefatory notice, purporting to be taken from the Viceroy's own account, of the site and main features of the place where he discovered it; all of which correspond exactly with Lieutenant Wellsted's account of the whereabouts of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, and enable us to correct Schulten's incorrect expression of "*prope* emporium Aden." Furthermore, the context *between* the poems

* For the sake of the unlearned reader—"Most ancient poems, found in Arabia Felix, upon stones of ruined towers, on the shore of Hadramáut, near the emporium of Aden."

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in the Arabic MS. (being a preliminary notice of the second, also from the official account of Abderrahman) lets in light for the recovery of the still undiscovered inscription, the original of the shorter of the two "poems." Indeed, the description of its site answers so completely to that given by Captain Haines, of a massive ruin on the coast at this day—the site of the castle of Messenaat, in long. 50° 45′ 23″ east, that Mr. Forster predicts the inscription will be found there.*

Putting together these and some few other circumstances, he became satisfied so far of their identity; in other words, that the longer of the two "most ancient poems" of Al-Kazwînî and Schultens, and the longer of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, stood to each other in the relation of version and original. Encouraged by the success of his initiatory tentamina, the next point was to decipher the unknown legend. The steps by which (we must say, with consummate ingenuity) he has accomplished this, were briefly as follows:—

From Professor Rœdiger's success in making out the first word *Smak*, "we dwelt," he inferred that, in the four letters of that word he had before him the true powers of four letters of the alphabet of Hamyar.

Again, from the radical similarity of all the Semitic languages, he inferred that the few characters in the Hisn Ghorab inscription similar in their form to letters in the *Hebrew* alphabet, were likely to possess the same powers; *e.g.* that one somewhat like an inverted gamma (ℾ) answered to the Hebrew resh (ר). And further, from the immemorial connexion between Southern Arabia and the coast of Africa, parts of which have, from most ancient times, been subject to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut, he deduced the likelihood, that such of the letters as bore resemblance to those of the *Ethiopic* alphabet, would be found to possess the sameness of power.† Furnished with these elements, he proceeded to make experiments. He pitched upon, first, one word at random, and then another, and read each one as well as he could guess; and then searched in Golius's Arabic Lexicon till he found one not unlike it; and so on with

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* The Rev. T. Brockman, of Sandwich, has gone out, with praiseworthy zeal, to look for it.

† Rœdiger had done the same; but unfortunately assumed besides, that a character somewhat like an inverted sigma (the reader will perceive that we cannot give representations of the Hamyaritic characters) must have the same power as the Greek Σ, an assumption which, of course, was fatal to his alphabet.

"That Professor Rœdiger was further right in applying the power of the Ethiopic letters, where there was sameness of form, to decipher the characters of the unknown inscriptions, became also clear to me, from the one instance in which there could be no mistake,—the repeated occurrence of the sign of the first person plural, *nn*."—Vol. ii. p. 98.

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others. That he was justified in making the experiment of interpreting the unknown character by the Arabic, would appear, not only from the antecedent assumption of affinity between the Hamyaritic and the Arabic, as the ancient and modern forms of the same language;* but also from a remarkable fact which Mr. Forster states as being known to himself:—

"That *the word* cited by Pocock as a peculiar specimen of the Hamyaritic, viz. ثب (*to sit down*), occurs, *in the Hamyaritic sense*, in the present Arabic; and that from Golius's Lexicon it appears, beyond question, that *many* Hamyaritic words are now incorporated in that idiom."—Vol. ii. p. 99.

There were other marks of identity; such as the recurrence (adverted to in a preceding note), exactly fifteen times in each document, of the sign *na* or *nu*, "only not uniformly in the same parts of the lines:" "its occurrence (as he remarks) always at the *end* of words, as in the Arabic, decides the direction of the writing, which is from right to left." At the suggestion of a friend, that the I in the inscription might be the Hebrew *Vau*, he was led to compare the single recurrences of this letter; and found the I occurring, singly, three times in the seventh line of the one, and the ו or ו also three times in the corresponding line and couplet of the other; and followed in both cases by three single words.

With the progressive enlargement of his alphabet, there came an increased facility of detecting unascertained letters, by their connexion with those already ascertained. Again, the analysis of the first line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription taught him,—

"That, whatever might be the laws of rithm in this primeval poetry, the sense was not necessarily commensurate with each line: .... the sense, in some instances, falling short of the line; in others, overflowing it."

Of this the reader will remark a fine instance presently, in the opening description of the rolling swell of the sea. His attention was recalled to this circumstance by a translation, which his recovery of the alphabet afterwards enabled him to make, of a two-line inscription discovered near the long one, lower down the terrace; which contained an account of the inscription with the names of its two engravers; and the first line of which ran thus:—

"*Divided* into parts, and inscribed from right to left, and marked with points this song of triumph, Sarash and Dzerah;"

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* See Sir J. Chardin's works, vol. iii.

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wherein the word, which we have distinguished with italics, "plainly referred to the lines of the inscription." And this circumstance proved to have a value beside and beyond the light which it threw upon the earliest laws of metrical arrangement; for (as he says),—

"It stood, in itself, an independent and demonstrative proof of the correctness of my translation; since, in every instance, that translation proved to have distributed the sense, in the most perfect correspondence with the artificial divisions of the lines, in the Hamyaritic original."—Vol. ii. p. 342.

Beside the proofs arising from this law of "division," in the process of deciphering, the coincidence of particles and prepositions came in—on collating the Hisn Ghorab inscription with Al-Kazwînî's—to corroborate the completeness of their identity throughout. We have already noticed the common force of the Hamyaritic I and the Arabic ؛; we may now point out, "as a peculiarity of the Hamyaritic idiom, the grammatical effect of 'the points'* in changing the copulative I into the preposition *in*." To adopt our author's own words,—

"The insulated position of the I, in so many instances, at first perplexed me: it was too weak an element to represent a noun or verb; and stood too much apart for an 'and.'"

In this dilemma he turned to its first isolated occurrence, where, in order that it might agree with the corresponding point in Al-Kazwînî, it was necessary to render it by *in*, not *and*;—a sense which, he found, suited best in the other instances of its recurrence:—

"And as the letter clearly had another place and office in *conjunction*, as a prefix to the nouns and verbs of the inscription, I could no longer doubt the object in thus *insulating* ◦◦I◦◦,—viz. to convert it into a preposition."

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* Specially referred to in the engravers' account, as above given. It strikes us as a very singular circumstance, that native engravers, if Sarash and Dzerah really were the engravers, and if the short inscription which relates this was the genuine production of these artists, executed at the same period as the long inscription to which it refers, *i. e.* while this mode of writing was still in vogue,—as very singular that native engravers should have made such pointed allusion to the direction of the writing: at that early period there surely could not have existed, (and, if Mr. Forster's conclusions be right, there did not exist,) any other alphabet than that now discovered: and yet the circumstance just adverted to would appear to argue one of two things, either that the mode of writing from right to left was not at that day universal in the East, or that this inscription is not the handywork of Messieurs Sarash and Dzerah themselves, but of some one at a later day, before the knowledge of the tongue of Hamyar was quite extinct. However, even then it must have been the production of an Arab; and yet was Arabic ever written except from right to left? We repeat, it seems to us, at any rate, a singular circumstance.

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We are reminded by this (though not from any direct connexion of the two) of a remark which Mr. Forster elsewhere makes; namely, that—

"The circlets, and other discriminative marks, *attached* in so many instances to letters of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, are obviously of the same nature with the vowel and diacritic points, *detached from* the letters of the Hebrew and Arabic alphabets."—Vol. ii. p. 406.

If this be so, it is a fresh proof of the great sagacity of the learned Chardin, who was of opinion that the alphabet of the Hamyarites was no other than the ancient characters of the Arabs, differing from the Cufic characters which were afterwards introduced; and that they were furnished with vowel-points. (Chardin, *ubi supra.*)

The next step was to direct attention to the prefixes and suffixes; those inherent augmentatives common to all the Semitic idioms. To one example of these latter our attention has already been called (as his had from the first), in the employment of *na* or *nu*, to denote the plural number. As an instance of the former we may mention the employment of *m*, as a prefix, to convert verbs into participles, or noun-substantives.

Indeed, we may say that, generally, the Hamyaritic of the Hisn Ghorab inscription exhibits, in this usage, the same principles with all its kindred dialects. One very singular and important example Mr. F. gives in page 346; it is of the suffixed termination *kab* occurring three times in as many consecutive words, in the seventh line, and which answers to the Arabic خب —*res occulta et abscondita;* in other words, *a mystery.*

So remarkable are the agreements, and so completely identified (in Mr. Forster's opinion) are the Arabic and the Hamyaritic idioms, that he pronounces them to be, "instead of two distinct languages, simply two dialects of the same language." One very interesting specimen of the idiomatic difference of style between the original and the version of Al-Kaswînî, we will give, at the risk of appearing tedious. In the sixth line of the inscription (which we shall presently lay before our readers) we meet with an eulogistic description of their ancient Homerite kings. It appears that in the Arabic there are two words for "kings;" they are, in the plural termination, *Meluk* and *Hasiru.* Of these, the former is the more common word, and is employed by the translator in this place, while the Hamyaritic original has the latter. The cause of its adoption by the poet, as well as of its rejection by the translator, is distinctly explained by the definition of the word *Hasir,* as given by Mr. Forster from Golius:—"حصير, *Hasir,* Rex: *quod, velo obtento quasi, disclusus*"

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"The title *Hasir*, it follows," (continues Mr. F.) "was peculiar to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut; of whom alone, among the Arab princes, it is recorded," [and witnessed, too, by Agatharchides, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo,] "that they passed their lives shut up in their palaces; and were thus secluded, as by a veil, from the public eye."—Vol. ii. p. 361.

Having thus detailed briefly the steps in the process of decipherment, it is time that we present the reader with his translation of the inscription, of which we have said so much:—

"We dwelt living long luxuriously in the zenanas of this spacious mansion: our condition exempt from misfortune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel

"The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge; our fountains flowed, with murmuring fall, above

"The lofty palms: whose keepers planted dry dates in our valley date-grounds; they sowed the arid rice.

"We hunted the mountain-goats, and the hares, with gins and snares; beguiling, we drew forth the fishes.

"We walked with slow proud gait, in needle-worked many-coloured silk vestments, in whole silks, in glass-green chequered robes.

"Over us presided kings far removed from baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men. They noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber,

"Good judgments written in a book to be kept; and we proclaimed our belief in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

"Made an inroad robbers, and would do us violence; collectively we rode forth—we and our generous youth—with stiff sharp-pointed spears; rushing onward

"Proud champions of our families and our wives; fighting valiantly upon coursers with long necks, dun-coloured, iron-gray, and bright bay,

"With our swords still wounding and piercing our adversaries; until, charging home, we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind."

Such is the long, or ten-line, inscription, graven on the solid rock at Hisn Ghorâb. The reader will bear with us while we venture on a few remarks.*

Line 1. *Zenanas* answers to Seraglio of the Turks, and to Harem of the Arabs.

Line 2. This description of the swell rolling in through a narrow channel tallies most curiously with the account of the

* It will readily be perceived, that though, from their great length, it was impossible to present the lines singly to the eye of the reader, we have so printed them that they can easily be distinguished.

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anchorage there as given by Lieut. Wellsted, (at p. 421, in vol. ii. of his Travels,) instead of its being, as one might have supposed, an open roadstead.

Line 4. *Gins and snares,*—literally, "ropes and reeds."

Line 5. It will at once occur to the reader to compare this with the description in Deborah's magnificent song, Judges v. 30.

Line 6. *Heber.* In the Hamyaritic it is written "Hud," or rather "Ud;" a proof that it was the name borne by the patriarch Heber (Gen xi. 14) long before the time of Mahomet, instead of being *his* corruption, as alleged by D'Herbelot and others.

Line 7. In the original this is (as we mentioned before) "the miracle-mystery, the resurrection-mystery, the nostril-mystery."

The eighth and ninth lines present us with a most curious fact, that the combat therein described was fought *on horseback;* so that while the barbarian heroes of the Trojan war (like the savage Britons), so many centuries after, knew no other use of this noble animal, these Adites already exemplified the historical fidelity of the book of Job, when it describes "the horse and his rider."

The second, or seven-line, inscription (the original of which Mr. Brockman has gone in search of), as translated from the Arabic of Al-Kaswînî, runs thus:—

"We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time; nor had we a desire, but for the region-lord of the vineyard.

"Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening, their eye pleasant to behold in their resting-places:

"And twice the number of our camels were our sheep, in comeliness like white does; and also the slow-moving kine.

"We dwelt in this castle seven years of good life—how difficult from memory its description!

"Then came years barren and burnt up: when one evil year had passed away, then came another to succeed it:

"And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good. They died; and neither foot nor hoof remained.

"Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God: his footsteps fail not to be blotted out of his dwelling."

The only point now remaining is the question of the *date* of these inscriptions. We will endeavour to detail briefly the various evidences, which, in Mr. Forster's opinion, justify the ascription of the very "awful antiquity" which he assigns them. He reasons upon two distinct sets of dates, the first arising from the characters themselves, the second from the subject-matter of the inscriptions.

I. For the first indication of the primitive period of the world to which these characters belong, he takes the *fewness of the letters*

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(twenty) which compose the alphabet formed from the inscriptions at Hisn Ghorab. With regard, however, to the completeness of the alphabet, (as he himself allows,) we cannot yet speak with certainty, formed as it has been from so limited materials; it yet derives great probability from the fact, that no new letter is discernible in the more recent inscriptions at Nakab el Hajar, Sanaa, and Aden: at least, so says Mr. F.; but the truth of this assertion must depend upon the correctness of his interpretations, for though (according to him) no new letter *in point of power* has turned up in these more newly-discovered inscriptions, very many have been found new *as to form.* "The next indication of antiquity—the fewer subdivisions of letters—is still more remarkable." And, thirdly, "the unsettledness implied in the interchange, or indifferent use, of similar letters," he gives as another phenomenon "strongly indicative of an early stage, if not of the origin itself, of letters and written language."

II. His second line of induction as to the age, is derived from the subject-matter of the inscriptions:—

"In both these poetical inscriptions, the marks of an early stage of society are not to be mistaken:" and "in the second poem, the pastoral simplicity of the description with which it opens, belongs, most unequivocally, to purely patriarchal times. For the imagery here is literally the same with the opening imagery of the Book of Job."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Generally speaking, therefore, Mr. Forster agrees, in assigning to them both a very high antiquity, with the tradition current among the Arabs themselves in the seventh century of our era, when the viceroy of the Caliph Moawiyah discovered them. For, in the words of Albert Schultens, (Monum. Vetust. Arab. p. 71,) "Arabes hæc monumenta, quæ certæ ætati assignare nequeant, ea, suo more, ad tempora *Aditarum, i.e.* vetustissimorum Arabiæ Felicis incolarum, referunt." Yet what the Arabs uttered in an adagial sense, our author professes to have discovered to be literally true: for when once master of the characters and words of the ten-line inscription, he was enabled to decipher the two-line one which was discovered near the foot of the former. While the first line of this (which we gave above) contains the names of the two engravers, the second line puts us in possession of the names of the parties between whom the battle, described at the close of the long poem, was fought: and (accommodating the inverted order of the original to the English idiom) runs thus:—

"Aws assailed the Beni Ac, and hunted [them] down, and covered their faces with blackness.*

* Compare Joel ii. 6.

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"This latter line" (continues the translator,) "revealed, at once, the awful antiquity of the whole of these inscriptions .... Aws (after the name of their forefather Aws or Uz [Gen. x. 23], the grandson of Shem, and great grandson of Noah) being the primitive patronymic of the famous lost tribe of Ad!"*—P. 372.

So much, then, for the *nation* whose handwriting has just been revealed to us. But now for the *period of the world* when we may suppose this monument to have been erected. If the name of Aws revealed the former point, that of the Beni Ac performs no less a service with regard to the latter.

"For Ac" (writes Mr. Forster) "was the son of Adnân; and Adnân—according to the tradition of Mahomet, transmitted through his wife Omm Salma,—was the fourth generation from Ishmael. This, at the common reckoning of thirty years to a generation, would place Ac at that period of Jacob's life contemporary with Joseph, and about fifty years prior to the famine in Egypt, and the surrounding countries; a period at which the Ishmaelites, as we learn from Joseph's history, had already multiplied into tribes and nations."—Vol. ii. p. 350.

The ten-line inscription, then, is an Adite monument, engraven about the time of Joseph. But more closely even than this may we approximate to the true date, by means of the internal evidences furnished by the seven-line poem of Al-Kaswînî; for in that we have—

"Specific reference to an event of Scripture history, which, so far as exactness of coincidence can be received as proof, fixes the date of the poem itself to a given point in the patriarchal times. For the seven years of plenty, followed by years of famine, which took place in the age of Jacob and Joseph, not in Egypt only, but 'in all lands,'† is here commemorated with a life and fidelity of description, which preserves to us, in an Arabic poem certainly of very high antiquity, neither more nor less than an abridgment of the relation in Genesis."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Now in the Mahometan account of the tribe of Ad, (as given by Mr. Sale,) we are told that the descendants of Ad in process of time falling into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (or Heber to preach to them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, He, to humble them, "*afflicted them with a drought for four years; so that all their cattle perished,* and themselves were very near it." And that, this visitation failing in its object,

* Adah, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, was the name of the first of Esau's three wives, and the mother of Eliphaz, the chief founder of the mighty race of Edom; who (as it is one of the primary objects of Mr. Forster's book to show) still lives in the names and families of his sons, Teman, Omar, &c.; and in the classical Oaditæ of Ptolemy. See Gen. xxxvi. 2, 4, 10; and 1 Chron. i. 36.

† Gen. xli. 54.

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He sent "a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together," and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place. The close resemblance of this (when winnowed from the chaff of the Koran) with what is recorded of themselves by the lost Adites in the two inscriptions, cannot fail to strike the reader, whether as to their instruction in the doctrine preached by Hûd (recorded in the first inscription); or as to the seven plenteous years succeeded by a famine, and the consequent destruction of all, even to every "foot and hoof" of cattle; and lastly, the one grand cause which drew down upon Ad its awful calamities, recorded in the second Arabic poem.

But since (from this second inscription, concurring, as it does, with the native accounts) the Adites would appear to have been broken down as a nation in that famine, the dates of the two poems can be pretty nearly ascertained. The long one—belonging to the period of their prosperity—must be a little, and but a little, prior to the Egyptian famine; while the shorter poem is as clearly the work of some person who had escaped the general destruction of his nation, and must be referred to a date a few years posterior to the calamity it relates, while the greatness, the guilt, and the annihilation of the tribe of Ad was still fresh in the memory of man.

From the date of the actual inscriptions the mind naturally turns, in the last place, to that of the Hisn Ghorab alphabet. Mr. Forster shall give his conclusion in his own words:—

"The same evidences which assign to this alphabet a date within five centuries of the deluge" [what they are we have shown], "assert its claim to be the first alphabet of mankind; for, although the tongues were confounded shortly after that event, there is no reason to suppose that the signs of speech were changed. On the contrary, the extraordinary coincidences of form between the characters used by the most different and distant nations, plainly lead to the directly opposite inference, viz. the common, and therefore the primeval origin of written language. But, if this be so, there is every moral presumption to favour the belief, that, in the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions we recover the alphabet of THE WORLD BEFORE THE FLOOD."—Vol. ii. p. 408.

The very singular opinion expressed in these latter words involves so many considerations of extreme difficulty as well as interest, that it would be a mockery of the subject to enter upon them in the confined limits which alone we could at present afford. We must content ourselves with remarking, that there seem to us to be certain difficulties in the way, which we do not see at the moment how to remove; and that, at all events, we must weigh the subject much more fully, before we

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can assent to the conclusion which the learned author's enthusiasm has led him to adopt.

We must, in conclusion, again remind our readers that we do not profess to give our warrant for the truth of all that we have been stating. We have merely been endeavouring to excite their curiosity to study a book, which, whatever value we may attach to the author's lucubrations, is certainly not destitute of singular interest. We have been endeavouring (and, we trust, not altogether unsuccessfully) to give a succinct and connected account of the various steps in the process of investigation, and of the arguments by which the author arrives at his conclusions. To do this, we assure the reader, was no easy task. We are not in the habit of considering ourselves duller than most other people; and yet, in so unconnected a shape has Mr. F. sent forth his various bits of facts and scraps of argument; so ingeniously has he contrived to mix up what he could do and what he could not do, what he conjectured and what he has discovered; so perversely has he refused to cancel so much as a single line of all that he wrote by guess-work, before he had succeeded in deciphering a single word of the inscriptions: to such an extent, we say, has he done this, that it was not till after several perusals, and making innumerable references, that we contrived to fix his arguments in our head with sufficient clearness to explain them to others.

While the pen is in our hands, we would beseech Mr. Forster to amend his style a little: somehow, it is terribly tedious. Nearly in every page he indulges one with half-a-dozen little equidistant dots set in a row, like knots on a string,—with what conceivable object it is hard to imagine (as a simple comma or hyphen would have served his presumed purpose much better), unless, as Bentley said to Boyle, it be to show the *knottiness* of his subject. Will he forgive us too, if we suggest to him, in future, not "arbitrariously" to puzzle us with long newly-coined words, but to "pretermit" all such affected Faber-isms? Nor can we repress a regret, that one who really had so much to tell, should have condescended to attempt to add to his own laurels by repeatedly, and needlessly, and wantonly calling attention to the unsuccessful attempts of Professor Rœdiger, and that late eminent scholar, Gesenius.

One word more, and we have done. While we are bound to confess that we cannot *quite* make *all* the Hadramutic tally with the Arabic,—*e. g.* the second word in line 6 of the ten-line inscription,—we must, nevertheless, record our persuasion that Mr. Forster has been, in the main, successful; and one very significant proof of this is, that after he had deciphered the long inscription, by the aid of the key unconsciously furnished

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by Schultens from Al-Kaswînî (and without which key, he candidly confesses, that "no sagacity of mind or skill in languages could have availed"—Vol. i. p. xix.), he was enabled to translate four other inscriptions and a monogram, of which there is *no* Arabic version. And even though he may have hazarded a few insufficiently supported assertions, and may not be quite borne out in the legitimacy of all his conclusions; and even though he may occasionally herald forth his discoveries with a little too great pomposity, or indulge in a somewhat ludicrous vein of congratulation of "the *ould* country," for one of whose sons it has been reserved to make such discoveries; still we can well understand the enthusiasm and bubbling joy of one who (to say the least) had strong grounds for believing himself to be "conversing, as it were, with the immediate descendants of Shem and Noah; not through the doubtful medium of ancient history, or the dim light of Oriental tradition, but in their own records of their own annals, 'graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever.'"

We must make great allowance for a little want of soberness in one who found himself penetrating thus into the "cunabula gentium," and recovering the key to perhaps the most ancient language of the world,—"so long lost, so much desired, and so fruitlessly sought after by the first names in Oriental learning;" from the days of Pocock and Laud, to those of Kennicott and Sir William Jones.

If Mr. Forster be in the right, two important results follow. First of all, the question as to the art of writing among the Hamyarites (which was matter of conjecture only with Pocock) is set at rest by the recent discoveries in Yemen and Hadramaut: which discoveries are most important too in another way, as accrediting the account given by Firazabandi, after Ebn Hesham, and cited by Pocock in the Specimen, of a sepulchral inscription, brought to light in Yemen, of a Hamyarite princess, Tajah; who sent messenger after messenger to Joseph in the time of the great famine, and at length perished on failing to procure a supply: these discoveries (we say) are important, both as accrediting that account, by the demonstration they afford of the existence there of written characters in very remote times; and as supplying an independent confirmation of Mr. Forster's correctness in the date he assigns to the seven-line poem.

And, secondly, though nothing of all this can increase the certainty of our Faith, we yet have monuments here which do add a little to our conscious enjoyment of all that, as Christians, we confess, hold fast, and cherish. For, whatever questions may still be raised by the evil spirit of unbelief against that

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faith by which we stand, we are here assured that we hold a communion of belief in "the Resurrection-mystery" with the sons of Esau: that pious Job really was no stranger to this same source of comfort (as the Church has concluded from the famous passage in chap. xix. 23—27, though Patrick and other commentators have affected to doubt it); that, in short, the truth which the revelation of Jesus Christ has stamped with a certainty it never had before,—which animates the efforts of the living, and lights up the closing eye of the dying Christian in these latter days of the world's existence,—was known and was cherished 3500 years ago; was indeed the primitive religion of mankind.

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ART. III.—1. *Einleitung in die Christ-Katholische Theologie. Von* G. HERMES. Münster: Erster Theil, 1819; Zweiter Theil, 1829.

2. *Annali delle Scienze religiose. Vol. IX.* 27. Roma, 1839.

3. *Der Hermesianismus und Johannes Perrone, sein Römischer Gegner. Von* Dr. P. I. ELVENICH, *Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Breslau.* 1844.

4. *Die letzten Hermesianer. Von* H. J. STUPP, *Königl. Preuss. Justizrathe, &c. &c. &c.* Siegen und Wiesbaden. 1844.

THE following passage in the 'Pensées de Pascal,' very forcibly expresses a truth, which is almost universally acknowledged by Christians, but which it is not always easy to carry into practice: 'La dernière démarche de la raison, c'est de connaître qu'il y a 'une infinité de choses qui la surpassent. Elle est bien faible, 'si elle ne va jusque-là. Il faut savoir douter où il faut, assurer 'où il faut, se soumettre où il faut. Qui ne fait ainsi n'entend 'pas la force de la raison.' Human reason is, indeed, a mysterious and an awful gift: like all the gifts of God, it is given for use; more, perhaps, than any other, it is liable to be abused. And the line of demarcation between the use and the abuse is not always so strictly defined, as to remove all doubts, or relieve man from that responsibility, which, according to the will of his Maker is, in every moment of his life, imposed upon him.

This, accordingly, is the question which, age after age, is recurring; which is at the bottom of half the disputes that have agitated the world: What is the use of reason, and what the abuse? In other words, What are its legitimate functions? Of religious controversies especially, the most important in modern times have been in effect, if not expressly, concerned with this subject. And in no country more so than in Germany; from the days of Luther and Melanchthon to our own, it is around this point, as around a centre, that all vital questions have revolved. Luther himself has written against the use of reason, in, perhaps, the strongest words which ever flowed from his powerful, but coarse pen; and yet Luther fought the battle of the right of private judgment against deference to authority. He strenuously and unbendingly asserted the supreme right of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and in determining the relative merits of its different books; he as emphatically denied the power of human reason to discern or even to comprehend the divine truths revealed, maintaining even that some of them are in themselves wholly irrational and absurd—a strange inconsistency, into which he was led by the force of circumstances, and which has caused unnumbered woes

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to the various Protestant bodies. The same opinions were maintained by his more zealous followers; and seventy years after his death, it was asserted by Hoffmann, a professor at the University of Helmstadt, that whatever is true according to human reason and philosophy, is always false in religion, and *vice versâ*. From that time, however, a very different theology began to prevail. The philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff opened a breach for rationalism; and under that of Kant it deluged the land, and swept away all the landmarks, the confessions, and symbolical books, which had been erected with so much labour. Thenceforward, the learned men of Protestant Germany have worshipped only human reason; and the mass of the people have been given over to materialism and indifference.

Catholic Germany, during more than two centuries, avoided the contagion. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, some reforming tendencies became visible, which gave the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome some trouble, and inspired them with distrust, if not aversion, towards German theologians. J. N. Von Hontheim, Bishop of Trier, made, in 1763, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, a vehement attack upon the papal hierarchy, in a book ('De Statu ecclesiæ et legitimâ Potestate Romani Pontificis') which created an extraordinary sensation throughout Germany, and was translated into several languages. The Emperor, Joseph II., projected extensive plans of ecclesiastical reform, embracing, among other points, the marriage of priests and the use of the vernacular tongue; and the fruitless journey which Pope Pius VI. was compelled to make to Vienna, must have increased the feelings of alienation which subsisted between Rome and her German children; these feelings have been yet more heightened by the liberal views known to be entertained in the Catholic universities of Freiburg, and, until lately, of Tübingen, and advocated, with much success, by such theologians as Stattler, Wessenberg, Werkmeister, Huber, and, above all, Sailer, the late pious and venerated Bishop of Regensburg.

Towards the close of the last century, circumstances well known to our readers had exposed the Church of Rome to peculiar perils. Her discipline was not only endangered by the conscientious reformers of whom we have spoken, but her very faith was assailed by professed Catholics, who had become converts to the prevailing scepticism and infidelity. Even in the ranks of the priesthood, there were, throughout France and Germany, thousands of unbelievers.

George Hermes, at that time (A.D. 1795) twenty years of age, saw not the danger unmoved: and he imagined that it might

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best be averted by showing, in opposition to the prevalent false philosophy, that the truth of religion, of Christianity, of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, might all be logically and convincingly demonstrated by the unaided powers of the human mind. It is strange that the same fear which three quarters of a century before had given birth to rationalism in the Lutheran Communion, should now be the means of introducing it into the Catholic. It was to counteract the influence of English empiricism, of which he discerned the atheistic tendency, that Wolff, in 1720, endeavoured to prove, from the light of human reason, the truth of the Christian religion, and of each article of the Lutheran creed; and it was to arrest the progress of French naturalism, that Hermes conceived the same idea, substituting only Catholic for Protestant doctrines. And both resorted to the same method, namely, that of meeting scepticism with scepticism. Wolff, namely, adopted the Cartesian system, which is based upon positive doubt. Divesting his mind of all he knew or believed, and determined to doubt the reality of everything that is proposed to him, he meets, at last, with one proposition,—that of his own existence,—the truth of which he cannot dispute; and taking that as a solid foundation, he builds upon it a system, of which the final conclusion is the creed of his own Church. Between this method and that of Hermes, there is no distinction whatever; although, of course, the result which the latter arrives at, is somewhat different. 'I philoso-'phised,' says he, 'with the determination to accept nothing as 'real and true, or as not real and not true, so long as I could 'continue to entertain a doubt.'—*Preface to Philosoph. Introduction*, p. viii.

That our reason was given to us to be employed on religious as well as other subjects, no one of common sense will now be tempted to deny; and even in the Church of Rome there have been those who have done good service to her cause, by adducing philosophical arguments in favour of the revealed truths. Such have been St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus; and in modern times, more especially, the right use of reason in religious matters has been vindicated by Muratori, the light and the ornament of the Italian Church. To these writers the defenders of the Hermesian doctrine are very fond of referring; and they endeavour particularly to show a similarity between the line of argument adopted by the last named, and that of Hermes. But the road cannot be the same, if, as we shall show to be the case, the point from which they start is totally different. 'Credo ut intelligam' is the motto of a true Christian philosophy; we believe, and from belief we strive to arrive at knowledge. Hermes, on the contrary, seeks

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knowledge first, and would then, through knowledge, find his way to faith, reversing in fact, the method, and saying, 'intelligo ut credam.' So we find, no doubt, that the Catholic writers were glad to accept the testimony of science and learning in favour of the doctrines which they believed: but they never imagined, like Hermes, that the belief itself should be based upon the researches of reason. 'If a religion,' says Muratori, 'is derived from God, every doubt of its truth is excluded, *for 'the divine authority is above even reason itself.*' On the contrary, Hermes teaches that 'the use of reason is unlimited in all that 'precedes the "dogmatik;" *it must be our sole guide, until it has 'found us another.*' Thus it is evident that as to the function of human reason at the very outset of our religious inquiries, there is a wide difference, or rather a direct opposition, between the teaching of Muratori, and that of Hermes.

No examination of the method adopted by the latter, could give us a clearer insight into its nature, than the narrative contained in the preface to his 'Philosophical Introduction,' which relates the circumstances by which he was led to adopt it.

Hermes, we have already stated, was twenty years of age, when owing doubtless, in a great measure, to the circumstances of the times,

"The following ideas; God,—revelation,—eternal life,—seized upon, and rivetted my attention, with a force as if they were the only ideas of which I had ever heard. There arose in my mind a number of questions and doubts concerning them, which occupied me day and night; all of which I certainly knew how to answer, but not one of which (I was on further inquiry obliged to confess) I could answer. And, as yet, I had not acknowledged to myself the principal doubt of all, 'whether there is a God;' until at last my conscience,—or by whatever better name you will designate the irresistible power within me, by which I was impelled,—charged me so loudly and so constantly with the dishonesty of which I was guilty, that I resolved to enter upon this question also, and indeed to make it the first of all."

He goes on to describe his dismay at finding that there was not a single book in existence, from which he could derive any aid in this inquiry; and then he proceeds:—

"Sorrowful, but not despairing, I retired within myself, and resolved not to rest, until I had found a convincing answer to my question, even if my whole life should be spent in the search. I began to study with the determination to let all that I might already know, only in so far count for knowledge, as I might now discover it myself."

It was in the year 1795 that he formed this resolution, and it was in 1818, 'having during three-and-twenty years been 'striving unceasingly to gain a conviction, and to maintain it

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'before the judgment-seat of reason,' that he published his 'Philosophical Introduction.'

We are not disposed to concur in the fearful charges of hypocrisy which are brought against Hermes by his Romish adversary, the Father Perrone, for having continued during so long a time to discharge the duties of a priest, and to fill the office of professor of theology at a Catholic University, while yet he was doubting the existence of a God. All men who are continually exercising their reasoning faculties, are more or less assailed by doubts; and there is no ground for supposing that Hermes regarded these doubts otherwise than as temptations, and earnestly strove to overcome them. That he adopted a wrong method of doing so, which led him to spend the best years of his life in disquiet and perplexity, does not affect his sincerity, or justify the charge of hypocrisy. And having overcome his doubts:

"Thus I have now,—thanks be to my God, whom I have found,—attained the conviction which I so much desired and sought. I am become certain, that there is a God, that I shall be, and live for ever; I am become certain, that Christianity is divine revelation, and that Catholicism is true Christianity.*—Therefore I now wish with my whole heart,—and what should I be, if I did not wish?—that all men should gain the same conviction, and be united with me, through the same faith, and the same hope, in the One God, and the One Catholic Church of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

It is not necessary for our purpose, that we should institute a critical examination of the Hermesian system. It will suffice to mention that the author,—by means of series of derivations, which bear a considerable resemblance to the Kantian philosophy,—discovers three different grades or states of the reasoning faculties; *viz.* the state of holding an idea to be reality (das Fürwirklichhalten); the state of being resolved (die Entschiedenheit); and the state of conviction (die Ueberzeugung). We need not pursue our inquiries any further; it will be sufficiently obvious that this system is opposed to true Christian philosophy, when we consider that there is no place in it for one most necessary grace of the Christian character, namely faith. It is true that Hermes speaks enough of faith; but he is obliged to give a new definition of it, and to make it identical with one or

* Father Perrone rather unfairly falsifies the sense of this passage, in order to make it appear that Hermes during the whole of this portion of his life was at heart an infidel, and had entirely lost all knowledge and belief of God: "E così finalmente," (which is not the meaning of the German 'nun')—"grazie al mio Dio, ch' io ho ritrovato!"—(the Italian implies a previous total loss, which the German word does not)—"io sono arrivato al convincimento;" on which he makes the following comment: "Lo star vent' anni e più prima di ritrovare il suo Dio, che è quanto dire, non sapere di Dio, nè credere in Dio per vent' anni e più." —*Annali*, &c. p. 345.

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the other of these states of mind which we have named: one or the other, for it does not seem quite clear, with which of the three he is desirous of identifying it. 'Faith,' he tells us, 'all 'other theologians have defined to be, the *holding a thing to be* '*true* upon the authority of another, of God or of a man; but 'the distinctive words, "upon the authority of another" are 'incorrect.' And in another place he says, 'If we would define 'faith so as to exclude every kind of superstition, we must call 'it a *being resolved or convinced* respecting the truth of something 'recognised.'

Thus we see that the starting point of Hermes, and consequently the whole structure, is essentially rationalism. Rationalism and faith are necessarily irreconcilable with each other: faith in the common acceptation of the term, is, as described by Hermes, deference to the authority of a superior intelligence; while rationalism, on the contrary, is the holding a thing to be true or false upon the decision or the conviction of our own unaided reason. It is in vain that Hermes would persuade us, that when once reason has discovered the truth of the Christian revelation, it is then bound to believe the particular doctrines revealed, even should they be unreasonable. It is a mockery to give to reason the power of deciding on the truth or falsehood of a revelation, unless it is according to the reasonableness of its contents that the decision is to be made. The order of thinking in each individual mind would not be: 'I am convinced of the reasonableness of the revelation, and therefore I will believe its contents to be true;' —'but, I am convinced of the reasonableness of the contents, and therefore I will believe the truth of the revelation.' In his own case, however, Hermes endeavoured to follow the opposite course; with how little success is apparent in his posthumous work, the 'Christ-Katholische Dogmatik,' which professes to be a defence of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, setting out from the conviction previously obtained, of the truth of the Christian revelation. As he only doubted in order to be able to believe, so now he seems to remember but too well, that it was only by doubting that his belief was obtained.

Hermes was neither a thinker nor a writer of the first order: but he was heart and soul in his system; he toiled at it day and night; and he had a wonderful faculty of inspiring his hearers with a sort of enthusiasm for the cause he advocated. It was, in fact, very evident that he was thoroughly in earnest, and that is, in many cases, the secret of success. In the year 1807 he became professor of dogmatic theology at the academy of Münster in Westphalia; and from the year 1820 until his death, which took place in 1831, he filled the same office in the

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newly-founded university of Bonn. During this period he instilled his principles into a great number of admiring pupils, and it is said that in 1835 his system had been adopted in every Catholic university of Germany. He died in honour and renown, and his obsequies were celebrated amid universal sympathy, not only at Bonn, but also at Münster, which he had quitted eleven years before.

Up to the period of his death, and even for some years afterwards, the success of his teaching appears to have created no extraordinary alarm at Rome, or among the Romish party of Catholic Germany. But in September, 1835, a papal 'breve' was unexpectedly published, totally condemning the system of Hermes, and requiring all ecclesiastical authorities not only to discard his works from the seminaries of learning, but also to warn their flocks against 'feeding on such poisonous pastures.'

The papal 'breve' takes a very plain and intelligible view of the whole matter. It very properly avoids singling out particular passages, or heretical statements in the writings of Hermes; and contents itself with a sweeping condemnation of the whole system, on the broad ground, that the author 'has 'rashly departed from, and even haughtily despised and con-'demned, the royal road, which universal tradition and the holy 'Fathers have pointed out, in the exposition and defence of the 'verities of faith; and that he has paved a dark way to errors of 'every kind, in making positive doubt the basis of all theolo-'gical inquiry; and in establishing the principle, that reason is 'the chief rule, and the only means, by which man can arrive at 'the knowledge of supernatural truths.'

Here we find the Church exercising her legitimate conservative office, resisting innovation, and boldly opposing the introduction of a fatal rationalism. Unimportant indeed, as the history of German Protestantism shows, is the prevalence of errors, even of fatal heresies, on isolated points, compared with the entrance of a wrong method of arriving at the truth, an erroneous rule of faith. And yet this is the momentous question, which more and more is absorbing all others; which under one form or another is appearing and reappearing, year after year, in every Christian country. It is no longer on isolated points of doctrine that men are disputing; they are doubting whether there be a doctrine? It is no longer whether they are holding the true faith that they are asking, but what is faith? Two views on this subject, and two only, are possible; the one is, that faith is the conviction of the individual mind; the other is, that faith is a deference to authority, the authority of God embodied in His Church. Mystify mankind with as many phrases as we will, it is to one or the other of these definitions

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that we must at last return. Conceal it from others and from ourselves, defer the day of choosing our side as long as we may, it is to a division upon this question that we must ultimately come. And even now the division is taking place; all minor differences are falling away; Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and dissenters, it is according to our views upon this subject, that even now we are ranging ourselves upon the field of battle.

The rulers of the Church of Rome have therefore taken their position upon a wise and a just ground, and deserve the gratitude not only of the members of her communion, but of all sincere Christians. We shall not be suspected of imagining that her doctrines are free from errors; but, assuredly, it were better that one-half of the Christian world should hold them as they are, than that they should resort to human reason to prepare a new creed for them. We have already adverted to the example of Lutheranism: Germany never boasted a theologian who was more orthodox in his adherence to every article of her professed creed, or more eager in its support, than Wolff; and yet he was the real founder of the whole system of the neology now prevailing, with all its blasphemy and unbelief. It is true that Lutheranism had no means of resistance: there was a Church only in name, totally devoid of any real energy or substantial power; and the puny opposition of the temporal rulers, who had made themselves petty popes, served but to hasten the progress of the invading philosophy. Again, and this was even more important, the leaders of the Reformation, in asserting the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, had established a principle, the consequences of which, sooner or later, were sure to appear and to prevail. The rapidity with which philosophy, when once it showed itself upon the theological arena, carried every thing before it, and became all in all to the German Protestant divines, is the best proof of the inconsistency of which Luther was guilty, when he made human reason supremely capable of judging one set of divine truths, and at the same time asserted it to be utterly powerless, and incapable of taking cognizance of another.

The Church of Rome, on the contrary, has no such difficulties to contend with. Whether the supremacy of her patriarchal ruler is usurped and illegal, or not; it is a real substantial power, and admirably adapted to its purpose. So likewise, in resisting the introduction of a new rule of faith, she is guilty of no inconsistency; admitting that she has herself innovated and permitted additions to the faith; still she has, in principle, adhered to one rule, the royal road which she commends; she has never authorized the use of private judgment; and we are never more disposed to indulge in sanguine hopes for her advance to greater

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purity, than when we behold her, as in the case before us, wielding her enormous power with energy and wisdom, and opposing the progress of that false philosophy, which puts on the appearance of an angel of light, only that it may lead those whom it seduces, into darkness and perplexity. If ever Germany regains the character of a religious and a believing people, assuredly it will be owing to the efforts of the Church of Rome, unacknowledged, disowned though they may be by the majority of the nation.

The papal 'breve' appeared, and fell like a thunderbolt among the German Catholic professors; but they had learned their new system too well to resign, without a struggle, their individual convictions in deference to the authority of the Head of their Church. They could not, however, openly resist that authority; and they resorted, therefore, to the excuse, which has invariably been adopted by every party, which has incurred the censure of the Pope, and is not disposed to yield implicit submission. They declared their entire concurrence in the opinions expressed in the 'breve;' they looked with abhorrence upon every attempt to introduce dangerous novelties into the doctrines of the Church; they would willingly abjure any heresies which might be contained in the Hermesian writings; but,—they denied the fact that there were any; they protested that their system was in the strictest accordance with the Catholic doctrine; the Pope, they said, had been deceived by false translations and garbled extracts, and they appealed 'from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed.'

Here was abundant matter for another new controversy, or rather for the revival of a very old one. The nature and the extent of the infallibility which is to be ascribed to the Pope, have always been favourite topics with those whose opinions have been condemned by him; and the Hermesians eagerly seized upon this question, and commenced a controversy which is still raging with unabated violence. In doing so, they showed considerable skill; they diverted the public attention from the real point at issue, where they had the worst of the argument, and engaged it in a much more popular question, in which they had decidedly the best. They concealed the fact that the papal 'breve' had purposely abstained from stigmatizing particular passages in the writings of Hermes as heretical; and had rather condemned the tendency of the whole system as anti-catholic and fatal; and they pretended to believe that the Pope was actually ignorant of the real nature of their contents. And in order to strengthen the inference which they drew from this statement, they resorted to the 'distinctio juris et facti,' an argument which was especially rendered notorious by the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. They had, in truth, an easy

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task; it was easy to show that from the time of St. Augustine, every Bishop of Rome has reversed, not only the decisions of his predecessors, but, in many cases, his own; and that these decisions and reversals had reference to the most important doctrines, and the most important measures, exercising a powerful influence upon the welfare of the Church, and the purity of her doctrine. It was easy to show that Origen, Paul of Samosata, Arius, Athanasius, Pelagius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoretus, Abaillard, and many others, had been alternately condemned and acquitted, even by general councils, with the concurrence of the Popes; it was easy to show that the sentences of Petrus Lombardus, the writings of Galilei, the works of Bellarmin, the Ecclesiastical History of Natalis Alexander, which were all at a later period commended by Rome, and adopted in her theological colleges, were at one time in the index of forbidden books. It was as easy to show, that with regard to the adoption of most important legislative measures, such as the suppression of the order of Jesuits, a change of purpose has been manifested, which is incompatible with the idea of an infallibility in matters of fact.

But a little consideration will show that this question, so artfully raised, and so strenuously maintained, does not, after all, materially affect the real point at issue. An immense majority of Roman Catholic divines have always admitted the truth of the distinction pleaded by the Hermesians; nay, the infallibility of the Pope, even on points of doctrine, has been denied by many to be a dogma of their Church. The Irish bishops, in their celebrated declaration of 1826, assert that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, and that they are not bound to believe, that the Pope is infallible. In the 'Catechism of the distinctive doctrines of Catholics and Protestants,' published in 1844, under the sanction of the Archbishop-coadjutor of Cologne, the great mover in Germany against Hermesianism, it is as distinctly stated, that "the Church has never decided that the Pope is infallible." Bossuet relates, that the doctrine of the infallibility was first asserted at the council of Florence, and Fleury names the Dominican Cajetan as its author.

But the question for true members of the Church of Rome, is not whether the Pope is infallible, but whether they are to receive his decisions as if he were. 'The Church,' says Count Joseph de Maistre, who has placed the subject in its true light, 'must, in some way or other, be governed just as every other 'society, otherwise there would no longer be any catholicity, or 'any unity. The governing power is, then, by its very nature, 'infallible—that is to say, absolute; otherwise it would no longer 'govern.' 'The question is not merely whether the Supreme Pontiff is infallible, but whether he must be infallible.' The

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Pope, according to the present constitution of the Church of Rome, is the governing power, the last tribunal, from which there is, and can be, no appeal; and, therefore, whether his judgment is really correct or not, absolute submission is the duty of all, who would not renounce her communion. Of such submission an illustrious example was afforded by Fénélon, who retracted without reserve all that had been condemned, and submitted himself implicitly to the decision of the papal chair.

And on this view of the subject there can be no distinction between doctrine and fact. Under every government disputed facts, as well as disputed doctrines, must be submitted to some tribunal, from which, if unity is to be preserved, there can be no appeal; and, the legality of the tribunal once recognised, it is the duty of all the subjects of that government to aid in the accomplishment of its decrees.

And in this point of duty the 'last Hermesians' have signally failed. That they should labour for a reversal of the papal decree,—that they should send a deputation to Rome to counteract the influence of the supposed calumniators of Hermes, and to open the eyes of the Pope to the real nature of the Hermesian system,—was perfectly just and natural; but that, until such a reversal was pronounced, and even after their attempt to convince the Pope of his mistake, they should refuse submission, was a manifest breach of the duty, which is due from every sincere Romanist to the supreme ruler of his Church.

The Archbishop of Cologne, the austere and venerable Clement Augustus, Baron Droste zu Vischering, in the execution of his duty of suppressing the Hermesian doctrine, resorted to the following measures: 1. He addressed a circular to all the priests in the town of Bonn, instructing them what answers to return to any questions which might be proposed to them, respecting the Hermesian writings, in the confessional. 2. He published eighteen theses, to which he required the subscription of all the clergy in his diocese. 3. He refused to give his sanction to the courses of lectures announced by the Catholic professors at the University of Bonn. This last measure was followed by the most important consequences; it interrupted the career of all theological students, and concerning the more interesting question of mixed marriages, involved the Archbishop in difficulties with the Prussian government, which ended in his forced resignation of his see: not however, without the admission on the part of Prussia, that the measures adopted for the suppression of Hermesianism were entirely justified, as well as perfectly legal. The new archbishop persevered accordingly in the same course; the negotiations have been carried on during several years, and all the disciples of Hermes have finally submitted, except two of the professors of Bonn, Braun and Achter-

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felt, who, with the concurrence of the Prussian government have now been deprived of their offices.

The last work upon our list is the most important among the numerous publications, which have appeared in defence of these, perhaps, very conscientious men, but certainly very bad Catholics. All that has been demanded of them amounts to a simple declaration, that they sincerely and heartily subject themselves to the whole and to every part of the papal decrees respecting the Hermesian writings. The unfortunate professors declare that their consciences will not permit them to comply with this demand, inasmuch as the expressions in the 'breve' imply that the doctrines promulgated by Hermes were erroneous, and that his writings contain heretical statements. This, they say, is contrary to fact; a fact of which the Pope is not an infallible judge, and to his judgment of which they cannot therefore with a good conscience submit.

"Whoever holds with us the firm conviction, that Hermes was not the man which he is described to be in the 'breve,' and that the condemned doctrines are not in reality contained in his works, cannot sign the required declaration, without either making use of a mental reservation, or directly bearing false witness."—P. 6.

Certainly the 'last Hermesians' have inconveniently tender consciences; but as certainly they have taken the very worst method of convincing the Pope that they do not share the dangerous error which is imputed to Hermes. Their whole argument is, in fact, the very clearest exemplification of the Hermesian method. Their formal acquiescence in a certain sentence is demanded; that sentence is founded upon the solemn decision of the very highest authority to which an appeal can be made; an authority to which, by the very constitution of their Church, they are bound to defer. But they dissent from the decision; they refuse compliance with the sentence; and to what higher tribunal do they appeal? To private judgment. Each person, they maintain, must yield or withhold his signature, according as he holds, or not, the individual conviction, that the writings of Hermes contain the imputed errors. What is this but the same principle, which has been used to justify every act of schism, and to swell the ranks of every leader of dissent? Liberty of conscience is the cry, with which authority has always been resisted; and among the Taper and Tadpole school so well described by the author of Coningsby, a 'good cry' may sometimes bring a temporary success. But surely every branch of the Catholic Church must be animated by higher motives; or the result will inevitably be that fatal indifference to doctrinal truth, which has speedily become the curse of every part of Christendom, in which individual conviction has taken the place of faith, and liberty of conscience been substituted for a willing obedience.

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ART. IV.—1. *Michelet. History of France. Part I.* Translated by G. H. SMITH, F.G.S. London: Whittaker. 1844.

2. *Thierry. Narratives of the Merovingian Era.* Translated. London: Whittaker. 1844.

WHETHER or no there be any perfect ideal of historical composition, the one best form of writing history for all ages and countries, if we look to experience, we find that in fact each age has ever had a fashion of its own, differing from that which preceded and followed it. We do not speak of writers contemporary with the events they write of. Such, even though the most jejune of annalists, must always have an interest independent of their form. But we speak of regular history, complete accounts of nations or countries, compiled in later times from books and records. Such history is a distinct species of composition, a work of art, having its own principles of taste to be guided and judged by.

Such history, almost more than any other branch of literature, varies with the age that produces it. Contemporary history never dies; Thucydides and Clarendon are immortal; but, on the other hand, no reputation is so fleeting as that of the "standard" historian of his day. A review of the historical literature of any nation will discover an endless series of decay and reproduction. The fate of the historian is like those of the dynasties he writes of; they spring up and flourish, and bear rule and seem established for ever; but time goes on, their strength passes away, and at last some young and vigorous usurper comes and pushes them from their throne. It is not because new facts are continually accumulating, because criticism is growing more rigid, or even because style varies; but because ideas change, the whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age; and so every generation requires facts to be recast in its own mould, demands that the history of its forefathers be rewritten from its own point of view. When Hume superseded Echard, his admiring contemporaries little thought that Hume himself would so rapidly become obsolete. Hooke was considered to have exhausted the history of the Roman Republic, and his Roman History to be the final book on the subject; but great as is the distance between him and Arnold, it is inevitable, in the course of things, that the next century will have to compose its own "History of Rome." And these mutations of popular favour involve the smaller satellites as well as the great planets of the historical heaven; Mrs. Trimmer and Goldsmith, pale before the rising light of Keightly

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and Mrs. Markham, as the subs of office quit their desks when premiers deliver up their portfolios.

Our own immediate age is confessedly rich in works of the historical class. Poetry we have almost none, and but little philosophy; but history has attracted great attention among us. If among the varied merits of the successful writers of history who have appeared within the last twenty years, we were to select one trait which seems above others to be a common characteristic, it would be their vivid descriptive character, their painting their narrative to the eye. The personages of the story go through their parts before us like actors on the stage, with a rich and strongly-drawn background of scenery. We may call this kind of history—pictorial history. All writers, who are themselves gifted with strong imaginations, are masters of description; but with us this style is not a native gift, or a happy genius, but the result of art, to be learnt like other arts, or rather is attained by going through a uniform mechanical process. Take two or three old chroniclers, rapidly select the striking bits, such as will tell, translate them in a quaint antique phrase; and whenever any town is mentioned, get the description of it out of the nearest county history, and the business is done. The herd of superficial writers are, however, the index of the public taste. No reader can be insensible to the spell which such a masterhand as Thierry's wields by means of his graphic narration.

If we are right in thinking that this *picturesque* character is the common feature of our historians now, we may venture further to assert that it is not accidentally so, that it is no isolated fact, but only one instance of our whole moral condition. So prevailing a taste is something more than one of those transient fluctuating fashions which change with each generation of general readers, but one deeply seated in the mind of our age.

An attention, then, to external form, to accuracy of representation, is characteristic of an age of refinement. Such an age implies two things: a state of leisure and tranquillity, and a deficiency of moral energy, arising chiefly from the smoothness with which the current of social life runs down. Leisure gives a wide extent of knowledge and information. Generations of antiquarians have heaped together vast piles of facts, and have thus provided an abundance of raw material ready for our use. The philologist is the historian's pioneer; and no one can pretend fitly to write of any period who has not made himself master of all the facts preserved concerning it; and then the second of the two causes we have named, the quiet and even tenour of existence will determine our interest towards the secondary rather than the primary objects of knowledge. A time of peace and security inevitably tends to foster an umbratile and

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academic science. Curiosity is withdrawn from the momentous questions which have interest only for noble souls; and an attenuated pedantry coldly wonders at the "little importance of the points theologians have been ready to die for." Then is the age of little, well-informed minds. It is only when the contest between good and evil becomes sharp and deadly, when men are forced into daily and hourly action in matters where they cannot be indifferent spectators,—it is only in entering heart and soul into the dust and heat of the Church's war with the world,—that the mind comes within the sphere of great principles, and begins to feel their imperious right to control its movements.

"When religion and the interests of the soul are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm, and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions re-act upon opinions; the defence of truth or error stirs up the moral powers, and leads men on to deeds of vigour; and the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction, which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations."—*Life of S. Germanus*, p. 14.

It would be leading us too far from our subject to show that an over-estimation of the trappings of social life is a prevalent turn of mind among us now. How it pervades all art, painting, engraving, architecture; how it has driven all true acting from the stage; how some have even sought to find an instance to their purpose in Shakspeare himself; for that his Romans are true Romans,—his barons, the genuine Norman barons;—Shakspeare, who seems to have purposely outraged costume, to have wantonly trampled on historical proprieties, as if for the purpose of showing that the true greatness of the dramatist lies in exhibiting man,—the broad traits of human character,—not the peculiarities of national manners.

If, however, it be the fact, that this taste be thus prevalent and deeply seated, the writer of history must conform to it, and endeavour to use it in the best way it admits of being used.

Now, as we well know that mere chronology, or the retention in the memory of facts, is often mistaken for history, and yet that all that is true is, that such dry knowledge is only the alphabet of history; so, though this pictorial history is far from being the proper end of historical science, yet is it a most valuable assistance in the study. "That we do not understand the ancients unless we frame distinct notions of such objects of their every-day life, as we have in common with them, under the forms their eyes were accustomed to; that we should go totally astray if, on reading of a Roman house, a Roman ship, Roman dress,

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or the interior of a Roman household, we conceived the same notions which answer to those words in our own days" (*Niebuhr*), is indisputable; but we need continually to remember that such fidelity of conception is but the vehicle of the truths which history seeks to teach us. We must steer between two opposite faults; we must not yield too much to imagination, which is to turn poet; nor, on the other hand, must we confine ourselves to bare cataloguing of facts, which is to act the antiquarian instead of the historian. Both these extremes are deviations from the true path of history, but far from being both equally faulty. The former is the generous error of an early and simple age; the latter, the mean vice of a late and refined one. The former is the tendency of buoyant and high-hearted youth; the latter, of plodding and calculating middle-life. In youth, the ideal is all-in-all to us; and the imagination is all-sufficient to furnish and body forth the shapes which Poetry has drawn for us. Poetry is then the mind's natural aliment; we scorn facts, and prefer the true to the actual. But society will not listen to what it mocks at as "mere theory;" and genius, which seems the common inheritance of the young and ardent, after being often cruelly overthrown by unexpected demands of proof and data for its assertions, either retires altogether from the attempt to make itself heard, or vents itself in the half-reserve of poetry, or more commonly descends into the arena of life to contend now on unequal terms against the sharp pettifogging intellect by which the world's prizes are carried off.

The same distinction obtains between an early and a late age of the world, as between the youth and manhood of the man. An early age dressed history in the garb of fancy; it conceived the externals of man and the forms of art, of which it read or heard, no otherwise than those which it saw every day before its eyes. The Italian painters of the sixteenth century drew the twelve patriarchs and the senators of old Rome both equally in the robe of the citizen of Florence, or the Apostles in a Dominican's gown. Petrarch looks on Stefano Colonna as an old patrician, and Rienzi as a tribune of the people. As in Dante's eyes Virgil was a Lombard; or as in the middle ages the Parthenon was identified with the Temple of the Unknown God, and the Temple of Theseus was supposed a church of St. George. The richness of the Gothic genius thus suffusing with its own hues and colouring, and so blending into one all ages, nations, and faiths, as in the harmonious variety of one of its gorgeous windows, symbolizing the universal triumph of Christianity. In this case, the mind, manly and vigorous, looks at the essential, rather than the accident; at the man, rather than his dress. It goes direct to the substance of history, to that which is really

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philosophical in it, and neglects only the shell and husk of history. Its conscience is more active than its taste. It looks at actions to see what may be their ethic content; what instruction for practice they afford. It is a wise, but not a learned age.

But the tendency of a highly civilized age is to be learned and informed rather than wise. Its points of contact with the history of past times are many, but they are all on the surface; it just misses the few deep points on which the life and heart of the old age was centred. It attends to the externals of history, to "the transitory forms which it assumes, rather than to the principles of permanent application which it includes." Correctness of costume is its great aim in writing history. Hence, its personages are like the figures in Madame Tussaud's exhibition, strong likenesses, but of the body and clothes, not of the soul. They are works of ingenuity, not of art. Last of all, a dry, dusty, and soulless antiquarianism comes in and quenches the lamp of history. More than one able historian has made shipwreck on this shoal. In a laborious anxiety to be correct, they have evaporated away all the spirit of their book. It is a much worse symptom when this spirit invades the sacred history of the Church. It has done so, we fear, among us to a pernicious extent. A nation indifferent to the creeds, is seized with a sudden passion for ecclesiastical art. We read Bingham, and fancy we are studying ecclesiastical history. Descriptions of religious ceremonies, the interior of monasteries, the dress and food of the monks, are favourite reading with persons who are quite unable to follow, even in thought, the interior purpose, the inward life, the description of whose outward forms is their every-day study. Far more respectable and consistent indeed than this fashionable coxcombry, which pollutes by its patronising dilettanteism the relics of middle-age art, while it spurns the religion which inspired that art, and can alone give it meaning, was the honest ferocity of the sixteenth century which broke painted windows, defaced coats of arms, cut up illuminated missals, and violated sepulchral monuments—just as the Turks had done at Constantinople,—because they bore the image and print of "the beast."

At the head of the class of the pictorial historians stands Augustus Thierry.* He is no mere antiquarian. His graphic narrative has all the vividness that art can give to description of what the describer has not actually witnessed. Yet he never loses himself in mere ornamental description for description's sake. He uses it for the sake of giving relief to the events. He paints to the understanding through the eye. He stands

* His brother Amadeus has written a laborious History of the Gauls.

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thus midway between the contemporary historian of the old age, and the modern antiquarian historian. In the same way as Rubens stands between the old masters, and the miniature Dutch school. For the Flemish artist, transcendent as his merit is, has more affinity with the latter school, which is yet so far beneath him, than with the former. If then the error be guarded against of thinking this knowledge of the external desirable for its own sake—of treating history as if it were a series of *tableaux vivans* intended to please the eye, the picturesque is one of the most happy and appropriate of the forms in which history can clothe itself. It is naturally a great help to a right understanding of the inward thing. "I have seemed to myself," says one who is certainly not chargeable with neglect of the substantials of historical science, "to gain a far more lively impression of what James I. was, ever since I read those humorous scenes in the Fortunes of Nigel, which remind one so forcibly, that he spoke a broad Scotch dialect."*

And it is not only the most fitting form, but some degree of it may be safely said to be the indispensable form for modern readers. Perspective is not essential to a picture as a work of art: yet how grotesque and insupportable would be a modern painting which should neglect it! The eye once accustomed to it cannot dispense with it. No one now reads Machiavel or Mitford; yet, notwithstanding all the vast additions made since they wrote to our just knowledge of Greece and Rome, which of the more recent historians who have so far surpassed them in accuracy of detail, in scholarship, in familiarity with the habits and temper of the classical nations, have come near them in the vigour and truth which they threw into that history, in drawing from it lessons of practical wisdom and statesmanlike policy?

We can well understand how a mind, which either by training or accident, has habitually thus cultivated imagination in connexion with historical study, will find one of its highest pleasures in actually visiting the scenes which have been long familiar to it in books. This is the richest reward of the student of history, one of the advantages which his pursuit has over those of a more abstract nature, when he is thus enabled to fix and localize the events on which he speculates, to verify and give material substance to what were otherwise the shadows of names and places. It is this that gives its chief charm to travel. Indeed, the instinct of pilgrimage, as it has been said, "belongs not exclusively to religion at all. It is the simplest dictate of our nature, though piety has consecrated the practice and marked it for her own. Patriotism, poetry, philanthropy, all

* Arnold's Lectures.

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the arts and all the finer feelings, have their pilgrimages, their hallowed spots of intense interest, their haunts of fancy and inspiration. It is the first impulse of every genuine affection, the tendency of the heart, in its fervent youthhood; and nothing but the cold scepticism of an age which Burke so truly designated as that of calculators and economists, could scoff at the enthusiasm that feeds on noble ruins, that visits with emotion the battle-field, and the abbey, Shakspeare's grave, or Galileo's cell, or Runnimede, or Marathon." (*Prout's Reliques.*)

The truth is, that that magnetic influence which irresistibly draws our feet to spots on which our imagination has long fed, is an instinct of our nature, and that in this, as in other respects, the Church did but take into her service, and propose a fitting object to, an impulse which will vent itself in some form or other. There have been pilgrims both before and since the ages of faith, the ages when the Church bore sway over every action of life. Only she sent them to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and filled their paths with sacred associations, instead of leaving them to roam at will in search of the relics of pagans or infidels, with Byron or Rousseau in their pockets as the companions of their way. The Church cannot be said to have created pilgrimages, or even to have encouraged them—she suffered them, and gave them a direction which might, at least, edify. But "qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur" is her doctrine. At the same time she conceived doubtless, that she might do much worse than in proposing to our imitation the example of those unknown Three, the earliest Christian pilgrims, for whose guidance and consolation in their journey a new star was created—and in directing the footsteps of her children more especially to that land which has been hallowed for ever by the presence of one, who is the Lord, Whose servants the saints and martyrs ar e

This is a task quite distinct from a love of grand scenery—a love of nature. For this we must go to particular spots of the earth, where there are mountains, rocks, lakes. North America or South Africa, lands the least interesting to the historical traveller, will supply the richest objects to the lover of scenery. It is the old historical lands of Europe that the lover of history longs to explore. None of these are more attractive to him than France. Its natural scenery preeminently, in western Europe at least, tame, and uniform; but rich beyond all others in the traces of the men of old, and the associations of the past. For ourselves, at least were we younger, we could gaze for hours with Froissart on our knee, over that boundless plain of Languedoc, convicted of all guide-books of being arid, brown, and wholly uninteresting. This old Languedoc, Roman and Gothic still. 'Descend from

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'Cahors, its slopes clothed with vines, and you find yourself in 'the country of the mulberries. Spread before you a landscape 'of some thirty or forty leagues, a vast ocean of tillage, a con-'fused mass, losing itself in the vapour of the distant horizon, 'above which rises the fantastic outline of the Pyrenees with 'their silvery peaks. Oxen, yoked together by the horns, slowly 'beneath the eye of an ardent sun, labour this fertile valley. At 'mid-day, a storm; the ground becomes a lake; in an hour the 'sun has restored it to its state of dust. At night you enter 'some big dull town; Toulouse if you will. At the first sound 'of that nasal accent you might think yourself in Italy; and 'look at the faces of the people, they are not French, quite 'another thing, Moorish perhaps, or Spanish.' (*Michelet.*)

Nor, we hope, are we singular. Among the shoals of the frivolous and dissipated which this country annually discharges upon the continent, there are, we would hope, to be found some few thoughtful travellers who are attracted to foreign lands by a love of the localities associated with the memory of the great and the saintly of ancient times. Such is perhaps the nearest approach we may make to the motives of the Christian pilgrim. Such a voyager, if it has ever been his hap to turn his feet to Orleans, and descending to the water-side to embark in one of the tiny iron steamers belonging to M. Larochjacqueline, glide with sinuous course down the Loire, its banks still clad with the broom which gave their title to the Plantagenets, the sunny and laughing landscape once only gloomily broken as we sweep beneath the frowning Blois; such a voyager will seldom feel this spell upon his spirit more powerfully than when, before sunset of a long summer's day, the little vessel is moored to the quay of Tours.

What a host of thoughts and images that one name carries! The ecclesiastical capital of early France—what Canterbury was to England—the depository of the wonder-working remains of the Apostle of Gaul, the light of the Western Church in the fourth century. The virtue of St. Martin's precious relics was in most active operation during the fifth and sixth centuries. The miracles and power of the saint called forth the devotion and munificence of the people, poor and rich alike, and Tours became the centre round which churches, monasteries, and religious foundations crowded. Of all this what now remains? The healing power had been long withdrawn, and at last Providence was pleased to permit the body itself which He had so highly endowed to be dishonoured and carried off. With it went the splendour which had accumulated round it. The Huguenots had pillaged the shrine; the revolution swept it away altogether. Of the vast cathedral of St. Martin, of whose

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abbey the king of France was Abbot, and a crowd of the great of all lands were canons, two towers are all that remain. The Church of St. Julian, equal in size to most cathedrals, was in 1842 a coach-house, and at the very time we are now writing, is placarded with bills, "To be sold or let." Grope among those vineyards and orchards in the little village over the bridge, you may detect an archway, and a piece of a wall; that was the abbey of Marmontier, founded by St. Martin himself. All this is familiar enough to us in our own country—but it strikes us more in one which is still to so great an extent catholic as France. Are the Church's saints in this respect like the heroes of the world, that there may come a time when they shall be as though they had never been? when all that the Church retains of them is the memory of their example; and that a book is a more enduring legacy than a saintly life, and a body gifted with miraculous power?

For so it is, that while the Church of France possesses not a vestige of St. Martin, another saint of the same city of Tours has left a book which is not only esteemed in the Church, but has had the honour, which the actions of saints so seldom have, of commanding the respect of the world. The "History of the Franks" of St. Gregory is not only a most valuable monument of the history of the early French monarchy, but it is the only one. It is in this respect like Bede's "History of the English nation," though widely different from it in other respects. But for Bede we should know nothing of the early history of the Saxons in England—without Gregory of Tours, we should be equally ignorant of the first settlement of the Franks in Gaul. But in all other points it is a complete contrast to Bede. In the first place, the style of Bede, if not elegant Latin, is yet correct, sufficiently classical. It is a written style, such as was learnt in the cloister schools by the help of Donat, Tullius Rhetorica, and matured by reading the Latin fathers, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose. St. Gregory of Tours has no style, barely grammar; barbarisms and solecisms of all kinds abound, and the brevity and conciseness with which events most important to understanding his narrative are related, if it does not make his meaning obscure, at least requires great attention in the reader not to overlook anything. In the opening he "prays pardon of his readers if he should in letter or syllable infringe the art of grammar, with which he is indeed not fully imbued." In fact, Bede is writing in a dead language, Gregory in a living. Bede no doubt spoke it and heard it spoken every day in cloister, but then he had learned to do so from books; Saxon came first and readiest to his lips. While the Latin which Gregory writes, is with little difference, his native tongue.

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The difference is not less in the matter of the two histories. Bede viewed the world only from the retirement of his cell. He knew events chiefly as they appeared in books. Even the history of his own time is drawn from what was communicated to him. So that, however correct it may be, it wants that truth of delineation which can only be given by one who has been himself an agent in the scenes he describes. This St. Gregory was. For the ten books of which his history consists may be divided, as regards the authority on which it rests, into four portions. 1. All that precedes the arrival of the Franks in Thuringia is little more than a short chronological epitome of the history of the world derived from some of the compendious chronicles then in use, and abounding in errors. 2. From this period to the middle of the sixth century his materials are chiefly Sulpicius Alexander, the letters of Sidonius, St. Remigius, and the Gesta of the saints of the period. 3. For the generation preceding his own time his authority is tradition, chiefly that of his uncle St. Gall, and St. Avitus, successive bishops of Clermont, in whose house St. Gregory was brought up. 4. The last forty or fifty years he describes what he himself saw and knew, and in which he played an active part.

This is therefore the most valuable part of the book. He occupied the see of Tours twenty-three years, from 573 to 596. The value and interest of the last five books of his history which are occupied with this period, we should rate far higher than any part of the writer who stands in a similar relation to our own history, and with whom we have already compared him. They are not the learned and accurate arrangement of the annals of the several Frankish kingdoms, the successions of the bishops, royal houses, etc., all which is indeed most valuable to the antiquarian, but dry and profitless to others. On the contrary, they present a living stirring picture of the Church and State of those days: the rude violence, and unscrupulous cunning of the Merovingian princes; their ambition and lawless passions; brought into contact with a moral power claiming their obedience, and forcing from them a sort of recognition of its claims, while they at the same time endeavoured by some clumsy expedient, or grotesque ruse, to evade it. The Church studying the barbarian temper for the purpose of winning it to Christ; often obliged to give way, but never compromising principle; always yielding as to brute force, not out of a timid complaisance; managing, coaxing the despot, as a fond nurse an overgrown and dangerous child, not fawning upon him as on a patron who has much to give. For no chair of dignified ease was a bishop's throne in the sixth century. To do one's duty thoroughly is not easy in the most peaceable times. But then a

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conscientious bishop might be truly said to place his life in jeopardy every hour. Not even within the precincts of a Turkish seraglio were the knife and the poison-cup more lavishly employed than by Fredegonde.

"This genuine female barbarian possessed herself of the poor king of Neustria, more a theologian and grammarian than a prince; who owed to the crimes his queen perpetrated in his name, the title of the Frankish Nero. She made him first strangle his legitimate spouse Galswinthe; her sons-in-law followed; then the rival king of Ostrasia Sighebert. This terrible woman, surrounded by men whom her genius for murder had fascinated, deranging their minds by drugged beverages, beautiful and deadly, devoted to pagan superstitions, might be taken for a Scandinavian Walkirie."*

Such was the true and patient policy of the Church, and such the situation of those bishops who were faithful to their Master's calling. For there were without doubt many of a very different stamp, as the following narrative will show, while it will at the same time give a far better idea of the state of things under the Merovingian princes, than any comments of ours. Gregory himself is the chief actor, and exhibits in a situation of the utmost difficulty and peril, a union of prudence, tact, firmness, and unshrinking principle, which may furnish an example for a Christian bishop in all ages.

It may just be premised for the sake of making our story more intelligible, that the Franks had been in Gaul now about a century (the event we are about to narrate occurred in the year 577), and that the footing on which they stood with the old Gallo-Roman population was now pretty well understood on both sides. The Franks were the stronger, and therefore the masters; the Romans were the more able, and therefore indispensable to their masters, who were thus obliged to use them well. And this good usage was not entirely dependent on the caprice of the Frank, but was secured by law, if that could be called security which he had the power of violating whenever he chose. They were something in the relation of the Turk and the Greek in Greece, before the Greek revolution; with this important difference, that the Frank owed submission to the religion of the vanquished party, and learned with implicit submission his faith from the mouth of the Roman priest.

In a territorial point of view, the Frank empire was divided into three portions—which the chronicles, latinising the Frank terms, call the kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundia. Tours was comprehended in Neustria, which, under Chilperic,

* Michelet, i. 227.

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extended from the Meuse almost to the present southern limits of France. Chilperic's capital was Soissons. Sighebert, king of Austrasia, or the East, which extended from Bar-sur-Aube into Bohemia, had lately fallen a victim to Fredegonde's assassins, and the throne was occupied by a minor, whose mother, the famous Brunchilde, governed as regent for him. Merovig, a son of Chilperic, but not of Fredegonde, had married Sighebert's widow, Brunchilde. Sighebert was his uncle, and marriage with his uncle's widow was forbidden by the law of God, the canons of the Church. It was also, but for quite another reason, highly displeasing to his father Chilperic. Merovig however found one who was willing, from personal attachment to himself, to violate the canons, and to brave Chilperic's or rather Fredegonde's resentment, by performing the marriage sacrament between himself and the Austrasian queen. This was the bishop of Rouen, Prætextatus, who from the day when he had held the young prince over the baptismal font, had felt for him one of those devoted unreasoning attachments, of which only a mother or a nurse are thought capable.

This was Prætextatus's offence. It was Fredegonde's object to punish him for it. And the surest and least obnoxious means of doing so seemed to be, by bringing him to a regular trial before a synod of bishops for his flagrant infraction of the canon law, in giving the marriage benediction to persons related in the degree in which Merovig and Brunchilde were.

The Trial of Prætextatus.

The bishops within the limits of the kingdom of Neustria were summoned to meet in synod, at Paris, at the latter end of the spring of 577. Chilperic and Fredegonde journeyed from their capital, Soissons, to attend it in person. The assembly was to be held in the Church of St. Genoveva, which crowned a height at no great distance from the City Island, then confined within the two arms of the Seine. The church had been built by Clovis, at the time of his departure for the war against the Visigoths. Arrived at the destined spot, he hurled his battle-axe straight before him, that the length of the edifice might remain a standing monument of the vigour of the Frank conqueror's right arm. It was one of those basilicas of the fifth and sixth centuries, built in imitation of the earlier Roman basilicas, more remarkable for the richness of their decorations than for beauty of architectural proportions. Its interior was ornamented with marble columns, and a profusion of paint, carving, and gilding; like one of the Jesuits' churches of the seventeenth century. Its roof was sheeted, like St. Peter's, with copper.

On the appointed day, forty-five prelates were assembled

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within its walls. The king, attended by some of his leudes, armed only with their swords, entered; but the body of inferior Franks who had followed him from Soissons, posted themselves, fully armed, outside, under the portico, occupying all the entrances. Under such circumstances an obnoxious criminal stood, we might suppose, small chance of justice. On entering, the king begged the attention of the synod to two bales of stuffs, and a sack of coin, which figured prominently on the pavement of the church, observing that they would prove of great importance in the course of the inquiry.

The accused was now brought forward. The king rose, and instead of addressing himself to the judges, turned towards his adversary, and thus bluntly apostrophized him:—"And what wert thou thinking of, O bishop, when thou didst marry my enemy, Merovig, (for such he is, rather than my son,) to his aunt, Brunchilde? Knewest thou not what the canons enact touching this thing? And not only herein hast thou offended, but, moreover, in that thou hast plotted my death, in concert with him. Thou hast stirred up the son to become his father's enemy; thou hast seduced my people by bribes; and thou hast sought to deliver my kingdom into the hands of another." At these words, the Frank warriors who crowded the doors of the basilica, raised a fierce shout of indignation, demanding the death of the traitor to their king; and as their fury kindled, they pushed into the nave of the building, and showed an inclination of executing at once the sentence they had pronounced against the accused. The bishops, in alarm, quitted their seats, and it required all the personal influence of the king to check the turbulence of his irritated followers, which he was not sorry, perhaps, to have exhibited *in terrorem* to the assembly.

When order was in some measure restored, the criminal was allowed to answer in his own behalf. Not at all disconcerted by the scene that had just occurred, the wily Roman undertook to justify himself. He could not deny the fact of the uncanonical marriage, but he turned all his defence to vindicate himself from the charge of treason. Then Chilperic summoned his witnesses. Several persons of Frank origin came forward, and producing different objects of value, declared that they had been given to them by the bishop, on condition of their promising fidelity to Merovig. Prætextatus, not at all disconcerted, replied, "True, you have received presents from me more than once, but they were not given you with any view of expelling the king from his kingdom. But when you had bestowed valuable horses, or other things of like richness upon me, how could I do otherwise than make you some kind of return for them?" No more substantial evidence being producible against the bishop,

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the synod broke up, and the king retired to his residence, not a little chagrined at having failed, with so many advantages in his favour, in procuring a conviction.

The bishops were withdrawn to the sacristy of the church, and were conversing in separate groups familiarly enough, but with an awkward reserve on the main subject. They distrusted one another. They knew what they ought to think of the business in hand. It was evident that the king sought the ruin of Prætextatus, and wished to make them his instruments in effecting his purpose. They would have refused their cooperation if they dared; but they knew how dangerous it would be to do so.

While they were in this mood, they were surprised by the abrupt entrance of Aetius, the Archdeacon of Paris. Entering with equal suddenness on the thorny subject which they were delicately shunning in their conversation among themselves— "Hearken, O priests of the Lord!" he cried; "the present occasion is one of infinite moment for you. According as you shall now act, you will either cover yourselves with the renown of a good name, or you will forfeit, in the face of all men, the character of faithful ministers of God, if you betray a brother to destruction." But the spirit of timid reserve still kept the bishops silent, and this generous appeal met no response.

The indignation of one among them was, however, roused by their pusillanimous silence. Gregory of Tours, finding that no one of more age or weight than himself spoke, came forward and said, "Holy priests of God, and you particularly, who are thought to enjoy a larger share of the king's intimacy, hearken to me. Do you now give the king godly counsel, and such as is fitting a priest should give; lest, now, this minister of God perish, by reason of the king's displeasure, for which God shall assuredly punish the king, and his realm. Remember, I pray you, what saith the prophet, 'If the watchman see a man's iniquity, and tell him it not, behold he is guilty of the death of him that dieth.'" (Ezek. xxxiii. 6.) And he reminded them of the cases of Chlodomir, and the Emperor Maximus, whose fate was considered a providential judgment on acts of violence they had committed against two Christian bishops. The bishops made no answer, and one by one they crept away, one part to withdraw themselves from the storm which they saw now inevitable; another party, chiefly consisting of those of Frankish race, to make their court to the king, by betraying the events of their private conclave.

Chilperic was speedily informed that the man he had to fear was the bishop of Tours. A messenger was immediately despatched to summon "his enemy" into his presence. Gregory

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obeyed, and followed his conductor with a calm and composed mind. He found the king in the open air, sitting under a hut formed of the branches of trees, in the midst of the encampment of his warriors. Berthramn, the licentious bishop of Bordeaux, and Raghenemod, the bishop of Paris, who had been playing the honourable part of informer against their colleague, were at his side. Before them was a long table, on which was bread, and other meats, to be presented, according to the Frank custom, to each new visitor.

"Thou, O bishop," said the king, in an angry tone, "shouldest deal justice to all men; but, behold, I receive it not at thy hands. Thou art ready to become a partner in this man's evil deeds. And so I find fulfilled in thee that proverb, 'The crow pecketh not out the crow's eye.'"

"If any one of us, O king," answered Gregory, "transgresses the path of righteousness, he may be set right by thee; but if it is thou that transgressest, who shall set thee right? We may, indeed, tell thee thy fault, and if thou wilt thou hearest; but if thou wilt not hear, who is there that shall pass sentence on thee, save He who has declared that He is Justice itself?"

"Nay, verily," said Chilperic, "of all the rest I obtain justice, but of thee only can I not. This will I do, therefore, that thy injustice may be made apparent before all the people. I will call together all the men of Tours, and I will say to them, Raise your voice now against Gregory the bishop, and cry aloud that he is unjust, and rendereth justice to no man. And when they shall cry, then will I too cry to them; I who am a king cannot have justice at his hands, how then should you, who are beneath me?"

This flimsy hypocrisy, by which he who was all-powerful sought to pass himself off as the victim of others' injustice, inspired Gregory with a contempt which he could not dissemble, and he replied—"If I am unjust, it is in nothing of which thou knowest. He to Whom the secrets of all hearts are open, alone knows my conscience. As for the clamours of the people which thou mayest excite, they are nought, for all men will know that they cry at thy bidding. But what need of more words? thou hast the law and the canons; examine them diligently, and know if thou transgressest them that the judgment of God awaits thee."

The king, with the craft with which a barbarian knows how to conceal his passion when he pleases, assumed an air of familiarity, and pointing to a mess of pottage which stood among the viands on the board, said with an air of gentleness, "See a mess prepared specially for thee; nought hath gone into it save peas and some fowl." This was intended to flatter the bishop's

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vanity, as though it was matter of notoriety that he abstained from more solid food. But Gregory was not the dupe of this stratagem, and bowing, in token of refusal, he answered, "My meat ought to be to do the will of God, and not to take delight in delicate meats. Thou who chargest others with injustice, begin by promising that thou too wilt abide by the law and the canons, and we may then credit that it is justice that thou seekest." Unwilling to break openly with the Bishop of Tours, whose great popularity at Tours, and indeed all over France, made him a person of much consideration, Chilperic lifted his hands, and calling the Almighty to witness, swore that he would not in anything trespass against the law and the canons. Then Gregory advanced to the table, and took a morsel of bread, and drank some wine, a ceremony of hospitality which could not be omitted without giving great offence. After this he retired to his lodging in the Church of St. Julian.

In the course of that night, after they had chanted nocturns, the bishop was roused by a loud and continued knocking at the door of the house. Sending down a servant to ascertain the cause, he was told that messengers from Queen Fredegonde desired to see him. Being admitted to his presence they saluted him in that queen's name, and told him that they were sent to pray him not to show himself obstinately bent on thwarting her wish in the matter now before the council. If he would declare against Prætextatus, and nothing more was needed to ensure his fall, they were authorized to promise him two hundred pounds of silver. With his habitual calmness and self-command, Gregory replied that he had but one voice amongst many, and that even if he were to give way, it would be far from deciding the matter. The messengers rejoined that it was all that was needed, for that they had already gained the votes of all the rest. Without changing his tone the bishop replied, "If the queen would give me a thousand pounds in gold and silver, it would be impossible for me to do anything but what the Lord commands me. All that I can promise is, to join the other bishops in all that they shall decide in conformity with the canon law." The messengers misunderstood these words, either from their ignorance of what was meant by the canon law, or from supposing that by "the Lord" (*Dominus*) the bishop intended the king, who was often so styled in ordinary language. They accordingly withdrew to carry to the queen this favourable report of the bishop's intentions.

The members of the synod were betimes next morning in the church, and the king, recovered from his disappointment, was equally punctual. In order to reconcile his oath of the previous evening with the accomplishment of the vengeance meditated

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against Prætextatus, he brought to bear all his literary and theological knowledge. He had been diving into the collection of the canons, and had pitched upon one which enacted the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted on a clerk, that of deposition. All that was now needed was to bring a charge against the Bishop of Rouen, of such a nature as should fall within this penalty. This caused Chilperic no great embarrassment. When the judges and the accused had taken their places, the king, with the gravity of a doctor expounding ecclesiastical law, began: "A bishop, convicted of theft, shall be degraded from his episcopal functions. That is the Church canon." The synod was amazed at this opening, and all the members demanded with one voice who it was who was charged with the crime of theft. "It is he," said the king, turning to Prætextatus, "he himself; and have you not seen the matters of which he has robbed me?"

The members of the council now remembered the bales and the bag of money which the king had pointed out to them at the opening of the sitting. Unexpected and barefaced as was this new attack, Prætextatus replied with patience, "You must, I think, recollect that when Queen Brunchilde took her departure from Rouen, I went to you and informed you that she had deposited in my custody five bales of considerable size and weight; and that since then her servants had frequently demanded that they should be given up to them, but that I had always refused, not wishing to do anything without your sanction. Your answer to me at the time was, 'Have nothing to do with these goods, but let them return to her to whom they belong, that they become not a cause of quarrel between me and my nephew.' Immediately on my return to Rouen, I put one of the packages into the hands of the servants, which was as much as they could convey away at one time. When they returned for another, I again consulted your magnificence, and you gave the same answer as before: 'Get rid of these goods, O bishop, lest they become an occasion of quarrel!' Thus they carried away two more of the bales, leaving two still with me. How, then, do you now charge me with theft and robbery, as to goods which I stole not, but which were put into my keeping?"

"If, then, it was a deposit intrusted to your keeping," retorted the king, giving without scruple another turn to his accusation, "how came you to open one of the bales, and to abstract from it a piece of gold tissue, which you cut into small pieces, and distributed them among the men whom you had engaged in the plot against me?"

"These men of whom you speak had, as I have before said, made me presents; and having by me at the moment nothing else to offer them in return, I took that, and do not reproach

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myself now for having done so; for I regard as my own all that belongs to my son Merovig, whom I took out of the fount of baptism."

The king knew not what to say in answer to such a genuine expression of paternal regard on the part of the aged bishop towards the young prince. Chilperic's resources were exhausted; and the assurance he had at first displayed, was now succeeded by an air of embarrassment and confusion; he broke up the sitting abruptly, and withdrew disconcerted and discontent. Above all, he dreaded the encounter with Fredegonde. Probably instigated by her reproaches, he soon after summoned to his presence those members of the council who were most at his command, and among others, Berthram and Raghenemod. "I confess," said he, "I am beaten by the answers the bishop has made, and well I wot he has spoken the truth. Whither, then, shall I now turn, that the queen's vengeance may be satisfied? Go ye, all of you, to him, and say to him, as if from yourselves, Thou knowest, brother, that the king, Chilperic, is a good and merciful prince, and is readily inclined to show mercy; humble thyself, therefore, now before him, and confess that thou hast committed that with which thou art now charged; then will we throw ourselves at his feet, and beg for thy pardon."

Whether the bishops persuaded their credulous and feeble colleague that the king, tired of the prosecution, was only anxious to extricate himself from it, without the disgrace of a defeat,—or whether they wrought on his fears by representing to him that his innocence, however manifest, could not save him from the royal vengeance, if he obstinately persisted in braving it,—Prætextatus, well acquainted himself with the timidity and servility of his judges, did not reject the proposal thus made to him. It was at best, he might think, a last resource, when all others should fail. His pretended friends, receiving the thanks of the man whom they were betraying, returned to the king to announce the success of their mission. The accused, they said, having come into the snare that had been laid for him, would make a full confession on the first appeal made to him. Thus Chilperic was delivered from the necessity of inventing any new expedient to assure the success of the procedure.

The next morning, at the opening of the sitting, the king, as if merely resuming the broken thread of the previous day's argument, said, pointing to the witnesses who were by, "If all you intended was to make a present to these men, how came you to demand an oath of them to the purpose that they would be faithful to Merovig?" Though his conscience must have been unstrung by the secret engagement he had made with the

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bishops, Prætextatus, by an instinct of shame which, for the time, overcame his fears, revolted from the falsehood which he had bargained to tell against himself. "I begged them only," was his answer, "that they would be on terms of private friendship with him; and for his good I would not have appealed to men only, but would have called down, if I could, the angels from heaven, being, as he is, my spiritual son by baptism."

At these words, which seemed to indicate a purpose on the part of Prætextatus of persevering in his defence, the king's anger broke forth into a violence which so terrified the helpless old man, that all at once, falling on his knees before the king, he cried out, "I have indeed, O most merciful king, sinned against Heaven and thee; I am a wicked murderer! I have conceived the thought of killing thee, and of placing thy son on thy throne." As soon as the king saw his adversary at his feet, his anger passed away, and hypocrisy recovered its command. Feigning to be overpowered by his emotions, he now, in his turn, threw himself on his knees before the bishops, "Do ye hear, ye men of religion, the criminal himself avow his execrable attempt?" The bishops sprung from their seats, and hastened to raise the king to his feet; those who were not in the secret melted to tears, the others laughing inwardly at the scene that was being acted before them. As soon as Chilperic had recovered himself, as if unable any longer to bear the sight of one who had pleaded guilty to so great a crime, he ordered Prætextatus to be removed from the church. He himself followed shortly after, as if to leave the council to deliberate upon the sentence it had now to give.

Immediately on his return to his palace, the king despatched to the synod the volume of the canons which had formed the object of his study the preceding night. This was probably the collection made by Dionysius Exiguus, in 525, for it contained the Apostolical Canons, which were not as yet admitted as part of ecclesiastical law in the Gallic Church. The twenty-first of these canons was the same which Chilperic had pronounced with so much emphasis at the first meeting. This article had attracted his notice for no other reason, than because it enacted the penalty of deposition. But as the crimes against which it enacted this penalty, viz. those of theft, adultery, and perjury, as the king had himself previously quoted it, did not happen to suit the present case, Chilperic had simply erased the word "theft" from the parchment, and substituted that of "murder." This truly barbarian trick escaped detection at the time on the part of the bishops, unacquainted, as most of them were, with a collection which had not long been in existence, and was of no authority among them. The Bishop of Tours was even the only one who exclaimed against the appeal to a novel code, and who

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made a fruitless effort to engage his colleagues to decline the authority of the pretended Apostolical Canons.

This they would not do. Condemned Prætextatus must be, and what did it signify by what semblance of law or justice, when all for whose opinion they cared, the king, Fredegonde, and the Frank warriors, would look at the sentence, not at the grounds on which it professed to rest. This artifice would do, since they could bethink themselves of no better. The mock deliberation terminated, the parties were called in again to hear the sentence pronounced. The fatal article having been read, the Bishop of Bordeaux, acting as president of the council, addressed the accused: "Hearken, my brother, thou mayst now no longer continue in communion with us, and in the enjoyment of our love, unless it shall please the king to admit thee again into his royal favour, which thou hast now lost."

At this judgment, pronounced by the lips of a man who, the evening before, had practised so basely on his unsuspecting simplicity, the condemned stood struck mute with surprise. The king, not content with his victory, sought for some further aggravation of his ignominious sentence. He demanded that his robe should be torn off his back in the church; and when this insult was demurred to on the part of the bishops, he required that they should read over his head the 108th Psalm, which contains the maledictions applied by St. Peter, in the Acts, to Judas Iscariot.

This was the extreme and terrible punishment, usual only in cases of sacrilege. Once again the voice of the dauntless Gregory was lifted in behalf of the deserted and friendless Prætextatus, and he reminded the king of his oath not to act in anything against the canons. Finding his proposal not entertained readily by the rest of the bishops, Chilperic was fain to content himself with now requiring that the judgment which had been given should be entered on record, and a clause inserted that the deposition should be perpetual. Gregory's former success encouraged him to withstand the king's wishes again on this point. The sentence, accordingly, of simple deposition, stood as at first pronounced.

Prætextatus was then handed over to some of the king's guards, and conducted to a prison outside the walls of the city, the ruins of which long after remained on the left bank of the Seine. He made an attempt to escape during the night, in which he failed, and was cruelly beaten by the soldiers who had the custody of him. In a day or two, he was sent into exile, or *transported*, the usual Frank punishment for offenders of any rank or consideration. The place of his exile was an island adjacent to the city of Coutances—probably, Jersey; then inhabited only, if at all, by pirates of Anglo-Saxon race, and serving as a kind of Siberia for the kingdom of Neustria

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ART. V.—1. *Agende für die Evangelische Kirche, in den Königlich Preussichen Landen.*

2. *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen gerbauch, für Evangelische Gemeinen.*

3. *State of Protestantism in Germany. By the Rev.* H. J. ROSE, B.D.

4. *German Protestantism. By the Rev.* G. H. DEWAR, M.A.

THE recent mission of Bishops on the part of the Anglican hierarchy, to the work of evangelists to the heathen, ought certainly to have no small portion of fear mingled with the joy that such acts are calculated to give to every Christian mind. If we remember our Lord's words, that 'a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit,' who is there amongst us who ought not to cherish a godly fear lest the event be such as to establish in the face of day that the Anglican succession, as such, is a tree incapable of bringing forth good fruit? At all events the die is now cast,—the Anglican hierarchy has been unfolded, and although hitherto no steps have been taken, except in the wake of the temporal power, the Church has notwithstanding put herself upon trial, as a missionary Church, in the eyes of Christendom, and it remains to be declared by the issue, whether or no, the Church of England is 'a tree capable of bringing forth good fruit.' How much then ought we not to fear, lest by any fatal error on our part, by any wrong misuse, or guilty misapplication of the divine gifts entrusted to our stewardship, we should provoke God to suffer our efforts to come to nought, in the following out of devices and imaginings which are not to His glory, and are counter to the provisions of His ecclesiastical government! We presume that there is still sufficient faith in our Church to appreciate the expression, 'God's ecclesiastical government,' and sufficient humility, sufficient sense of the imbecility of human projectors, acting contrary to the provisions of ecclesiastical catholic government, to draw many anxious thoughts, many deep seated and well grounded fears, to the question—Is the mission of a member of the Anglican hierarchy to Jerusalem agreeable to the counsels of God, as displayed in the past history of the Church? Or, in other words, upon the supposition that the God incarnate, who died on the cross, has been an ecclesiastical Ruler over His Church ever since, and that, though unseen, He has nevertheless governed the chosen kingdom of His grace, and the people within it, by a dispensation of rewards and punishments, not without its analogies to the mode of His moral government, as exerted over mankind generally,—the question

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will be, Is the mission of Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem one which there is good reason to hope will draw down the blessing of God; or is there reason to fear that it has its foundation in the violation of such sacred maxims of His ecclesiastical regimen, and that it has a course marked out for it, involving the further violation of so many more, that all hope is at an end that it can obtain a blessing, consistently with the revealed character of God, as the 'Author of peace in the Churches, not of confusion?'

Those who are disposed to maintain, if any such there be, that God incarnate is not that character of Ruler which is universally understood by the term '*ecclesiastical*;' that the kingdom of heaven, of which the prophecies speak, has no such living governor, and that the whole fabric of ecclesiastical law is a mere work of man, mere clay in the hands of the potter, *pro tempore*, will have a difficulty to imagine how a question so frivolous and idle as this must appear to them, comes to be asked. What is ecclesiastical law, what are canonical scruples, they will say, compared with the winning perishing souls to the fold of the Redeemer's kingdom? What does it matter if the peace of some few Christians' minds is a little disturbed, and the duties of other clergy a little interfered with, so long as there is a hope of preaching the truth of the glorious Gospel where it has been obscured, and establishing the blessed light of protestant doctrine near the scene of the Redeemer's sufferings?

To this, it will be enough to say, that every short and summary mode of viewing an ecclesiastical question of grave import has certainly one great merit—that of wonderful freedom from all conscientious scruple; it shows a truly admirable disencumberment from all religious dread of taking a false step. Given a certain amount of Protestant truth, and there you have the sovereign panacea for the whole spiritual evils of the creation of man; take it, start away, preach, preach, be instant in season, out of season; no matter what disorder is occasioned, no matter who it is who sets himself to work, layman or priest, (a bishop is a tolerably fit person enough, but anybody will do,) preach, only preach the blessed Protestant truth, pure Bible Christianity, and there cannot be a doubt of the earth's being instantly regenerated.

On such a principle as this, who would not wonder that a scruple could be raised against the mission of a bishop to Jerusalem? The faintest whisper of a solitary half-uttered doubt vibrates on the ear, with the sound of a full loud roar of treason against the idolized sovereign specific,—'Protestant truth.' Yet passing strange, incredible, unintelligible as it may, rather must, appear, to many an honest, well-meaning mind, that it should be possible to be sceptical about the medicinal virtues

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of this something, which we hear popularly named Protestantism, it cannot be concealed that fears, deep and powerful, have fastened themselves upon many minds, lest the step thus taken be found to offend in so many essential points against sacred principles of the government of the Church of God, that there remains no door for a hope, that God, provided that He be the Author of the scheme of ecclesiastical government which has hitherto, with more or less of tampering on the part of individual human rulers, guided the destinies of his Church, can vouchsafe His blessing to it, for God cannot bless the sinner in his sin, true though it be that in the end He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him: it being plainly impossible to hope for a blessing upon Bishop Alexander's mission, if the very position itself, and the course marked out for him, imply a violation of any fundamental maxim of the divine ecclesiastical government, —provided, that is, that God be an ecclesiastical as well as a moral Governor.

How deeply many amongst us feel the position of Bishop Alexander to be a wrong one, may be gathered from the words of one respected member of our Church,* who scruples not to say of it, *that it has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's Catholicity, and in shaking the belief of it in individuals. May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!*" This mode of speaking of the measure is in accordance with the piety and deep thought of the one who has thus spoken: it does not express any unbecoming censure upon those in authority; it does not bring any accusation, much less a railing one, against God's high priests who have been concerned actively in the Bishop's mission; it simply and solemnly lays the matter before God and the conscience of the Church, with the prayer that God would utterly bring to nought a measure, which the utterer of the prayer believes to be in contradiction to the sacred principle of the Divine rule and government which has hitherto governed the Church; it plainly and earnestly records the speaker's conviction, that in sending Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem to be bishop over a 'Church planted by the two great Protestant powers of Europe,' (*vide* Statement published by authority,) we have rendered ourselves liable to the judgment, that every plant which God himself has not planted shall be rooted up.

It need scarcely be added, that our own deep sympathies are with such a mode of protest. In a day when the enemy without is eagerly seeking every occasion to blaspheme and to vilify the sanctity of that living hierarchical order, by which our branch

* Mr. Newman. Sermons on Subjects of the Day, page 378.

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of the Church is ruled and governed, they of the household seem only the more strongly called upon to abound in expressions of loyalty and affectionate submission toward their rulers, charged as they are with the fearful burden of bearing rule over us in God's name. It is idle, nay, it is worse, it is ruinous, it is sinful in us, to speak lightly in censure and dispraise of the acts of those who sit in the seat of government over us; God's will be done! and they are required to act in God's name; if then there be cause to fear that they have not acted in this matter with that forethought and knowledge which becometh the high priests of God, to us now be the shame, as to us assuredly will be the punishment and detriment which the Church shall thereby receive. Let it be our care not to make the case more grievous than it is, by suffering the measure in question to foster undutiful and disaffected feelings towards our rulers. The event is now in the hand of God, and there we must be content to leave it.

In what follows, then, we should be happy if our readers would understand that it is our earnest desire to abstain from the expression of mere opinions, not to say crude opinions, upon so serious a question. It is too serious to those who regard it thoughtfully, to admit of its affording matter for mere speculation. And as a question of Catholic discipline and principle, sufficient has been already written in the pamphlets of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Hope, Mr. Wm. Palmer, and others. We have scarcely any other object in view than the fulfilment of an old promise, to make our readers acquainted with the general character and details of the Prussian Liturgy, now brought into a sort of alliance with our own; and which we have been assured by a sort of authority, if that can be called *authority* which is *anonymous*, that it agrees in all points of doctrine with the Liturgy of the English Church; to which the addition of a few extracts from some of the ephemeral writings which have appeared in various parts of Germany, upon the mission of Dr. Alexander, may prove, we would hope, not unacceptable.

The ritual and liturgical provision for the kingdom of Prussia, as compiled and formed by the desire and under the direction of his late Majesty Frederick William III., consists of two parts,—the Agende, or office in prose, for congregational worship on Sundays and other festivals; and an authorized Hymn-book, from which each congregation is at liberty to make choice of such hymns as are most agreeable to their own taste, or to the occasion.

The design and scope of its compilation will be best explained in his late Majesty's own words, which stand as the preface to the form published in 1829.

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'We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of 'Prussia, &c., make known and declare by these presents:— 'Our ancestors, together with such other princes who at the 'time of the great Reformation of the Church, accepted a re- 'storation of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, soon perceived the 'strong need of introducing into their dominions such Church 'ordinances and rituals as might bring about a wholesome and 'intelligible unity into the usages of the public service of God, 'and put a stop to the progress of any caprices contrary to the 'mind of the reformers, yet without seeking to fetter the dearly 'earned liberty of faith and conscience. It was by means of 'such rituals, as were drawn up by persons of reputation, who 'for the most part acted under special counsel and advice, or at 'least such as were conceived in the spirit of the Reformers, and 'were put in circulation in virtue of their having received proper 'sanction and authority, inasmuch they all were grounded upon 'the same principles, that an almost complete uniformity was 'brought about in the liturgic usages of the Evangelical Church 'then forming herself in Germany. For centuries these excel- 'lent Church ordinances maintained themselves in their original 'form, and in continued and blessed use. But in proportion as 'unsound views upon Church questions, eagerness for change, 'lukewarmness, and indifference, began to gain the upper hand, 'they fell into disuse to such an extent that in some places 'scarce even a traditional remembrance of them remained. All 'therefore who entertained a deep concern for the internal peace 'and coherence of the Evangelical Church, have long felt the 'urgent need of putting an end to the caprice and disorder which 'has become thus widely spread. One only measure promised to 'succeed; viz. the attempt to recover those truly Christian 'ordinances of the Evangelical Church, from the disuse into 'which they had fallen, and to bring them to life again, not 'neglecting at the same time to take into consideration the de- 'mands and requirements of the present age. These reasons 'occasioned the drawing up of the Ritual which appeared in the 'year 1821, for the use of the cathedral church of Berlin. The 'approbation which this Ritual obtained on all hands, drawn up 'as it was in conformity with the principles above mentioned, 'by several divines well acquainted with our royal purpose, and 'of good repute themselves, occasioned the frequent expression 'of a wish that its general use might be no longer delayed. To 'prepare the way for this, we were minded to send to the Clergy 'of every province a preliminary form of inquiry; in reply to 'which they were required to declare themselves either in favour 'of, or against its general adoption. Notwithstanding the ob- 'stinate and unjust attacks of the opposers of the Agende, the

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'result may be said to have been in the highest degree favourable, 'inasmuch, as by far the larger part of the Evangelical Churches, 'in a very short time, declared themselves in its favour. Still 'many things now suggested themselves as desirable, and as re- 'quiring consideration, which were often of a very contradictory 'nature, and which indeed could scarcely be otherwise under the 'circumstances, arising, as they did, partly from local associa- 'tions, partly from the strong attachment which men have to that 'to which they have been long used; to all which, other very dif- 'ferent reasons were joined on, in order to justify the rejection 'of the Ritual. In this predicament, therefore, that we might 'act with all possible deference, compatible with our principles 'and the object desired, and with a view to afford to such matters 'of provincial origin, as the persons we had consulted referred 'to in the expression of their sentiments, such consideration as 'they might be entitled to from their character and origin; we 'adopted the plan of causing all these various questions and 'points for consideration to be collected by the different consis- 'tories of the provinces, in order that they might then be sub- 'mitted to a careful examination, by a commission acting upon 'fixed principles, and composed of the chief members (Räthen) 'of the provincial consistory, in conjunction with others of the 'most deserving Clergy of the province, and that we ourselves 'might be informed of the result through the minister of spiritual 'affairs. After this had been completed, which was done some 'time ago, in the province of Brandenburgh, we directed that 'what had been consented to and proposed by the collective 'Clergy of the province, should be drawn up in the form of a 'special appendix to the Kirchen Agende, a task which has been 'now completed by the Clergy of the province. Simultaneously 'with this appendix, we have caused this new and enlarged 'edition of the Kirchen Agende to be prepared, in order that 'the whole may now appear in a better and more coherent form. 'Whatever was found to have no other foundation beside some 'local peculiarity, or predilection, or peculiarity of views, and such 'as could not be applied to any permanent purpose of general 'utility, has been considered inadmissible, to the intent that the 'fundamental principle of fitness for general use might not be 'transgressed. The Consistory of the province, however, is 'provided with full power to show the utmost possible deference 'to all such points. After all that has now been done in this 'weighty matter, we look forward with confidence that the 'whole Clergy of the province, in gratitude for our princely and 'fatherly intentions, and our unwearied care for the inward and 'outward welfare of the Evangelical Church, will apply them- 'selves willingly and obediently, as becometh good subjects, to

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'promote this our design, and labour with all honesty and 'diligence so to influence their congregations, and to remove all 'erroneous notions and misunderstandings, that this revised 'Ritual (Kirchen Agende,) allowed by us, and published by 'our authority, may with all possible speed be introduced, and 'maintained unchanged in continual use.

'May Almighty God take this work under his merciful pro-'tection; may He bless it and preserve it to us and our succes-'sors to the end of time, for the furtherance of the true fear of 'God, together with all other Christian graces.

'Berlin, 19th of April, 1829.

'FREDERICK WILLIAM.'

PREFACE.

'The need of a firmly established Order for the public celebra-'tion of Divine worship and the ministration of Church ordi-'nances, has been long held to be a fundamental principle in the 'Christian Church. Besides, the continual endeavour either to 'introduce such an order, to uphold it, or to recover it, serves to 'indicate how strongly the feeling has been manifested, that 'the need belongs to the very nature of the case. It is plain 'also how much the very agreement in the forms of public wor-'ship contributes to maintain and to strengthen Christian com-'munion, and how much every Christian who seeks edification 'must desire to be able to procure a reception everywhere, for 'that which is preserved pure and sound, and, at the same time, 'where it has been lost, again to find a home for it.

'The Ritual for the Evangelic Church in the kingdom of 'Prussia, originated proximately from the design to recover this 'agreement, the gradual loss of which had latterly been noticed 'with considerable sorrow; and to secure to the ordinances of 'the Church the possession of a form grounded upon the evan-'gelical system of doctrine capable of protecting them from the 'changeableness of human views and modes of celebration; at 'the same time without shutting out a certain degree of variety, 'and entirely precluding all liberty of action.

* * * * *

'Forasmuch as modern attempts in the way of liturgical 'works have given sufficient warning, by their failure, that the 'mode of expression commonly used in the transactions of the 'present day, is less suited to the solemn tone and expression 'proper to congregational devotion and public confession, which 'requisites the remains of antiquity so largely possess; and

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'because that, besides this, a fixed order for the celebration of 'worship, and the ordinances of the Church, ought to bear 'testimony to the oneness of the living Church with that 'which is departed; there seemed to be an urgent need to go 'back to the age of the Reformation, and, by selecting from the 'rituals composed by the Reformers themselves, or at least such 'as were conceived in their spirit, and sanctioned by the civil 'authorities, distinguished as these are by their powerful and 'dignified language.

* * * * *

'May God in His mercy so watch over this work, as it is 'filled in all its several parts with the true doctrines of 'Christendom ("Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and 'for ever," "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and right-'eousness, and sanctification, and redemption;" Heb. xiii. 8; '1 Cor. i. 30); may He permit it to serve to the honour of 'His glorious name, and to the furtherance of His kingdom upon 'earth, and to the lasting blessing of those who in Christ Jesus 'are called unto everlasting life.

'Berlin, 26th May, 1829.

'The Spiritual Counsellors of his Majesty's Minister of 'Spiritual Affairs, and of his Majesty's Consistory of 'the province of Brandenburgh.

'(Signed) { Dr. Eylert. Dr. Ehrenberg. Dr. Neander.
Ross. Dr. Theremin. Gillet.
Dr. Nicolai. Dr. Brescius. Palmié.'*

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* The several titles subjoined in the original are omitted, as being scarcely capable of an intelligible translation into English.

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* Perhaps some remnant of the Rogation fast.

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The task of presenting the Ritual and Liturgy of any body of Christians in an abbreviated form, is an enterprise beset with so many perplexities, as to require no little hardihood even to attempt it. Every word in a form of prayer in actual use becomes a sacred treasure in the keeping of those who use it. It is, viewed as a whole, the manner in which a given people present themselves to Almighty God for His blessing; and, according to its character for orthodoxy and fitness, such may be expected to be the degree of acceptance it will find at the throne of God. The Saviour of mankind has revealed the truth, that Almighty God approves of one kind of prayer more than another; He therefore gave His own followers a prayer to be the model of all prayer to the end of time, and He has also cautioned His people, in those prayers which they should themselves compose, to beware of the manner in which the nations of the world prayed.

Every Prayer-Book is the social or congregational life of the body who use it; is their united voice, and the expression of their heart, mind, and spirit, as a political whole; and in proportion, therefore, as their mode of thus addressing themselves to Almighty God approves itself to the mind of the all-holy, just, and powerful Being to whom it is spoken, such, we have all good reason, both from revelation, and from the history of the past, to conclude will be His acceptance of it. Every single word, then, in such a document, becomes of value; and it would be obviously very unfair to represent the few extracts we are about to give, as capable of conveying more than merely a proximate idea of the nature and character of the new Service-Book, as a whole. As we are then compelled by our limited space to make a selection, let this be the ordinary Sunday morning service, as now in use in the different parish churches of Prussia.

'Order for Morning Prayer on Sundays and Festivals, with the 'Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper.

'Song of the Congregation. (Introit.) (From the Gesang-'buch.)

'The minister approaches during the singing of the hymn, in 'a proper dress (*priesterlichen ornat*), before the altar, and offers 'a silent prayer. This ended, he turns himself to the congrega-'tion, who stand up, and, with due reverence, remain standing 'until the prayers, together with the suffrages, are ended, and 'says—

'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. 'Amen.

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'Our help be in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven 'and earth.

[*Here follows either of the Forms for the Confession of Sin.*]

First Form.—'Beloved in Christ, let us with all lowliness of 'mind confess our unworthiness and our sins before the Lord, 'and say one with another,—

'I, wretched sinner that I am, confess before Thee, Almighty 'God, that I have often, and greatly sinned, in thought, word, 'and deed. I acknowledge mine offences, all mine offences; 'but I truly repent of them from my heart, and am steadfastly 'purposed, with the assistance of Thy grace, to amend my 'life, and to sin no more.

'Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all 'your sins. Confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and 'bring you to his everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ 'our Lord. Amen.

'Glory be to the Father, &c.

'Lord, have mercy.

'Christ, have mercy.

'Lord, have mercy.

'*Minister.* Glory be to God on high.

'*Choir.* And peace on earth, and goodwill towards men.

'We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify 'Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory. Lord 'God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty, Lord, the 'only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Lord God, Lamb of God, 'Son of the Father, Thou that takest away the sins of the 'world, have mercy upon us! Thou that takest away the sins 'of the world, hear our prayer! Thou that sittest at the right 'hand of the Father, have mercy upon us, for Thou only art holy! 'Thou only art the Lord; Thou only art the Most High; Jesus 'Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father! 'Amen. Amen. Amen.

'*Minister.* The Lord be with you!

'*People.* And with thy spirit.

[*Here follows one of the Collects: to be chosen by the Minister.*]

Collect 19th.—'The Lord our God be merciful unto us, 'and prosper the work of our hands; yea, let Him bless our 'handiwork.

'*Minister.* O God, upon whose blessing all things depend, 'who art ready to bless all them that put their trust in Thee, 'we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest be with us, and with all 'that we begin, continue, and end in Thy name. Mercifully 'grant us Thy help, and make us fruitful in all good works, to

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'do Thy will, and create in us that which is pleasing to Thee, 'through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

'*Minister.* The Epistle is written,' &c. (The Epistle is here read.)*

[*Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said.*]

'*Minister.* Not they that hear the word shall be accounted 'just before God, but they that do it shall be accounted right-'eous; yet, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy 'name only be the praise. Alleluia.

'*Minister.* The holy Gospel is written,' &c. (The Gospel is read.)

'*Minister.* Praised be Thou, O Christ. Amen.

'*People.* Amen.

'*Minister.* I believe in God, the Father,' &c. (The Apostles' Creed.)†

'*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.‡

[*Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said after the Creed.*]

'12th. Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, and 'His mercy endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord.

'*Minister.* Lift up your hearts, and let us thank the Lord 'our God.

'It is right, very meet, and good, to give thanks unto Thee, 'Almighty God, at all times, and in all places, through Jesus 'Christ, our Lord, for whose sake Thou hast spared us, forgivest 'us our sins, and promisest us everlasting life; therefore, with 'angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we sing 'praise unto Thee, for Thy great glory.

'*Choir.* Holy! holy! holy! Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven 'and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosannah in the highest! 'Praised be He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosannah 'in the highest!

'*Minister.* Lord God, heavenly Father, we beseech Thee 'that Thou wouldest govern Thy Christian Church, with all its 'teachers and servants, by Thy Holy Spirit, that they being 'kept steadfast in the true doctrine of Thy holy word, true 'faith may be awakened and confirmed in us, and love towards 'all men be increased.

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* The selection of the portion of Scripture to be read for the Epistle and Gospel for the Day appears to be left to the choice of the officiating minister. We have not been able to hear of the existence of any prescript order for the year, as is the case generally with all Catholic Liturgies.—[Ed.]

† The Holy Catholic Church is here rendered by the words, a holy general Christian Church (eine allgemeine Christliche Kirche).

‡ Instead of the Apostles' Creed, the hymn, 'We all believe in one God,' (Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,) may be sung by the congregation.

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'O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon the King, our Lord, 'the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the Royal Family, and 'all that belong to them; give unto them, O Lord, length of 'life, that they may be for a blessing to us, and for a pattern of 'godliness. Grant unto our King a long and prosperous reign; 'defend the royal army, and all true servants of the King and 'his country; teach them to think, as becometh Christians, of 'the oath they have taken, and make their service to be blessed 'to Thy honour, and the good of their country. Bless us and all 'other dominions of the King; help every one in his need; and 'be the Saviour of all men, more especially of Thy faithful 'people. Deliver us from an evil, impenitent death; and, 'finally, bring us all to Thine everlasting kingdom in heaven, 'through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

'*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

'*Minister.* Our Father, which art,' &c.

[*A hymn is here generally sung by the congregation, selected from the authorized hymn-book, during which the officiating Minister retires, and ascends the pulpit; the hymn ended, the Sermon is introduced by a short address, during which the text is cited, and a short prayer, appropriate to the subject, is said, at the discretion of the Minister.*]

'The Sermon.

'The Blessing.

'*Minister.* The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord 'show the light of His face upon thee, and be merciful unto 'thee; the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give 'thee peace. Amen.

'*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

As regards the Sermon, after the Prayer for Blessing, there follows, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen;" or, after a short introductory prayer, the text of the sermon is generally given out; both of which the congregation stand up to hear, as they do likewise to receive the Blessing, which is given at the end of the sermon. When the Blessing is given from the altar, one of the Collects may be said or sung before it is given.

When there is no Communion, divine service ends with the hymn that is sung in conclusion; but when there is a Communion, the minister appointed to officiate advances, while the hymn is being sung before the altar, and says—

'Dearly beloved in the Lord, forasmuch as we are now minded 'to hold the commemoration feast of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'the which was ordained by Him for the strengthening and

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'confirming of our faith; therefore, let a man examine himself, 'as the Apostle Paul exhorts us so to do; for this Holy Sacra- 'ment is given for the comfort and peace of such troubled con- 'sciences as confess their sins, fear God, and desire redemption; 'when they are steadfastly purposed to amend their lives, to 'flee from sin, and to lead a righteous life. And because that 'we must acknowledge ourselves to be guilty sinners, and of 'ourselves unable to help ourselves, so Christ, the Son of God, 'our beloved Lord, has had mercy upon us, and for the sake of 'our sins became Man, in order that for our good He might 'fulfil the law of God, and might take upon Himself and endure 'death, and all other things, which we have deserved by our 'sin. To make this His death of power for us, He ordained 'His Holy Supper, to the intent, that whosoever should eat of 'this bread, and drink of this cup, believing in the words of 'Jesus Christ there spoken, (*and in the signs received,**) might 'dwell in Christ, and Christ in him, and have everlasting life. 'We have here to show forth His memory and His death, that 'He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. 'Thanking God for these His unspeakable mercies, let each one 'of us take up our cross and follow Him, having love one 'towards another, according to His commandment, even as He 'loved us; for we are all one body, inasmuch as we all partake 'of one bread, and drink of one cup. But whoso eateth of this 'bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, that is, with an 'impenitent heart, without faith in the promise of God, without 'being reconciled, and without purpose of amendment, he is 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and reaps damnation, 'from which may God mercifully deliver us all.

'*Minister.* Kneel down, and *hear attentively* (vernehmet) the 'words of the Institution (einsetzungs Wörte).†

[*The Minister here turns to the altar, and repeats the words of Institution; the congregation listens to them, kneeling, and stands up after the blessing has been given, 'The peace of our Lord,' &c.*]

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He was 'betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it 'to His disciples, and spake, Take, eat, this is My body + which 'is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

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* This may be omitted, if desired.

† The idea of *consecration* is not in the expression *einsetzung*. It means properly authoritative *institution*; as, for example, 'Das Heilige Abendmahl, is von Jesu Christo eingesetz worden,' The Holy Eucharist was instituted by Jesus Christ. *Einweihung* in the German comes nearest to the signification of the Latin *Consecratio*. 'Die Elemente (brod und wein) müssen erst engeweiht seyn, um das Leib und Blut des Herrn zu werden,' The Elements must be first *consecrated*, in order to become the Body and Blood of the Lord.

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'Likewise after supper he took the cup, gave thanks, and 'spake, Take this and drink ye all of it, for this cup is the New 'Testament in My blood, which is shed for you and for many 'for the forgiveness of sins: do this, as oft as ye drink it, in 'remembrance of me.

[*Here the minister turns himself again to the congregation, and says.*]

'*Minister.* The peace of the Lord be with you all. Amen.

'Let us pray.

'Lord, who by thy death gavest life to the world, deliver us 'from all our sins and from all evil; give us the power to will 'to continue true to thy commands; and suffer us not to depart 'from Thee, who with the Father and the Son reignest world 'without end. Amen.

'*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

'*Choir.* Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the 'world,

'Good Lord, deliver us.

'Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

'Hear us, good Lord.

'Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

'Grant us thy peace, and blessing.

[*While the above is being sung, the delivery of the elements begins, and is continued until all have received, during which any appropriate hymn or hymns may be sung by the congregation.*]

Minister, at the delivery of the bread,

'Take and eat, saith our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; 'This is My body, which is given for you: do this in remem- 'brance of Me.

At the giving of the cup,

'Take and drink ye all of this, saith our Lord and Saviour 'Jesus Christ; this cup is the New Testament in My blood, 'which was shed for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

When the Communion is ended, the minister says,

'*Minister.* Let us pray.

'Almighty and everlasting God, we give Thee hearty thanks 'for the unspeakable mercy which we have received, by being 'made partakers of Thy holy supper; we humbly pray Thee, 'that Thou wouldest assure us of the working of Thy Holy 'Spirit, in like manner as we have now received Thine holy 'sacrament, that we may with steadfast faith receive and ever 'hold fast Thy divine grace herein promised to us all, forgive- 'ness of sins, and communion with Christ. We thank Thee, 'Almighty God, that Thou hast refreshed us by Thy divine

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'grace, and we pray Thee, of Thy divine mercy, that this our 'service may be to the strengthening of our faith in Thee, to 'the increase of brotherly love towards all men, and to our 'growth in godliness and all other Christian virtues, through 'Jesus Christ our Lord, who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, 'reigneth for ever. Amen.

'The Lord bless thee and keep thee.

'The Lord let His face shine upon thee, and be merciful 'to thee.

'The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give 'thee peace. Amen.

'*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

'Final hymn, sung by the congregation.'*

The authorized Hymn Book (Gesang Buch), contains 876 hymns, and was published in the same year with the new edition of the Agende. A Commission, consisting of Brescius, Küster, Marat, Neander, Ritschl, Schleiermacher, Spilleke, Theremin and Wilmsen, with some others who died before the work was completed, were appointed by King Frederick William III. to make a suitable selection of hymns, to form an accompaniment to the New Liturgy, out of the vast multitude of such compositions which have inundated Germany, as well as all other Protestant countries, since the Reformation. The idea of forming such a collection was first broached at one of his late Majesty's provincial Synods, in the year 1817, when the Commission was

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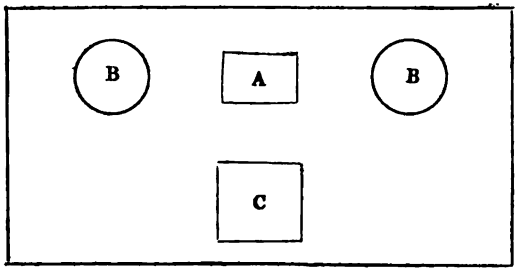
* APPENDIX TO THE ORDER FOR SUNDAY PRAYER.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ALTAR.



D

A. The Crucifix.
BB. The Candlesticks, containing lighted wax tapers.
C. The large Bible.
D. Place where the Officiating Minister stands.

The Morning Service on Sundays and Festival days ought not to exceed the time of one hour, or, at most, one hour and a half.

The Consistory, however, has the power to grant permission for a longer service in places were it may be desired.

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first appointed to undertake the work. The principle of selection will be sufficiently explained by the following extract, taken from the Preface:—

'Among the objects which the Commission were required to 'have in view, and to obtain which they have laboured with 'unremitting diligence, have been, first, to make a careful ex- 'amination of all the older Church songs, dating from the time 'of the Reformation, up to the middle of the last century, from 'which as great a number as possible were to be chosen of such as 'were remarkable for depth of feeling, or powerful expressions 'of piety, especially if they happened to be among those most 'known and esteemed in this town and province (Berlin). A like 'attention was enjoined upon the Commission, to be paid to 'such of the more recent Church Hymns, which, by their 'extensive circulation, had earned a sort of citizenship, with 'the proviso, that they should be found to be not altogether 'deficient in poetical worth, that the moral contained in them 'should not seem too confined and unconnected with the doc- 'trines of the Christian faith, and that they should not be more 'adapted for private edification than public use in the Church. 'In all which cases, the Commission had no other alternative 'but to supply their places with others, notwithstanding that 'these might be less generally known.

* * * * *

'Thirdly, *The undersigned have made a point of showing no 'exclusive partiality to any of the several modes of viewing the 'doctrines of the Christian faith*, and of refusing a place to none, 'which, as an expression of pious feeling, could be in anywise 'reconciled with evangelical truth, and the purposes of a book 'intended for general use in the Church.'

The remainder of the Preface is occupied by a notice of the care that has been taken that all the hymns admitted into the collection should be adapted chiefly to the older standard melodies long in use; and ends with the announcement that their labours, although they are themselves very conscious of the imperfections of their work, have received his Majesty's approbation and official sanction.

It must be superfluous to say how fruitless it would be to pretend to convey to an English reader any idea of what this Hymn Book contains—876 hymns, selected upon the avowed principle of finding room for the representative of every shadow and colour of opinion that has existed, or can be supposed to have existed, since the days of Luther. It is a very kaleidoscope of Hymnology. The Collections with which we are acquainted in this country, plentifully showered down as they have been, *νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν*, upon individual churches, by their

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respective pastors, and upon sectarian multitudes by some of their leading men, if they cannot, without injustice, be compared to the snow, for purity and whiteness, at least the several storms, as they have descended, have been, nevertheless, always content with aiming at one single colour and complexion of doctrine. The rainbow, the *Arco del cielo*, is the only natural object that wears this many-coloured robe, and we inhabitants of the earth, when we gaze upon it, can scarce comprehend, for very admiration, the rich glow of its blended colours. It would seem that the Prussian Commission has been somewhat ambitious of this variety for their 876 hymns, and, without any presumption, they may be said to have fully succeeded. It will not, then, be expected that we should here present our readers with specimens of this unusually multifarious description of food upon which the devotion of Prussia is nourished. The attempt, if made, would be much the same as if a traveller, in search of general knowledge, might contrive to make his way into a royal palace, and after there purloining a few fragments from one of his Majesty's banquets, should imagine himself to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the diet of all monarchs. Yet we hope to be pardoned, if, notwithstanding, we take our leave of this Collection, by making one extract of the Hymn No. 51, which is appointed to be used at the minister's discretion, in lieu of the *Apostles' Creed*:—

Wir glauben all' an einem Gott,
Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden,
Der sich zum Vater geben hat
Dass wir seine kinder werden.
Er will uns allzeit ernähren;
Leib und seel' auch wohl bewahren;
Allen unfall will er wehren;
Kein leid soll uns wider fahren;
Er sorget fur uns, hut't und wacht;
Es steht alles in seiner Macht.

Wir glauben auch an Jesum Christ,
Seinen Sohn und unsern Herren,
Der ewig bei dem Vater ist,
Gleicher Gott von macht und ehren.
Von Maria der Jungfrauen
Ist er wahrer, mensch geboren;
Durch den Heiligen Geist, im glauben
Für uns, die wir war'n verloren
Am Kreuz gestorben und vom Tod
Wied'r auferstanden ist durch Gott.

Wir glauben auch an Heiligen Geist,
Gott, mit Vater und dem Sohne,
Der aller blöden ein Troster heisst,
Uns mit gaben zieret schöne.
Die ganze Christenheit auf erden
Hält in einen sinn gar eben;
Hier all' sünd' vergeben werden,
Das fleisch soll uns wieder leben;
Nach diesem elend ist bereit't
Uns ein leben in Ewigkeit.

We all believe on one God,
Creator of Heaven and Earth,
Who hath given himself to the Father
That we might become his children.
He will for ever feed us;
Also defend both body and soul;
He will guard us from all harm;
No hurt shall come against us;
He careth for us, he keepeth us and watcheth;
All things are subject to his Power.

We believe also on Jesus Christ,
His Son, and our Lord,
Who is ever with the Father,
God equal in power and honour.
From Mary the Virgin
Is he born, very man;
By the Holy Ghost, in faith
For us who were lost
He died on the Cross, and from Death
Has risen again, through God.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost,
God, with the Father and the Son,
Who is the Comforter of all that mourn,
Adorning us with noble gifts.
The whole of Christendom on earth
He maintains in one mind;
Here every sin is forgiven,
The flesh shall come to life again;
After this distress is prepared
For us the life of Eternity.

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Such is the short and necessarily imperfect insight which we have been able to take into the Agenda of Prussia, as an instrument of public worship, the formation and introduction of which into his kingdom was the great object that occupied the last years of the late King of Prussia. Now, far be it from any person calling himself an Anglican Christian to utter one unkind word against a work which, from the beginning, was prompted by the desire of seeing Christian men more united in their worship of the God of peace than they had before been, profound beyond the ordinary measure of love for the things of God; a work, too, which was carried into execution with an uniform forbearance and a persuasive firmness on the part of the monarch, alike honourable both to his judgment and his piety. In short, but for the act of the present Archbishop of this Church, and his advisers, the Church of England could have had no title to form even a judgment of the manner in which royal zeal for the glory of God and the religious welfare of a people had manifested itself to the best advantage in such a kingdom as that of Prussia. It would have been simply our duty and wisdom to have looked on, and to have prayed that God would bless what was undertaken with a single view to his honour and glory. But the case is now far otherwise. We are informed, in a document entitled 'A Statement of the Proceedings relating to the establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, *published by authority*'—By the way, it cannot but be matter of observation, how singular a mode that is of manifesting spiritual authority, which connives at the circulation of a statement professing to be by authority, and yet suffers it to pass current, unauthenticated by any name which can give it the true substance of authority. What is the value of an anonymous claim to authority? This is a new question, peculiar to our generation. Does it mean that the real authority is afraid to speak openly? Or, like some hapless little infant, in the early days of Rome, is this Statement by authority exposed to public gaze before the parent will deign to avow his own offspring? Nay, might not any one disposed to make merry, fairly take occasion to propound the inquiry, whether, if such a Document, being anonymous, be really meant to partake of the nature of a Bull Hierarchical, it ought not to be considered to belong rather to the Hibernian than to the Roman school; and that all of near kin should be looked for in the land of St. Patrick, rather than in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Taking it for granted, however, in the mean time, though the precise value be unknown, still that some value is to be attached to that which has now for some length of time claimed, without contradiction, to be by authority, we are informed in it, that Germans are to be admitted to Anglican holy

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orders, who are after their ordination to celebrate divine service according to the Ritual of Prussia; and further, we are assured that, '*This Ritual, compiled from Ancient Liturgies, agrees in all points of doctrine with the subsequent Liturgy of the English Church.*' In the letter of the Primate to the present King of Prussia, dated Lambeth, June 18th, 1842, we are further told: '*The German Liturgy, which has been carefully examined by me, which is taken from the Liturgies received in the Churches of your Majesty's dominions, will be used in the celebration of Divine Service by the Clergymen who are appointed, on the following principle. Young divines who are candidates for the pastoral office in the German Church, who have obtained your Majesty's royal permission to this end, will exhibit proper testimonials ..... As soon as the Bishop has fully satisfied himself on these points, he will ordain the candidate, on his subscribing the three Creeds—the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed; and on his taking the oath of obedience to the Bishop and his successor, will give him permission to exercise the functions of his office.*'

Here an identity of purpose between Holy Orders as conferred by the Church of England, and a Liturgy compiled and authorized by a King of Prussia, is avowed by the Primate himself of the Church. It is true, that it is not made quite clear from the above, whether an entirely new Liturgy has or has not been compiled for the use of the Prusso-German congregation hereafter to be formed in Jerusalem; any how its use is necessarily for the present in abeyance, there being, as yet, no persons forming a congregation to take advantage of it. Should such a Liturgy turn out to have been framed, it does not affect the fact above stated. For the document in question, if in existence at all, is acknowledged to be a selection from that now current in Prussia, probably such an abbreviation of the whole Prussian Ritual as would be suitable to the circumstances of a small isolated congregation in a foreign city; but, of course, omitting none of the important matter contained in the larger one from which it is professed to be taken. The identity, therefore, remains, and it gives rise to two very important questions, neither of which appears to have met with any portion of that attention, which it were to have been thought could not fail to have been given to it by persons engaged in so sacred and so responsible a task.

The first of these is, whether it is at all consistent with the honour and integrity of the Anglican priesthood, that those who are admitted to the priestly office of the Church, so as to become *bonâ-fide* our brethren, members of the Anglican Clergy, should be allowed to exercise their sacred functions according to a ritual, of which the whole body of the Church knows no more than that

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it was compiled and introduced by the wish, and under the sanction, of a King of Prussia, well known for his personal piety, and that it has earned the common report of having sought to conciliate a peaceable adoption from parties holding very opposite sentiments, by sacrificing every strong statement which could be supposed likely to give any offence.* Of the details of this Ritual positively nothing is generally known, and the Church at home is consequently left in a state of uncertainty whether or no the language, thus newly put into the mouth of her future priests, officiating before God, is such as becomes the sacred functions of the Clergy. Nay, with the singularly cautious timidity that has been throughout so lamentably apparent in the whole transaction, we are made acquainted with the fact that the ritual in question has been carefully examined by the Primate, but instead of a hearty approbation, which might have been expected, in order to set the minds of the Clergy at rest—*nothing*, positively *nothing* is said, either in praise or censure, bad, good, or indifferent; all that we are informed (the above anonymous assurance, that there is a general agreement between it and our own Liturgy, excepted) is, that those German divines who may receive Holy Orders from the Bishop, are to exercise their functions by it. Now, where is the security here given to those of the Clergy of the Mother Church, who may be no more than justly jealous for the honour of their ministry—and whose feelings are surely deserving of some regard—that no dishonour will accrue to the holy office whose functions are to be thus exercised? We are not complaining as if none could be given; we are but saying, that, as yet, none, positively none, has been given. It were to have been thought, that a matter of such deep practical import—one which, viewed aright, is so full of heavy responsibility to those engaged in bringing it about, and which necessarily entails so many unforeseen consequences—as the question, whether an Anglican priest should have permission to lay aside the Ritual of the Church, and to adopt another Ritual, would itself have been judged so deeply to concern the welfare of the whole Church, that it should not have been entertained without an accompanying solemnity of public prayer to God, that he would overrule all counsels for the glory of his own name, and the wellbeing of his ministry. Alas, public prayer has no share in modern counsels!

In the case before us, we fear there is but too much reason to confess, sorrowfully indeed, but yet confessed it must be, that no sufficient sense even of the responsibility of the step

* We have since been informed, that an express Liturgy has been compiled for the use of the Anglo-Prussian congregation, of the publication of which we have hitherto not been able to learn any intelligence.

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about to be taken appears to have been entertained. The old liturgy is set aside, and a new liturgy given to priests ordained by a suffragan of our Primate, while that Primate is not careful to assure the Church, whose head he is, that he even approves of the liturgy thus given; nay, even the assurance that he has so much as looked at it, is not conveyed directly to his Clergy at home, but appears accidentally, by the way-side, in a letter to a foreign prince. Alas, indeed, for the throne of Canterbury, and the seat of judgment, when its occupant shall be prepared, out of compliment to a foreign prince, to be forgetful of the sacred union between himself and his own Clergy.

The next question is, whether anything formally heretical, and false in doctrinal teaching, is contained in the new liturgy, thus engrafted into the functions of the Anglican priesthood. The determination of this is properly a matter for subsequent inquiry whenever the Prussian Ritual, or the Anglo-Prussian-Jerusalem Liturgy, shall be laid before the English Church. In the present stage of the matter many painful doubts and apprehensions cannot fail to arise. It is a painful and invidious task at any time to seem to be needlessly censorious towards a work which was begun in so truly Christian and loving a spirit as was that of the late King of Prussia, when he attempted to give a liturgy to his people; but when by a definite act of the spiritual authorities of the Church of England, this very liturgy, or its substance, is given to priests of her own ordaining, the rigid scrutiny which before would have been justly looked upon as a piece of wanton censoriousness, now becomes a positive duty, as an act of self-protection. It becomes a duty on our part to ascertain for ourselves, whether we can conscientiously recognise those to be brother priests, who use, not only a different ritual in their functions, but a ritual respecting which we have had no proper assurance given to us that, as a liturgy, it is orthodox and becoming. Had the Clergy of the English Church never been called upon to hail the young divines of Berlin as brother-members of the Anglican Clergy with themselves, there might have been as little cause, as there certainly would have been little inclination, to have examined the Prussian Ritual. But the case is far otherwise now.

The first point that attracts attention in the Prussian Agenda is the absence of all provision in this liturgy for the daily worship of the Almighty. Whatever may be true of the living Clergy of the English Church, that they have failed to render to God the daily portion of worship due to His name, the Church herself has not, as yet, formally taken her part with the Anti-Christ by whom the daily sacrifice is to be taken away. Our Liturgy contains an Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, to

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be said daily throughout the year; and the giving effect to this provision is part of the duty with which her ministers are charged at their ordination. The Prussian Liturgy contains no such provision; one Morning Service for the Sunday, and a few other chief festivals, forms the sum total of its provision for the worship of God; and as if there were serious reason to fear lest even that might be thought too much, the book expressly states that, a service of an hour long is ordinarily quite enough; and that if more than an hour and a half is desired, an express permission must be obtained from the Consistory. An Anglican priest, then, confined to the use of the Prussian Ritual, would find himself simply unable to render God his daily priestly service.

Another point of equal importance, again, is found in the Office for the Administration of the Holy Eucharist. Can the elements of bread and wine be said to have received valid consecration by the mere repetition of the words in which our blessed Saviour instituted his Supper? What is the meaning of calling upon the people *to hear attentively the words of institution?* Is it supposed that a congregation, assembled for the purpose of communicating, require to be taught that their Saviour did institute such a supper? Certainly not! They do require to be certified that the minister who stands at the altar has power so to bless the elements of bread and wine that they may become to them the body and blood of the Lord, in the same sense, and in no other, as they were to the apostles, who received them from our Lord's own hands: they do not require to be reminded that our Lord did institute His Holy Supper, yet this certainly seems to be all that the Prussian Liturgy does for those who come to communicate—at least so thinks one who can hardly be suspected of being a prejudiced witness.

'Ten years after the establishment of the new Prussian 'Church, (says Mr. Laing) Bishop Eylert, of Potsdam, pub-'lished a defence (1830) and explanation of its principle and 'working. According to the reverend author's view, the merit 'of his new liturgy (he was one of the composers of it) *consists* '*mainly* in the historical presentation of the sacramental ele-'ments of the Lord's Supper: in the consecration of the 'elements in the Lutheran and in the Calvinistic Church, it is 'distinctly announced to the communicant in what sense it is 'presented to him:—in the one, it is as the body and blood; in 'the other, it is as the symbols of the body and blood. The 'synod of Berlin evaded the dilemma by not consecrating the 'elements at all, either in the one or the other sense, but pre-'senting them to the communicant with the historical averment, '"Christ said, This is My body," &c. "Christ said, This is My

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'blood," &c.—that is, in its being so presented that *each denomi-*
'*nation of Christians may take it, and apply his own meaning to*
'*it.*—Pp. 37, 38. (Über den Werth, und die Wirkung der
'Evangelische Kirche, &c.)—The reverend Bishop forgets that,
'so taken, it is no sacrament at all: it is only a reference to an
'historical fact, not to any religious signification of that fact,
'such as Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists attach to it,
'however widely they may differ from each other as to what
'that signification is, or ought to be. On his principle, Jew,
'Gentile, or Mahometan, might receive the Sacrament from
'him, and remain Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan: for it is only
'presented to him as figuring an historical fact,—not at all
'doubted, and not at all connected with any peculiar doctrine
'attached to that fact. This courtly divinity may suit the
'meridian of Potsdam, but it is not Christian divinity.'—*Laing*, pp. 188, 189.—*Vide Christian Remembrancer*, No. XVI. p. 403. Vol. III.

As we run cursorily over the remainder of the Agenda, other important defects appear.

The Office for Baptism, it is true, contains a formal enunciation of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and states sufficiently the propriety of Infant Baptism. The Form for the Confirmation of Children is full and solemn; but the power of confirming is given by it to the ordinary minister. The Office of Matrimony is tolerably simple and beautiful. The Form for the Administration of the Lord's Supper to the Sick is merely abbreviated from the larger office. The Order for Burial consists of no more than the sentence of Scripture—'Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return;' followed by the declaration—'Jesus Christ will raise thee at the last day;' after which an appropriate prayer.

The most remarkable of these Offices, perhaps, is that appointed for the *Ordination of Preachers*. The officiating Consecrator (who is here, as in the Rite of Confirmation, merely of the rank of presbyter) stands with those who assist him at the altar; those who are to receive Ordination are placed below them. When the *Veni Creator Spiritus* has been sung, the chief minister says solemnly the words, 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' which are followed by a prayer. The names of the candidates for Orders are then read; and the assisting Clergy recite alternately some passages of the Scripture, setting forth the duties of the Clergy; after which, the candidates are required to repeat the Apostles' Creed, and to listen attentively to an address, which declares the nature of the duties they are about to undertake.

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After the candidates have declared their readiness to undertake the office by replying to four inquiries put to them, their ministry is given to them in the ensuing words:—

'Ye have acknowledged your duties; ye have declared your 'earnest purpose to fulfil the same;

'God Almighty strengthen you and aid you to perform all 'that you have promised. And I, by virtue of the power that 'is committed to me on account of God, (*von Gotteswegen*, not 'simply *von Gott*) from his Church and from the king to this 'end, hereby deliver unto thee *the office of Preacher*, in the name 'of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

Then follow, in due order, a Prayer for Grace and the Lord's Prayer; after which the ministers present lay their hands upon the head of the candidate, the ordaining minister pronouncing a blessing. The service concludes with a prayer, and an admonition to those that have been ordained.

It cannot fail to be observed as regards this form, that, independent of the absence of the Bishop, whose presence, according to the Anglican Ritual, is indispensable to the validity of the whole proceeding, the laying on of hands does not here confer the office, but is purposely made no more than an addition to the solemnity of the blessing conferred. Not only is the ministry not conveyed by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, but it is not *conveyed* by the imposition of hands at all.

In the three Creeds which follow this office, the deviation from the correct version of the original in the Apostles' Creed has already been noticed. The Nicene Creed has no more than a permission to be used now and then in lieu of the Apostles' Creed, in those places where the custom of using it may have been in existence.

In the Athanasian Creed, the word *Catholic* is changed to *Christian*, as in the sentence, 'before all things he must hold the *Catholic* faith.' In the Prussian version it stands, 'before all things he must hold the true *Christian* faith:' and, again, in the concluding verse, the Prussian version is, 'this is the true *Christian* faith,' &c.

The Catechism for Evangelical Christians omits the second Commandment altogether; and divides the tenth into two, after the pattern of many of the Roman Catholic Catechisms.

The latter clause contains a very proper instruction upon the nature of the true ministry of the Gospel, inculcating the belief, that the mission of the minister is from Christ, and that he is vested with the power of binding and loosing.

As far, then, as a brief survey of this sort can convey an adequate impression of the new Prussian Liturgy, it becomes a

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very serious question to the English Church, whether it can be said, with any degree of truth, to *agree* in all points of doctrine with the Anglican Liturgy, according to the assurance of the anonymous Statement, and whether it can be deemed to supply, in any sufficient measure, the means necessary for the full and complete exercise of the priestly functions, as we believe them to be conveyed by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop. In whatever degree this shall seem to be the case, and the question remains open for further inquiry, this much is quite plain, there is not a single priest in the whole Church who is not affected by the measure of which we have been speaking, and who is not entitled to enter his protest against an act which, on inquiry, may be found fatally to betray the honour and integrity of his sacred office, and to carry his complaint, respectfully and solemnly, to the seat of that authority which has, for the time, given its sanction to the evil.

We are not, however, anticipating the result of a more deliberate inquiry: we are rather begging that so deeply-important a question may be adequately examined, for the sake of the Church and her responsible rulers; for the sake of the position of Bishop Alexander, and the line of conduct prescribed to him. For these have a right and wrong completely their own, and are justifiable or not, without so much as a reference to any results of his mission which may have been hitherto apparent. We have heard so much of the taunt against the order of Jesuits in the Protestant world, that they never scrupled to do evil that good might come, that even were it to appear, in the review we are now about to take of the results of the mission, that the good, as far as we have any means of forming an estimate, which in matters of this kind must clearly be highly imperfect, considerably overbalanced the evil, there would still be an obvious hardihood on the part of even a zealous advocate of the mission, who should appeal to the results which have followed in proof of the rectitude of the measure. Even the heathen poet could say—

"Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat."

And a principle which holds good so well in secular matters, is most likely to have some application in ecclesiastical questions, more especially where the ambiguity is so great at the very outset, as to what may be justly considered success, and what failure. Added to this, that the object of all ecclesiastical measures is avowedly to influence men's minds for their good, to draw them towards the truth, and away from evil. Now, who is able to estimate accurately the influence of a single act, even over an individual mind? How much more fallible, then, must

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be the attempt to calculate the results, for good or for evil, of a continually-progressive act, a living system, absorbing living men into itself, stirring them up with an incalculable number of unforeseen motives, such as no living creature could anticipate. The very notion of drawing a true conclusion as to the fundamental principles of any given ecclesiastical measure, from any supposed estimate of its visible results, must fall at once to the ground in the mind of every practical observer, if for no other reason (and other reasons there are) at least for the utter fallibility and uncertainty of any such human estimate. The inquiry lies quite in another region, away from the calculation of results, and mounts up into consideration of the eternal principles of executive law and order, by which God Himself works, principles originating from His Godhead, and vouchsafed to man only so far as he has sought to return again to God, and to recover his once upright and right-thinking nature.

With the review, then, of what seems hitherto to have resulted from the measure, we have certainly no very immediate concern. The character of the mission, as good or evil, depends upon a very different inquiry. It is, then, without any design either to justify or to accuse, that we now approach the remaining part of our subject, in which we intend to cast a sort of glance over the apparent effects that have, as far as may be easily gathered, resulted from it, intending no more than to collect a few particulars, interesting to those who may be on the watch for tokens how the scheme works. That which ought to be viewed independently of all results, is, of course, independent of an imperfect estimate of them. And yet, even imperfect information, to those whose fears, interests, sympathies, and anxieties are awakened, cannot be otherwise than acceptable.

The position of Dr. Alexander has a wholly separate and peculiar interest, involving wholly different and distinct subjects of thought, for two very numerous classes in England. One large portion of the people of England have lately had their attention drawn to the subject of the prophecies, by several enthusiastic writers, whose chief characteristic seems to be, if we may venture to speak plainly, their impatient desire of being permitted to see some vast revelation of God's power upon earth before they die,—a hope, for which they see no other chance, except it be through the medium of the unbelieving part of the Jewish nation. We are not referring to the mysterious subject of the expected millennium, during which Satan, it is thought, will be bound for a thousand years. This ancient and widely cherished hope of the early Church must remain among the secrets of God, which even the angels desire to look into, until God shall please to

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unfold the event. What we now refer to, is something of a much more palpably earthly character. Impatience to know what those great ends are for which God has created man, has long been a disease of the human heart, from which even the holiest men have not, at times, been free. The saying of the Psalmist, 'O God, wherefore hast Thou made all men for nought?' betokens more or less of this feeling. It is quite conceivable how an excess of this feeling, an earnest desire to look forward and to anticipate the times appointed of the Father, should, on casting inquiring looks over the earth for tokens of the movement of the nations, be attracted by the sight of the Jewish people; their singular adherence to their own name and customs; their dispersion over the habitable globe; their dwelling among the nations, without being numbered with them; their marked physiognomy, character, and mode of life. Add to this, their past history; their former adoption by the Lord God of Israel; the long series of miraculous dealings to which they were subjected by the ministry of prophets and holy men; here, indeed, is a marvellous sight! no wonder that it should attract the eye, and that people should turn aside to see this great sight. And when it further appears, that to the name of Israel, which this nation still bears, wonderful things are prophesied in the oracles of God, by prophets of their own blood, it is no matter of surprise, that minds alive to the marvels of God's providence, awakened to the fact of there being a hidden mysteriousness in our present being, notwithstanding all that the common-place current of the world, and the ordinary nature of our usual employments, seems to tell to the contrary,—it is not a matter of surprise that such minds, not knowing where to turn to feed their craving for some clearer apprehension of the mystery of their being, and having, probably, never heard of the duty of calmly waiting till it should please God Himself to lift up the veil, should eagerly turn to the spectacle of the present unbelieving nation of Israel, and welcome the belief that in that nation are contained the secret seeds of the great coming manifestation of the power of God, which is, if the truth could be known, the thing which they are longing for.

The world is felt to be very common-place: it does not satisfy a religious mind,—it never did, and never will. Yet, the need of something to satisfy the void within is felt; and in the absence of the voice of their true mother the Church, and for want of a better object on which to fasten their hopes and longings, many religious and earnest minds have fixed upon the unbelieving Jews, as being supposed to contain the germ of that great manifestation of God, in the thought and expectation of which they find an object that does satisfy them.

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They have some secret wonderful feeling, as of something great being about to happen, the contemplation of which is delightful. What if the whole Jewish people were to be converted in our day? What a flood of Christian truth would go forth over the earth? What an animated scene the world would become? The armies of light and the powers of darkness actually in conflict! Who would not throw themselves heart and soul into such a cause? Here lies the secret, why the idea of making Jewish converts has been so generally popular. People have not known the Catholic view of the prophetic parts of the Old Testament; and it would now, very probably, cost them the abandonment of too many fondly-cherished dreams, to leave much likelihood that they will readily accept it. Yet the truth is obvious. The Jewish people, after the Lord Jesus Christ, whom St. Paul calls the Minister of the Circumcision (Rom. xv. 8), had lived and died among them, did not wholly become reprobate. Even in those days there was a remnant which believed upon Him. The olive-tree was, indeed, shorn of its branches, but the root still remained in the ground; and the coming of the Messiah did not root it up, but caused it again to bear fruit upward. The Gospel did not take away the kingdom from Israel: it effected a change in its nature, and converted the temporal dominion of David into the ecclesiastical dominion of the Son of David: still adhering to the line of Israel, but extending its border, and embracing the Gentiles as a body, grafting them in, and elevating them to the rank of fellow-subjects, a dignity which before they had altogether lacked.

Those who interpret the promises made to Israel by the prophets of the Old Testament to be spoken of the unbelieving portion of the nation as it now exists, scattered over the face of the earth, have to bear the constant perplexity of not knowing where the line of demarcation is to be drawn between what they consider to be respectively due to the Gentile Church and to the Jewish Church; for they do hold some part to belong to the Christians; and hitherto no satisfactory principle of apportionment appears to have been discovered. Upon the Catholic view, the difficulty does not exist, because a Catholic knows of no such thing as a Gentile Church and a Jewish Church, two distinct and rival claimants for the future fulfilment of prophecy, demanding to be satisfied separately. He is content, with St. Paul, to believe that God has broken down the partition wall, and has made Gentile and Jew both one in Christ; and that there is henceforth but one Church of Christ, the city of God, of whom very excellent things are spoken, which has all baptized persons for its members, be they Jew or Gentile, to which one Church all that the prophets speak belong. What God in His

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secret counsels may design to do with the present unbelieving nation of Israel, the event alone can declare. That there are intimations of His will with respect to their future condition in the Scriptures, few will be even inclined to deny; but what these may be, we do not now venture to determine. There is no reason at all to think that they occupy no share in the counsels of God. Doubtless there is some wonderful reason in God's providence, why the Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises, whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came (Rom. ix. 4, 5,) are, as a nation, now unbelievers in their Messiah; and this reason seems to be, that in the fall of the Jews there is some strong warning which has abounded to the riches of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 12,) which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Gentiles in the faith; and that as concerning the Gospel, they are now enemies, for the sake of believing Gentiles; but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. (Rom. xi. 28.) Whatever St. Paul's revelations may have been touching the purpose of God, as regarded the multitude of his unbelieving kinsmen after the flesh, it is plain he did not hold the modern doctrine of an unbelieving Jewish Church, a rival candidate for the fulfilment of prophecy, with the believing Gentile Church. With St. Paul, God had of two made both one in Christ Jesus; and of this Church thus made one, the body of Christ, was he a minister (Col. i. 25) under his Lord the *Head*.

Enough, however, has been said to account very rationally how it came to pass that the appointment of a bishop, to labour for the conversion of the few Jews who go to die in the city of Jerusalem and the land of their fathers, should come to be so generally welcomed. As time advances, and truer views of the nature of the undertaking begin to prevail, it will not be very sanguine to indulge a hope that the same genuine love for the Gospel which prompted a mission to the Jews of Palestine, will be inclined to seek more hopeful ways of exerting itself in works of mercy at home,—ways less romantic certainly, but far more beneficent. Indeed, a more sterile undertaking can scarcely be imagined, when it is borne in mind that about thirty catechumens, with a weekly salary in some instances amounting to seventy piastres (fifteen shillings), was, in October 1843, the whole ostensible fruit of the mission. We would not, however, be here misunderstood to mean that we think that there is no duty of attempting to evangelize the unbelieving Jews, on the part of a Christian Church. On the contrary, it is a very high and sacred duty; and we willingly bear testimony to the zeal and

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learning which has lately been evinced in their behalf; zeal which will doubtless earn a far higher reward than our praise. But we trust, nevertheless, that it is quite possible to feel for the miseries of the Jews, without the necessity of approving every measure and method that has been of late taken to relieve and bring them to the truth.* Say it we must, however painful, there is no occasion to revive—and it has already been done by some, at least, of the forward members of the Jews' Society—the HERESY of the Nazarenes.

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* The annexed extract from the notes of a beneficed clergyman, who visited Jerusalem in the spring of this year(1844), will be interesting to some readers:—

'It consists of Jews, fed and clothed, receiving, I believe, seventy piastres a week each. There might be thirty, at most, in October 1843;—doubtful whether converts or not.

'A distinction is maintained between Jew and Gentile,—the term *Gentiles* is applied to Christians, not Jews.

'The service is read daily, in the morning, in Hebrew, at 7 A.M. Collects sometimes omitted, and lessons changed, for no intelligible reason.

'*October* 11.—The Bishop's chaplain and secretary (Mr. Ewald) read the service in Hebrew. For the first lesson, he read Isaiah lxv. instead of Judith xiii. On the 12th of October, Jer. xxiii. instead of Judith xv.; and for the second lesson, S. Mark xvi. instead of S. Mark xv. On Tuesday, the 17th October, the Bishop read for the first lesson, Zeph. iii. instead of Wisd. ix.; and for the second lesson, S. Matt xi. instead of S. Luke iii. Before the service was sung a hymn from a book called "Songs of Zion." The book used for psalmody on Sundays, is one printed by the Jews' Society. On Sunday evenings, I understood there was a service (English) at the Bishop's house;—what besides the prayers I do not know, as I did not go.

'The church (now begun, and raised about six feet) stands on ground belonging to the Syrian Church, near which, I believe, a church formerly stood, confiscated to the Turks. This church was in ruins, but the Turks are repairing it for a mosque, for which it has been used, and will be no small thorn to the English church, if ever it is built.

'*Wednesday, October* 18, (morning.)—The Bishop read, first lesson, Haggai iii. for Ecclus. li.; second lesson, S. Matt. xix. for S. Luke iv. No notice whatever taken of S. Luke's Festival.

'*Thursday, October* 19.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. ii. and iii. for Wisd. xi.; second lesson, S. Matt. xx. for S. Luke v.

'*Friday, October* 20.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. vi. for Wisd. xiii.; second, S. Matt. xxi. for S. Luke vi.

'*Saturday, October* 21.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. viii. for Wisd. xv.

'Jews are ordained deacons and presbyters; their fitness is more than questionable.

'The Bishop considers himself the successor of S. James, and virtually sets aside the whole line of Greek patriarchs. He considers the prophecies respecting Jerusalem and Mount Zion as bearing a strictly literal interpretation,—that there the grand centre of the Church is to be placed, and thither all the sons of Zion are to be gathered (*i.e.* the converted Jews.) How the *Gentile* Church is to be incorporated, or amalgamated with it, I do not understand. It certainly, however, holds a much lower rank, and I believe the going to settle at Jerusalem is held out in London as a high privilege to those who are designated peculiarly as "Sons of Zion."

'The Oriental Christians are altogether neglected: the sounding phrases in the English Archbishop's letter are forgotten as so much wind; and the English Bishop lodged on one occasion at the *Armenian* convent at Bethlehem. This cannot lead to friendly feeling on the part of the Greeks, much less to their improvement, as was expected at home.

'The language of the confession of faith in the Sunday evening service (at

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But it is time to pass onward to the point of view in which Dr. Alexander's mission exhibits a more extensive range of interest. It is no longer a secret, indeed it was scarcely a secret from the first, that the object which the Prussian court had in view (for of course there was an object in view) in requesting to be allowed to share in the burden and maintenance of a new episcopate in Jerusalem, was, if possible, to introduce the episcopate from thence into the Evangelical Church which his late Majesty had formed. What in the world could Prussian diplomatists be supposed to care for enthusiastic schemes entertained by not a few warm hearted and well meaning people in this country, for the immediate recovery of the whole Jewish people in their own generation? Do we imagine the cabinet of Berlin to have suddenly become Philo-Judaics, as a little while ago a great part of Europe became Phil-Hellenes? Politicians are much too well acquainted with the facts of the Jewish character and sentiments to be likely persons to give ear to tales of an approaching Jewish conversion. They know perfectly well how unchanged is the love of the whole Jewish people for money, and how ready the mass of that nation are 'to be all things to all men,' for the sake of their national idol, 'money.' When politicians are in want of money, to whom do they go to obtain it?—to the Jews; for, with the reprobation from the kingdom of Christ, there has belonged to that people an understanding in the kingdom of Mammon as far above that of all other nations of the earth, as their darkness in all that pertains to the light of God's revelation exceeds that of all other people. Is it then so probable that a cabinet, in company with other cabinets, accustomed to look upon the Jews as convenient money-agents, should be suddenly smitten with a romantic desire for their instantaneous recovery

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three o'clock) may form a comment on this: "I believe in one holy *Christian* Church," not Catholic. ("Eine heilige Christliche Kirche.")

'The whole aim seems to be to build up the very wall between Jew and Gentile which the great Apostle and the primitive Church took such pains to break down,—to contradict and falsify the equality and unity expressed in such passages as the 2d chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

'The only English at Jerusalem, when I was there, with the exception of the mission, (which comprehended the Bishop and his family, the chaplains and their families, the architect, and the physician,) were the Consul and his wife. The Prussian Consul, a very amiable and well-informed man, Dr. Schultz, spoke English fluently, and on Sunday mornings attended the English service.

'A Jew, of the name of Sternshuss, or something like it, who had been a servant, was sent to Safed, to pave the way for his ordination. What degree of learning was required of him I do not know, but I heard the standard was *very* low. It is doubtful whether Dr. Alexander himself can construe the Greek Testament, or even the Vulgate. All who condemn any of their errors and strange doings, are denounced as enemies, and as obstructing the conversion of the Jews.'—*MS. Notes on the Church of Mount Zion.*

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from their love of mammon to the Gospel? Does the cabinet of Prussia, and his Majesty, really sympathize in Dr. Alexander's dreams about the regeneration of that city which Jesus Christ has expressly forewarned us 'shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;' doubtless on purpose that the Gentiles over the whole world may see, in the abiding miserable state of the once chosen city, the joy of the whole earth, an ever-present reflection of the future inexpressible desolation of all who, during this their day of mercy, shall put away God's words from them, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant of the Gospel of the Son of God? No, no! Politicians are politicians; and the object of the Prussian cabinet, whatever it may be, is certainly not likely to have much to do with the recovery of the Jews from their spiritual darkness. The Jews are much too useful for present political purposes to make it over probable that there exists so very ardent a desire in the political world for their conversion to the Gospel. But there needs no proof how little the real design on the part of Prussia has to do with the recovery of the Jews. The maxim of James the First of England, *No Bishop, no King!* has never been lost sight of in the royal counsels of Prussia.

The progress of political sentiments over Europe has plainly shown, even to mere politicians, that religion without a government possessed of an inherent power over the consciences of the people, tends naturally to anarchy, discord, and dissolution. And, notwithstanding that the legitimate objects of the conscientious hierarchical government are necessarily at variance with many of the views and aims of the keen mundane politician, and the ends of what is thought to be good secular government; the one aiming at preparing a people ready for the Lord, trained in the practices of piety and godliness, and requiring a considerable part of their time to be taken from secular purposes, and to be given to exercises having no visible secular utility whatever; the other aiming only at a material prosperity of wealth and fatness of life. This being so, even politicians have, notwithstanding, the discernment to discover that their proper pursuit is not a safe one in the long run, there being a leaven of Satanic agency at work in all human polities, which aims directly at overthrow, anarchy, and destruction, and which only waits its time to go forth to destroy. Wisdom therefore inclines them, even contrary to their avowed principles, to seek for that heavenly power which God has provided to be the salt of the earth, which casteth out the devil; and even politicians seek for the shadow of the tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. In Prussia, so early as the time of Frederick I.,—who

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was the first to obtain from the diet of the empire, that the electorate of Brandenburgh should be changed into the kingdom of Prussia,—the desire for an episcopal government appears to have been felt. Indeed, the king himself, to add greater solemnity to his coronation, which took place in the year 1700, appointed two titular bishops, Dr. Ursinus, and a colleague, who died soon afterwards, to grace the ceremonial with their presence. And in due time many very interesting letters passed between Dr. Jablonski, the court preacher of Berlin, Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and others, relative to the desired consecration of a bishop for Prussia, and the introduction of the Anglican Liturgy into that kingdom.

On looking over this correspondence, an edition of which was afterwards published in 1767, in London, in the French language, purporting to contain translations from the originals, by one J. T. Muysson, and issued by the grandchildren of the Archbishop, a very commendable spirit appears on the part of the Prussian authorities, as a few short extracts will show.

'*Letter of Dr. Jablonski, first Chaplain, &c. &c., to Baron Printzen, President of Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs in Berlin.*

'Your excellence having lately commissioned myself and col-
'leagues, on the part of his Majesty, to trace out separately a
'plan of ecclesiastical discipline, I take the liberty to lay my
'thoughts before you.

'I conceive that the good order or discipline of the Church
'does not merely comprise the Liturgy, or the form appointed
'for public worship and the administration of sacraments, but
'also polity ecclesiastical, or the form appointed for the
'government of the Church.

'I. *Liturgy.* I am obliged to confess frankly, that I have
'remarked that many evangelical societies, and other churches,
'have avoided the excesses of the catholic Romans, whose wor-
'ship is overladen with pomp and idolatry, only in order to fall
'into the opposite extreme of a service, cold, superficial, and
'scarcely respectful.

* * * * *

'The opinion now prevalent in these latter days is, that Divine
'service consists in the sermon, to such an extent that the term
'Divine service has fallen into disuse. For instance, people do
'not say, Will there be Divine service to-day? will you go to
'the service of God? but only, Will there be a sermon? will
'you go to the sermon?'

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Reflexions of Dr. Jablonski upon the Letter of M. Bonnét, Minister of the King of Prussia, resident at London, addressed to his Master from London.

After making a few remarks upon some observation of Mr. Bonnét, favourable to the plan, he proceeds:—

'In my view, two things are incontestable.

'I. That subordination is as necessary in the government of 'the Church as it is in any other society or body politic. Our 'Saviour compares himself to a captain or general, and his 'Church to an army; but if all the officers of the army were of 'equal rank and place immediately under the authority of the 'director-in-chief, how could the army be governed, and of 'what use would it be?

'II. That this subordination, necessary in itself, cannot be 'better realized than by means of a well-regulated episcopate.

'1. On account of the veneration which is due to the primi-'tive Church, and for the sake of the conformity with her, that 'the Christian Church of our days would thus gain; and for 'fear lest, by being separate from the Roman Church, we be 'deemed to have estranged ourselves from the Catholic Church.

'2. In order to give no scandal to those Christians who have 'retained the ancient constitution.

'3. To recover the clergy from the contempt into which 'their office has fallen in many places. * * * This is not 'the way (says the Doctor, after having noticed the contempt 'in which the office of pastor was then held) to show ourselves 'thankful for the grace of God in having given us the light of 'the Gospel. When God formed the government, civil and 'ecclesiastical, of his people, he founded the office of chief 'priest (*souverain sacrificateur*), as well as different orders of 'priests and Levites under their chief; and the chief priest 'whom he chose was brother to their leader, Moses. He 'assigned also to the whole order of priests revenues and suit-'able authority. On the other hand, the Holy Ghost has 'noted, in various places, that when Jeroboam substituted his 'own plan of ecclesiastical government for that of God, he 'ordained priests of the lowest of the people. I confess these 'passages have often occasioned me reflections the most serious, 'and have grieved me to the bottom of my heart.'—Pp. 80.

The answer of Baron Printzen to the memorial from which the above is extracted, called upon Dr. Jablonski to draw up his project for the introduction of the Episcopate into Prussia; which was accordingly done, in fifteen sections, and presented to the baron the 7th of May, 1711. We wish we could find

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room to give entire the whole of this document, on account of the soundness of the views it contains of the perfect possibility of the royal and ecclesiastical functions coexisting peaceably together, the one rendering to God the things belonging to God, and the other to Cæsar those things which belong to him.

This project, however, came to nothing, as Dr. Richardson, who has written the sequel to Bishop Godwin's treatise, 'De Præsulibus Angliæ,'* thinks, in the first instance, owing to the oscitancy and timidity of Archbishop Tenison, who is said to have refused the application made by Dr. Ursinus for consecration, but who seems, from whatever cause, never to have favourably entertained the scheme of Dr. Jablonski; and afterwards by the death of the monarch and Archbishop Sharp.

In the present generation, the project of Dr. Jablonski appears to have revived, and to have found other advocates; and, as far as circumstances enable a judgment to be formed, there is the same readiness on the part of the civil power in Prussia to admit the episcopate into the kingdom which there evidently was on the part of his Majesty Frederick I. in the time of Dr. Jablonski. The difficulty does certainly not lie ostensibly in jealousy entertained on the side of royal authority: it would seem rather as if eagerness to obtain the Episcopate was characteristic of the royal counsels. The real difficulty lies in the mode in which the people of Germany have been brought up since the Reformation, in their habits of domestic religion, or rather absence of religion, their free range over all sacred subjects of speculation, the nature of their universities, and the system in which that portion of the youth of the country is trained up who are destined to become the teachers of the multitudes. External *discipline* and *self-restraint* are two things to which almost every student of a German university is a total stranger, and more especially the theological student; indeed, by its very constitution, the German university is incapable of any judicious and regular moral, intellectual, or mental discipline. In the days of the Catholic regimen, the calendar and the doctrine of the Church, as well as the habits of ecclesiastical life, enforced a sufficient practical restraint upon the students of the universities, and subjected all classes, students included, to a wholesome and sufficient control. But with the Reformation, and the removal of the legitimate supervision of the true Clergy, there has grown up, throughout the length and breadth of Germany, in that class of the population which resorts to univer-

* The passage containing the censure of the Archbishop was afterwards cancelled, and replaced by a fresh leaf, at the instance of Archbishop Potter.—*Vide* Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii. p. 250.

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sities for education, an undisciplined, lawless spirit of life, thought, speculation, and conscience, which at different times has shown such symptoms as have attracted the notice of the civil authorities, and caused no little concern in the seat of government, as to what it would eventually lead. It is also notorious to those who have ever had any personal acquaintance with the living spirit of the university students of Germany, that the only quarter from which there emanates any power of wholesome restraint adequate to the correction of their excesses, is the fear of the police, and of an arrest for a term of years, or for life, in some one of the royal fortresses, Spandau or Ehrenbreitstein. As for degradation or suspension operating, or being likely to operate, as a punishment, and therefore constituting a serviceable power of restraint; there must in order to this be a sense and appreciation of rank from whence to degrade, and of this the students are wholly unconscious; and if they were, the facility of migrating from one state to another, and the plentiful sympathy which the tenets of freedom have created in favour of any seeming martyr in the cause of lawlessness, would still put an end to all internal power of good government; so that, in point of fact, known to no persons so well as to statesmen, the whole university system of Germany exists, throughout the length and breadth of the land, devoid of anything like an internal power of systematic conscientious government, the only power which is sensibly felt, and which is sometimes exerted, being a royal or ducal arrest in some military strong post.

So very little is known in England of the miserable lawlessness of the whole system, or rather absence of system—we mean moral system—in which the educated portion of Protestant Germany is trained up for their future duties in life, that no Englishman, accustomed to what yet remains of the general popular veneration for good order and ancient dignities of the land, can form an idea of what the position or duties of the Episcopate would be if it were suddenly to be given to any portion of Protestant Germany. The Episcopate, as the very name intimates, implies a living governor, entitled to take the oversight of the flock subjected to his pastoral care. It implies a sense, on the part of that governor, of a divine gift of the Holy Ghost residing in him, empowering him to exercise his office as overseer, with a power of censure, reward, and remission, and a trust in the presence of the Holy Ghost, guiding him aright in the execution of his office; and on the part of the people, it implies a sense of the benefits to be derived from their living under such a government, a regard and veneration for the office of their overseer, as being from God, an esteem for him personally, as the person appointed of God to watch for their

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souls, and to render an account to Him of them. Such is, to this day, the true relationship between the Catholic Bishop and his flock; and, in the eyes of all good Christians, the ties which bind the chief pastor and his flock together are more precious than rubies, or much fine gold. In a word, their life, thus guarded, is gratefully felt by them to be under the shadow of the wings of the Almighty; and whatever may become of temporal dynasties, the mind of the Catholic Christian towards the Episcopate inclines him to say, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and thy dominion endureth throughout all ages.' The peculiarity, however, of the Episcopal power—and it is precisely that particular point in it which the worldly politician has the most difficulty to understand—is this, Whence does this extraordinary willingness to submit come? whence this desire to be governed? this eager longing for guidance? this love to hear and obey the shepherd's voice? all which are characteristic of catholic-minded people. The worldly politician in his heart scarcely believes the possibility of such sentiments towards any human governor; accustomed to deal with the principles of the old Adam, he would rather doubt, if so be, his own eyes and ears, than believe the *plainest* evidence of the wonders of the new creation. The politician's maxim,—according to a modern phrase, we believe an American one,—is, that there are but two ways of governing men, *bamboo or bamboozle*; and if so, the notion of governing them by faith, hope, and love, the principles of the new creation, can be no better than a dream. When, therefore, the world did really gain a sight of the wonders of the Christian Church, and saw before their eyes the people following with a glad mind the path pointed out to them by their ecclesiastical governors, who were men possessed of no outward marks of power or pre-eminence, they wondered, they were irritated, they bitterly reviled and persecuted; but they ended, by bowing down before a power, the secret of which they could not comprehend, while its fruits they could not escape from seeing before their eyes. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy, that "because He hath set His love upon me, He shall go upon the lion and the adder, and the young lion and the dragon He shall tread under His feet." The kingdoms of the world bowed down before the Christian Bishops, plain men as they were, and the cross surmounted the diadem and the sceptre.

Need it be said how far otherwise is the case as regards Prussia and her desired Episcopate now, from the circumstances when the Episcopal government first entered those territories for which it is now sought to be regained? Whether sinfully or not, this very government, now sought to be obtained, was forcibly expelled, three hundred years ago; and the point is now

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no longer to draw near and receive, for the first time, a constitution which God has provided for the healing of the nations, and which is a boon freely offered to all, but, if so be, to regain a blessing once possessed, now lost,—That is, as regards the recovery of her Episcopate. Prussia is plainly in the position of a penitent, desiring to be restored to the enjoyment of a Divine gift that has been forfeited. How do Divine gifts come to be forfeited?—Surely by the commission of sin, provoking God to withdraw his gifts. How are they to be regained?—If there be any other way than by repentance, and earnest prayer to God, to be, for His infinite mercy's sake, restored to the enjoyment of that which has been lost, it must have been very recently discovered.

Now, is there any symptom at all on the part of the Prussians, or, indeed, on the part of any Protestant, that they believe Episcopacy to be this gift of the Holy Ghost, the recovery of which should be sought for from God with great earnestness, and much contrition and sorrow for the past? So very far from it, that a positive hatred of the restraint and control which the authority of a Bishop would place upon their present inbred lawlessness in every department of science, theology, and domestic habits, is the prominent characteristic of Protestant Germany, north and south, east and west. The mutual love and religious sense of the sacredness of the bond whereby the Catholic Bishop is united to his flock, and they to him, is not to be found; it is nowhere. And yet without this, what is Episcopacy but a lifeless form? In what would even the politician be the gainer, supposing that he were to succeed in negociating a consecration for his present titular Bishops, if he could not also ensure a portion of the faith, the reverence, and the love, which unites the subjects of the Episcopate to the seat of government, and leads them, willing captives, to what they are sure is the voice of God?

Imagine Neander and Von Eylert to come over to receive by consecration at Lambeth this year a Catholic right to the title of Bishop they now hold, what would be the result?—the people would probably not understand that they had undergone any change: there would not be less turmoil of mind among the learned of Halle, Berlin and Bonn—less doubt upon matters of practical faith. The deep roots of Church government would not be found to take root in a moment's notice, because of the bidding of an executive: rather, would not the event show how much easier it is to forfeit a spiritual paradise, by transgression, than to regain it, and that to those who have forfeited their heavenly heritage there is no other way of recovery than hearty repentance, and earnest prayer, that God

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would turn again in favour;—it being indeed a great and undeserved mercy that there is such a way at all?

That it may appear that what has now been said is not entirely devoid of foundation in fact, we proceed to add a few extracts from some of the ephemeral pamphlets that have appeared in Germany, not as claiming any extraordinary degree of authority for such testimony—for the proper authority in such a question is the testimony of persons who have become familiar with the character and habits of the people themselves, through the personal intercourse of many years; and to such we make our appeal in perfect confidence, for the confirmation of what has been advanced,—but because we hope our readers will take an interest in observing a few specimens of the mode in which Protestant Germany at large views the proposed accession of the Episcopate:—

Extracts from German and other Periodicals.

Das Anglo Preussische Bisthum zu St. Jacob in Jerusalem, und was daran hägnt. Freiburgh. 1842. Pp. 77. (Published anonymously; it is very well written, and passed through several editions.)

P. 11.—'Very ominous it must have appeared that among 'the organs of serious reflecting protestant sentiments, *not even* '*one single note* of real joy or of lively interest would make itself 'heard .... Several journals found this Anglo-Prussian com- 'bination so extraordinary, so totally opposed to the respective 'characters, historically stamped upon them, of the two factors, 'that the only solution of the enigma appeared to be the sup- 'position that there was something as yet concealed in the 'back-ground. Especially the "Schwäbische Merkur," and the '"Karlsruher National zeitung," 1841, No. 345.'

P. 17.—'Has, then, the German Evangelical Church no 'other symbolical books besides the Confession of Augsburg? 'Suppose a candidate or preacher under the Bishop Alexander, 'were to take it into his head to act upon that chapter of the 'Articles of Schmalkalden which treats of the power and 'jurisdiction of the Bishops,* how would his Bishop regard him?'

P. 28.—'What in the present negotiations (for a union) is 'satisfactory, is, that *not a single theologian* consented to take

* 'Since, according to Divine right, there is no distinction between bishops and 'clergy, there is no doubt, that if a clergyman ordains fit persons in his Church 'to clerical offices, such ordination is, according to divine right, valid and right:'—from the Articles of Schmalkalden, which are binding upon all protestant German ecclesiastics.

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'a direct part in them. Secret sympathies there may be, in-
'direct support through ambiguous articles in journals. But so
'far *no German theologian has committed himself*, as to take an
'open and positive part in seeking Episcopacy.'

P. 42.—'If communion with Christ is obtained through the
'Apostles, communion with the Apostles through their suc-
'cessors; if the succession is where there is Episcopacy, and
'where the Episcopacy, there alone the Catholic Church; then
'Anglican Catholicism has every where its true companionship
'only in those circles, to which the Protestantism of the conti-
'nent, to which the puritanism at home, have decidedly turned
'their backs.'

P. 52.—'That in Germany *no evangelical Christian*, except
'the organs of the *recent* operations, believes in the apostolical
'succession of the Bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal
'dignity, may be asserted boldly to be a fact. Ask all theolo-
'gians from Hengstenberg to Röhr, if they do not hold the same
'opinion respecting *that fiction*.'

Dr. Emil Ferdinand Vogel, in a pamphlet which professes to be an historical survey of the English Episcopal Church, in reference to the principles and claims of genuine Protestantism, after giving a sketch of the efforts made by the French Bishop Bossuet, Leibnitz, the titular Prussian Bishops, Bernard von Sanden and Benjamin Ursinus, Dr. Jablonski, and Archbishop Sharp, speaks of what, to say the least, showed on their parts a most commendable desire for the recovery of unity. 'That as mild and friendly as all this sounded, yet far-sighted
'men, on more maturely considering the matter, could not fail
'to perceive that the advantage lay all on the side of the
'Catholic Church, that the Protestants would not only be no
'gainers, but would lose everything. And thus, for the welfare
'of Protestant truth, the whole matter came to nothing.'

The reader will draw in this his own parallel with the present time.*

After giving what he considers to be a fair historical sketch of the events of the English Reformation, he proceeds to what, it is to be feared, was a true and faithful description of the then English Church, from the published letters of one Küttner, who visited England a little before 1796, to establish his position, that since stagnation and abandonment of their duties has all along continued to be the chief thing for which the English

* The author here refers to the Church History of Professor Henke, where precisely the same sentiments occur. Part iv. pp. 549—573, 3d edition.

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Hierarchy is at all remarkable, no good could be hoped for, from transplanting their system elsewhere. And if even they were otherwise than they appear, still the very nature of the English Hierarchy is contrary to the spirit and principles of Protestantism, dangerous to the safety of the so dearly won palladium of Protestant liberty of faith and conscience. 'If,' says he, in conclusion, 'a man will steadily take all these things 'into consideration, it is at once plain that nothing but evil 'could possibly come from carrying into execution the plan for 'transplanting the English Episcopal doctrine and Church 'system into Germany. And herewith the confident hope may 'be entertained, from taking a collective view of things as they 'now are, that the more attention is paid to the circumstances 'of the case, the more men's minds will steadily turn away from 'giving any countenance to the proposed plan.'

This pamphlet we find is noticed by Mr. Dewar, who says that the learned author occupies seventy pages in proving from history what we are most happy in being able to grant, that the Anglican Church has never been able to tear itself loose from the spiritual fetters of the old Catholic worship; while German Protestantism, bold and daring from the commencement, enjoys unbounded freedom, and delights in what is termed by another of its sons 'fortbildung,' (development.)

A writer, styling himself an Old Prussian, gives the following sentiment, exceedingly characteristic of the notions generally prevalent among Protestants:*—

'Hence it may be seen how erroneous was the view of the 'Reformers to bring back the original form of Christianity into 'the sixteenth century. This is as impossible as it would be 'ruinous, and the people of old-fashioned faith (altglaubigen) 'in our day are under the same error. The original form of 'Christianity, as a phenomenon of which history treats, is 'subject to change; as an expression of the spiritual nature, it 'is unchangeable. And he would form an entirely wrong con-'ception of Church history who did not discern the truth of 'this position in it. He would convict history of falsehood 'who should refuse to admit that our present Christianity 'wears a totally different aspect from that of the Reformation, 'and this again a totally different one from the first Christianity. 'This is plain from the still existing church forms of those to 'whom standing still has been made a first principle. However, 'no phenomenon in the spiritual world can withdraw itself 'from the universal law of spiritual development.'

* The periodicals and pamphlets quoted have almost all disappeared from the trade, and it is only through the kindness of a friend, residing on the continent, who collected them at the time, that we are enabled to give these extracts.

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Of the estimation in which the Creeds of the Catholic Church are held in Germany, the following is given as a fair specimen:—

'Speaking of a certain writer, M. Rupp observes, that his 'work did but add fresh confirmation to the truth that the present 'Church knows nothing of any importance as attached to the 'letter of the Creed. And further, how little the spiritual 'authorities of the provinces of East and West Prussia favour 'the strict adherence to the letter of Creeds (symbol zwang), 'seems as if it could not be better made known to those who 'happen to be but little acquainted with what relates to us than 'by the fact, that Richard Baxter's Book, "The Minister of 'the Gospel," is given into the hands of every preacher when 'ordained, to put him in mind of the day of his ordination. Who is 'the man who is set forth as a pattern to the preacher entering 'upon his office? A Presbyterian minister, who was degraded 'by the Episcopal Church of England; because at a time when 'many thousands of the clergy acted against their conviction, he 'remained true to his, and sought to defend Christian liberty of 'conscience, by declining to subscribe that he willingly, and '*ex animo*, without any reserve, believed and accepted all that 'was contained and ordered in the Book of Common Prayer.

'Protestant theologians are, in this point, in perfect accordance 'with the authorities, that in our Church the letter of the 'Creed is not binding. The ecclesiastical and theological 'periodicals, which are edited by Rohr in Weimar, and 'Bretschneider in Gotha, throw light upon the question of 'Creeds in every point of view. The scientific labours of 'Wegscheider in Halle, and David Schultz in Breslau, further 'confirm this view. And how greatly mistaken would he be 'who should maintain, that it was by the tenet of "one external 'form of Cristianity" that the representatives of Rationalism, 'so called, were distinguished from other theologians.

'On the contrary, all who entertain Schleiermacher's way of 'viewing Christian doctrine, and who, according to the language 'of Hegel's philosophy, have found in it the expression of their 'Christian faith, hold the same views as to Creeds. De Wette, 'Ulmarin, Haas, in theological writings breathe the same spirit; 'and the celebrated Church historian, Neander, would be little 'understood, were it to be maintained that he did not see, in the 'present Evangelical Church, a development external to the 'letter of the Creed.'—*Symbol Zwang*, p. 47.

'Does the English High Church, this nursling of kings, be- 'long to us? is she really protestant? It is true she calls herself 'so, but she is not; a circumstance far from so strange that any 'one ought to wonder at it.'—*Der Thurm-bau zu Koln*, p. 105.

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Extract from the Evangelical Church Periodical, 1843, *No.* 7.

'Since these brothers, (editors of a print in Switzerland) have 'thought it of sufficient importance to place a testimony of 'mine, which they have wholly misunderstood, at the head of 'their paper, what I am now about to bear testimony to as a 'notorious fact, well known to me from my acquaintance with 'the higher circles at Berlin, will not be a matter of indifference 'to them, viz. that I have as yet not met with a single person, 'from among the highest down to the lowest circle, who held the 'reform of our Church system, after the pattern of that of the 'English, to be a point of real necessity; that not a single 'person is known to me, even by name, whose efforts have been 'directed to any such end.'—*Otto von Gerlach.*

The 'Calner Missionsblatt,' No. 1, 1843, (written by Dr. Barth, a man who has for many years conducted the affairs of the Missionary Society;) the 'Baseler Heidenbote,' No. 3, 1842, and the 'Baseler Missionsmagazin,' 1841, vol. iv. p. 150; the organs of the friends of missionary enterprises,—all take a decidedly unfavourable view; the former expressly states that it is an illusion to suppose that a Bishop would in any way advance the success of missionaries; the second declares that he has already injured that cause; and the last attributes to the English clergy all the evils that have befallen the Druses.

'Rheinwald's Repertorium,' (published at Berlin monthly, by Professor Rheinwald,) one of the most esteemed periodicals, of rather a critical and historical, than controversial character, has, April 1844, an article on the subject, taking a decidedly unfavourable view, and regarding the whole as a failure.

'Le Semeur,' (1842, Nos. 2 and 6,) organ of the French Protestants, is opposed to the scheme, and demands whether the Church of Prussia is ready to follow her political chief, whether she is ready to submit to the Anglican Episcopal ordination, which must sooner or later be offered to her.

Similar sentiments occur in the 'Archives du Christianisme,' (No. 2, 1842,) and also in a French Protestant Journal; this latter article met with a reply from a French Anglican, Mr. Gourrier. On the whole, the French Protestant (Calvinistic) body, consistently enough, recognises in the measure a declaration of union among all Protestant bodies. Witness the following truly French sentiments, spoken by a Comte Agénor Gasparin at a Bible Society Meeting:—

'Toute église évangélique est une sœur, c'est notre église, 'c'est nous-mêmes! Sur ce rapport tous doivent se réjouir de la 'fondation d'un évêché protestant à Jérusalem.'

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Perhaps the most important publication in this quarter is one by the candid A. de Mestral, of the Canton de Vaud; 'l'Evêché évangélique de Jérusalem,' (Paris 1843.) He approves very highly of the whole scheme. He, with great truth, considers it the true exponent of what we should call the pseudo-catholicity among Protestants, symbolized by the phrase, *l'unité des formes variées.* He states that the two contracting Churches of Prussia and England treated on the basis of national independence *and* catholicity, or *l'unité intérieure:* to use his own striking words, '*Une* '*église unique,* mais dans le sein de cette église culte *separé* et *libre* 'par chaque nationalité,' p. 38. Which is exactly what Dr. Arnold's Church Reform pamphlet suggested. He draws, (p. 82,) a curious distinction between the episcopate, viewed as a doctrine and as what might among us be called 'an event in providence.' 'L'épiscopat, la succession des évêques sont pour elle (l'église 'd'Angleterre) non pas un *dogme* mais UN FAIT.' The inference is obvious. He insists that Mr. Bunsen was the presiding genius, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London adopted *his* views: and now that the Life of Arnold has proved that Bunsen *alone* symbolized in all their fulness with Arnold's frightful sentiments, this fact is not without its value, and that a very remarkable one. However, Mr. de Mestral admits, (p. 47,) that convocation is the sole constitutional representative of the Church, and that our two chief prelates only act, of course, without any canonical authority, in default of this body: in other words, the Church of England is, most providentially, not committed to the scheme at all.

We would willingly quote many passages from a polemical pamphlet of Dr. Schneckenburger's, but must content ourselves with referring our readers to the original. It is full of extracts from the various writers who have written and discussed the question of the so-called Anglo-Prussian missionary undertaking, and is perhaps that one of the ephemeral productions which will best reward an inquirer who is desirous of learning what people generally, in Germany, think and feel respecting the undertaking. Two other pamphlets, which have been made accessible to the English reader by translation, may be recommended with the same view,—The Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem, by a French Protestant pastor; and The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, at Jerusalem, by Wm. Hoffman, inspector of the missionary schools in Basle.

It would be exposing a reader's patience to a needless trial to multiply quotations similar to those already cited. They are here given as samples of a mode of thought, characteristic of Protestant Germany, which has neither desire nor love for the Episcopal government, which holds fast to nothing fixed in

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Revelation, but fluctuates hither and thither, and is really carried about by every wind of doctrine, under the idea of advancement and development of the truth.

Happily for England, as yet we know very little of the sentiments of Germany, and of our ignorance we need not be ashamed. Yet their language now is being extensively cultivated, and, of course, its general diffusion will bring in an influx of literature to which we have long been strangers. If, then, German literature must needs become known, and German divinity attract notice, we rejoice to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Dewar for his sound and able review of the progress of Theology in Germany since the time of Luther. It will be an antidote to the poison as it comes out. It will be found to confirm our fears of the malignant influence that we think must inevitably accompany the spread of the German language. It is satisfactory to see the views of the late respected Mr. Rose so ably confirmed and substantiated; and to both these works we now beg to refer such of our readers as may desire to be convinced that we have not misrepresented our subject.

In fact, the true Protestant, whether he be of Germany or elsewhere, in his heart hates the Episcopal power; his principles, carried to their legitimate extent, lead him to seek absolute freedom from all restraint,—entire liberty of conscience and belief; whereas the Episcopal power is a living human pattern of conscience and orthodox belief, and the end of Episcopacy is to be a guide of conscience and belief to those who embrace its government. It is not in the *truth*, but in the act of *seeking the truth*, that a Protestant thinks he will make himself free. It needs then hardly to be urged, the inference is so plain, that where such sentiments as have been quoted are characteristic of the mind of a people, they are far, very far, from that child-like love for order and guidance without which we are told that men cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

If, therefore, England would benefit the Christians of Prussia, for the present at least there seems to be no other way, except by prayer for them, that they may have given them a sincere love for the pastoral care of 'Bishops.' The only true foundation that the Christian hierarchy can have, is in the love and reverence borne towards them by their people. What is Episcopacy without this, but the outward representative of something inward that is dead; a skeleton form, the heart and life-blood of which has perished? If, therefore, it can be shown that we are mistaken in our estimate of the mind of Prussia towards Episcopacy, we shall rejoice to hear it; but sincerely believing as we do, and having formed our opinion from many opportunities of living observation, that Episcopacy is not regarded by the

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Protestants of Germany in the light of a precious blessing given of God,—we can only pray God of His mercy to withhold from them a gift, which as yet they shew no symptom of a desire to receive religiously, and in which they do not as yet understand that the Giver must be honoured; unless the gift is to be followed by a misuse, that will be a far greater curse than its continued absence.

As for the ill advised scheme of union, we can but dismiss it as we began; if it in anywise has injured the character of our Church for catholicity, and there is Dr. Arnold's striking testimony that it has:—

'To Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart.

'Fox How, September 23rd, 1841.

'. . . . The first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem is to be consecrated at Lambeth next Wednesday. He is to be the legal protector of all Protestants of every denomination towards the Turkish government; and he is to ordain Prussian clergymen, on their signing the Augsburg Confession, and adopting the Prussian Liturgy, and Englishmen on their subscribing to our Articles and Liturgy. *Thus the idea of my Church Reform pamphlet, which was so ridiculed and so condemned, is now carried into practice by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself.* For the Protestant Church of Jerusalem will comprehend persons using different liturgies, and subscribing different articles of faith; and it will sanction these differences, and hold both parties to be equally its members. Yet it was thought ridiculous in me to conceive that a national Church might include persons using a different ritual, and subscribing different articles. Of course it is a grave question what degrees of difference are compatible with the bond of Church union; but the Archbishop of Canterbury has declared in the plainest language, that some differences *are* compatible with it; and this is the great principle which I contended for.'—*Dr. Arnold's Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 274, letter 257.

If it has its foundation in the violation of sanctions and obligations of canonical law, hitherto held sacred,—we repeat with Mr. Newman, 'God grant that it may utterly perish, and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!'

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ART. VI.—1. *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent. A Sermon Preached before the University. By* E. B. PUSEY, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College.* Oxford. 1843.

2. *Copies of the Correspondence in the Case of the Regius Professor of Divinity, and Mr. Macmullen.* Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.

3. *Two Exercises for the Degree of B.D. read in the Divinity School, Oxford, April* 18, *and* 19, 1844. *By* R. G. MACMULLEN, M.A., *Fellow of Corpus Christi College.* Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.

WE shall make no apology for bringing before our readers as accurate a statement as we can of the late course of events in the University of Oxford. No one is more sensible than we that the University is not the Church; yet all the reasonings in the world will never convince any man of plain common sense, that the Church is not deeply interested in all that happens there, and specially in everything which has any bearing upon theology; and if there be any moment in which it is desirable to call general attention to the subject, it is the present. Dr. Wynter no longer holds office; so we can unreservedly criticise his conduct, without any suspicion of disrespect for the situation which he lately held, and while the facts are yet recent in the memory of men; as the ancient Egyptians found nothing inconsistent with their loyalty towards their living kings, in the inquest which they were wont to hold upon their memory and acts as soon as they were dead.

We are writing, as we have said, for readers of every class, who are interested in the welfare of the English Church, and must therefore be excused, if, before recording the official conduct of the late Vice-Chancellor, we enter into some detail of the nature and powers of the office he was called to fill, and the state of things at Oxford when he entered upon it; subjects familiar, indeed, to every Oxford man, but some explanation of which is necessary to enable others to appreciate the late events.

The University of Oxford is probably the most ancient corporation in England, and, with its sister university, has powers of self-government, both legislative and executive, larger than any other. The supreme authority of this corporation is the 'Venerable House of Convocation,'* an assembly in which every one who has taken the degree of Master of Arts, and continues to be a member of the University, enjoys an equal right of speaking and voting. This, however, is no democracy, but (like the great

* There is another body called the House of Congregation, the right of sitting in which is limited to certain members of Convocation, chiefly the youngest, with the addition of certain official personages; but as the business of this house is chiefly formal, we need not at present enlarge upon it.

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council of Venice, of which every noble was a member) a strict aristocracy; for, before the degree of M.A. can be attained, seven years at least of strict residence within the University is statutably required; during the whole of which the pupil, whether as Undergraduate or Bachelor, is subject to the most rigid discipline and control. When he at length enters the House of Convocation, he is considered qualified to be a teacher of others, and admitted to the full privileges of the University. By this body every statute must be made, modified, or repealed; every degree conferred, every election determined. By its voice is appointed the Chancellor (the head of the University), the Proctors (the chief authorities in matters of discipline), the Professors, and almost every subordinate officer. As a check, probably, to hasty acts on the part of a body which passes decrees by a single vote, without the delays secured in parliament, by first, second, and third reading, and committee, it is provided that the Chancellor alone, and the two Proctors together, have power to put a negative upon any business. This, however, it is important to observe, is merely a negative power; it must not be confounded with the authority possessed, for example, by the Sovereign in Parliament, or even by the President of the United States: it resembles, in fact, the 'intercession' of a Roman tribune; for although these officers have the power of imposing a veto, their active consent is not necessary to the passing of any measure. That which has passed Convocation is law, without any consent of theirs; although, until it passed, they had power to arrest its progress. Again, it cannot for a moment be imagined, that this right acknowledges any sovereignty of the Chancellor over the University; for the same power is, as we have seen, possessed by the Proctors jointly, and none ever dreamed of them as sovereign; as, indeed, for many other reasons, so because they must by statute be junior members of convocation, ten years' standing being a disqualification for the office.

Such is the ancient constitution of the University, and nearly such it still is in theory. Its practical condition is very different. The Chancellor, for example, was some resident member of the University, and elected for a year. The office then became, in practice, triennial. Becoming sufficiently dignified to be an object of ambition, it became perpetual, and at last fell into the hands of great men resident in other places. It was formerly usually held by spiritual, of late years more frequently by temporal peers; but, in the hands of either, it is evident the executive power vested in the Chancellor could be personally exercised only in a few more important occasions; and hence arose the Vice-Chancellor, who is merely the representative of the Chancellor, invested (during his absence) with most, but not all, of his

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functions; appointed by him annually, but not admitted to office until the appointment has been confirmed by the same 'House of Convocation' by which the Chancellor himself is originally elected.

But a greater change than this was the rise, within the University, of the College system, which has grown by slow degrees, until the collective colleges have become coextensive with the University itself; and the great body, under the shadow of which colleges have been nurtured, is practically regarded by most persons as merely a collection of colleges, a thread upon which those pearls are strung together: in truth, as we shall see, it rather resembles the shell in which they have been slowly formed and matured. The Colleges and Halls arose naturally when the number of students in the University became so great as to require discipline more individual and particular than the University functionaries were able to exercise over so many. They grew up at Oxford, as the tutors' houses have at Eton, from the necessity of the case. A hall was but a house where a certain number of students dwelt together, under the superintendence of one senior member: a college was a similar house, endowed with land for the support of the head, and also of the students, both during their pupilary state, and when they became members of convocation. Thus arose a number of smaller corporations within the University (like the Companies of London); but it was by no means obligatory on any of its members to belong to any smaller society; and the members of these colleges (whether graduates or under-graduates) were, in the eye of the University, merely so many of her members, no way distinguished from others of like order, who belonged to no college at all. This was the state of transition. The course of events has been continually to augment the power of the colleges. First, they admitted students beyond the number to whom they afforded endowment. At last a statute (which is still in force) required every member of the University to be resident in some college or hall, within a week after his admission. Saving for this statute, a man might even now, as formerly, continue a member of the University alone. Another change (made in the reign of Charles I., in order to prevent jealousies and contention between the members of different colleges) provided that the election of Proctors (hitherto vested in convocation at large) should henceforth be exercised only by those resident members of convocation who belong to a single college, each enjoying the right in turn. But a change far more important in its practical results—although these certainly were never intended—was made at the same period. A statute was passed, which enacts, that for the better preservation of peace and order, the Vice-Chan-

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cellor, the two Proctors, and the Heads of the respective colleges and halls, shall meet every Monday, and 'there deliberate on the maintenance of the privileges and liberties of the University (as need may occur), and discuss, investigate, and consult on the observation of university statutes and customs; and they shall have power to deliberate on any subject connected with the discipline, studies, credit, and well-being of the body, as they shall judge to be needful, in order that, after their deliberations, the matter may be promulgated in congregation; and then the Venerable House of convocation may make its statute and decree thereupon, with mature counsel.' Such a committee would, of course, be found practically useful. Accordingly, another statute, tit. x. s. 2, orders that when need arises for passing or altering any statute, it shall be referred to this Board of Heads; that when they, after consultation, have agreed on the wording, it shall be proposed in congregation in those words; and that afterwards, when it shall be brought before convocation, it shall first be read in the terms agreed on by the Heads; and that at the conclusion, after the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and majority of Graduates, shall have come to an agreement among themselves on the wording of the statute, it shall be read according to that wording, and then put to the vote.

The meaning of this statute seems plain enough: proposals were often made which required to be put into shape; as is done by a committee, (select or otherwise, as is found convenient,) in parliament; it was provided, therefore, that when any statute was proposed by any member, it should, before being put to the vote, be referred to the hebdomadal Board of Heads, as a committee, by whose care it might be properly worded; but (to preserve the rights of convocation from whom the power of the Head is only delegated) after the statute drawn up by them has been read, it is to be discussed, its wording amended, according to the judgment of the majority, and then the whole put to the vote.

This was a very seemly and business-like arrangement, but the Heads, like many other small committees, were not indisposed (having got their finger into the work of legislation) to take the whole affair into their own hands. Accordingly, they proceeded to interpret this statute as follows, viz. that no member of convocation may make any proposal whatever, that right being reserved (by the statute above quoted) to the Board of Heads. Next, that no member may propose any amendment, either verbal or material, to the prepared statute as drawn up by them; accordingly, the custom for many years has been that the Heads prepare their statute; convocation is called together, and it is read; then immediately read a second time, of course

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in the same words; then discussed, and lastly put to the vote, yea, or nay. This being all the power allowed to the legislature of the University, the Venerable House of Convocation, by its own committee, the Board of Heads.

And now, it may be naturally asked, how came convocation to allow an interpretation so monstrous of this important statute? The answer commonly given, and we believe the truth, is as follows. The Vice-Chancellor, who is always the head of some college, possesses the power of dissolving the venerable house, and this power was used whenever any member of convocation proposed any measure or any amendment; so that the University found they must resign the exercise of their undoubted right, or suffer all business to be suspended. A grosser usurpation than this cannot very easily be conceived, and to our feelings it is the more repulsive, because effected, not by lawless force, but by the astute employment for the oppression of the University, of a power granted in good faith, for its benefit.

In saying this we are censuring no persons now living, for the usurpation took place long ago,—whether it will be suffered to continue much longer remains to be seen,—a well-known and respected member of convocation (Mr. Sewell, of Exeter College) has solemnly pledged himself, (as many of our readers may be aware,) in a protest delivered to the Vice-Chancellor on the 4th of June, 1842, 'to institute such regular proceedings in the way of appeal as may obtain some authoritative decision of the right of convocation to be consulted, like other supreme legislative bodies, upon the general principles of the measures laid before them, prior to, and independent of, questions of detail;' and also to appeal on the further question, 'of the right of convocation to dissent from the terms of the proposed statute between the first and second readings of it.' Mr. Sewell, then, has pledged himself in the most solemn manner to vindicate, by legal proceedings, the rights of convocation; first, to decide what questions shall be referred to the Board, and, second, to amend the wording of statutes drawn up by them. We have not yet seen any public report of his proceedings;—but the course of law in England is slow and sure;—'*pœna pede claudo*' may be close upon the academical usurpation.

Meanwhile, the practical government of the University, by whatever means, has unquestionably in a great measure passed out of the hands of convocation, in which it is vested by statute, and into those of the Hebdomadal Board;—a mere committee of a few members of convocation, (for whatever power they may have in their own colleges, they are nothing more in the eyes of the University,) appointed for certain definite, and those subordinate, functions. It is natural, then, at least, to inquire

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what has been the practical working of the system?—what qualifications the Board has shown for the office which it has assumed? Now, it must be admitted, that the Board is not the body which we should have recommended for such functions. It is reasonable to require that a body which claims to represent the whole University, should be deeply imbued with its character and temper; that its members should be so selected as to represent the different interests, the different schools of opinion, the different studies and pursuits, of the whole. As far as possible, we should desire to secure the presence of members who are used to mingle in the society of the best and wisest among every class of the University, whose habits of daily life enable them to descry the first approach of any danger—any relaxation of discipline, any neglect of study, any corruption of doctrine.

Now the Heads of Houses are unquestionably a body, for good or evil, *sui generis*, in Oxford. It so happens that the statutes of most colleges, while they obviously suppose the whole society, fellows, head, and all, remaining unmarried, do not make express application of the point to the heads particularly. The ordinary, and no doubt true, explanation of this apparent anomaly, is, that the idea of a married Head did not happen to occur to the founders, in an age when celibacy was enforced upon the clergy; and when all the professions being practically exercised by clerks, the legal and medical, no less than the theological, fellowships, were never probably held for many years by any who contemplated marriage. Certain it is, that the statutes of Protestant Elizabethan, and even later foundations, do not permit the heads to marry: and that the founders of Wadham College, who lived since the Reformation, *e.g.* made the wardenship no less than the fellowships of their college untenable by a married man; although parliament, in the exercise of that supreme authority over conscience, in which, (to judge by the conduct of many sound Protestants,) it has succeeded the Papal See, has seen fit to dispense with the solemn oath by which every member of the college voluntarily binds himself to observe their statutes, as the condition of his enjoying their bounty; and has enabled the Wardens of Wadham to receive, with a safe conscience, the revenues of good Nicholas Wadham and Dorothy his wife, while they consign their statutes to oblivion. Parliament had no doubt weighty reasons for thus setting aside the provisions of the founders: what those reasons were we know not; but the fact that the Heads of colleges are generally married men, is known by all who are acquainted with the University, to be attended with much practical evil. They are usually highly respectable clergymen; in some instances, men of considerable talents and learning; they are very much such men as twenty-four senior fellows, taken

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pretty nearly by rotation, might naturally be expected to be; varying much from each other, as might be anticipated in a university where the fellows differ so very widely among themselves. But, with all these differences, in one point the mass of the Heads are alike; they are almost absolutely unconnected with the rest of the University; their connexion with it is often scarcely any, beyond the fact of their residence in the midst of it. They are men removed, by standing in most cases, by daily habits of life in almost all, from its society, and from almost every object in which its members are interested. Their knowledge of them hardly extends beyond dining-acquaintance; of the wishes and feelings of the University, events have shown that they have not even the most glimmering perception. Their unacquaintance even with the members of their own colleges, is often so entire, as to be scarcely conceivable in men who live within a few yards. A Head, himself of unquestioned strictness and piety, has been known to offer the curacy of a parish of which he was incumbent, as title for orders, to a member of his own college; to whom, when he applied for the usual college testimonials before his ordination, the fellows were obliged to refuse them on account of his notorious habits of intemperance,—notorious, that is, to every member of the College except its (nominal) Head. Such occurrences vex many, but surprise few.

In this state, with a good deal of formal and routine business thrown upon their hands, and forming a society more wholly unacademical, probably, than any other of the same size in Oxford, live those who consider themselves the governors of the University, and who have in a great degree (in practice, if not in law,) attained that function. Our readers will easily believe that, like other persons similarly circumstanced, they are in part, and believe themselves to be wholly, overwhelmed with business; which the body of the University strongly suspect their office to be something very nearly approaching to a sinecure. Whatever may be the degree of business thrown upon these dignitaries, it is certainly not of a kind calculated to foster that high and saintly character to which the Church would willingly leave the administration of her chief nursery. Not among these rulers of the University have arisen, in general, the great lights of theology, the high and gifted divines, the solemn and awakening preachers of the age. Neither are they employed in offices strictly pastoral; for even when a parish is annexed to a headship, its duties are in every case performed by deputy. Even the University which they profess to rule, receives little light from their teaching. By statute, the University sermon, every Sunday morning in term, is to be preached by the Heads of Colleges in rotation; in practice, a man may often look back at the close of his acade-

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mical residence without being able to remember more than one or two out of the twenty-four who have ever discharged the duty. A stronger proof could hardly, we think, be given of the total want of the higher qualifications needed for the rule and direction of a great theological university, whose Heads must discriminate between true and false doctrines, must sit in judgment upon books and upon preachers, must stand on the watch, (while the great body of the Clergy are employed, each man in the detail of his own parochial engagements,) to give the first signal of danger, and rear the standard against the first irruption of the enemy. The example of one who was intrusted with the education of boys has lately been brought before us. We saw in him much to regret, indeed, but among many admirable qualities, who could fail to admire the simple reality with which he made the pulpit of Rugby chapel one main instrument in directing and ruling the hearts and consciences of his scholars? Dr. Arnold applied for the appointment of chaplain, because he felt that the performance of its duties was a necessary part of his own parental relation towards his pupils; every year does the duty of fulfilling the same office devolve on the Head of every college in Oxford, and most rare is the example of one who does not delegate it to another. This, indeed, is nothing more than every one would desire. Who could wish to see the pulpit of the University occupied by any except one or two of the Heads? They judge wisely when they decline it; only they confess, that theirs, after all, is not the province of moulding the hearts, and directing the faith of the rising generation of the English Church; that they are not, whatever they may be called, the real directors of the University.

We sincerely trust that no one will suspect us of any disrespect toward the Heads of Colleges. Any one who has passed through the University must retain recollections of kindness and courtesy in many, and of much higher qualifications in some of their board; but it has now become necessary to speak out, and declare that they are not the University of Oxford, nor yet in any degree either authorized or qualified to speak in her name; And, for this reason—that they have in several instances undertaken to do so, and the world at a distance (seeing a body so acting) have assumed without inquiry, that they must act by authority, nay, that in disallowing their claim, the convocation would, in fact, be resisting authority; whereas, in truth, convocation itself is the supreme authority, and those who claim authority over it, are, as we have seen, only a committee of its own members appointed for definite functions, and with delegated and subordinate powers, no part at all of the ancient government of the University, but, on the contrary, the very newest and youngest of all the bodies there existing. These are facts

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which it might always have been well to bear in mind; but when, as we shall now proceed to show, new and hitherto utterly unheard of encroachments have lately been made upon the supreme authority, and when the purpose for which these usurped powers have been employed is no other than that of denouncing the ancient doctrines of the Church of England, as held and understood by all our great divines, of unjustly oppressing all who dare to profess them, and of fixing upon us by authority a new and spurious system, a hybrid theology engendered between liberalism and (self-styled) evangelicalism, half Germany and half Geneva; then, indeed, it becomes the duty of Oxford to protest, at all risks, and however unwillingly, against power thus unauthorized and thus abused.

Our readers need hardly be informed that, in our opinion, the crisis which we have just described is not hypothetical or possible, but actual and present. But before we proceed to prove this, we would remove an objection which we cannot but foresee will be raised against us—the objection of *à priori* improbability. 'You are speaking,' it may be said, 'of no men of a remote age or country, but of Oxford men in our own day. We know what class of men this is; nay, you have yourself borne witness to it; easy, kind-hearted, and amiable, somewhat indulgent towards self, and disinclined to be severe towards others; unwilling even to say anything which can give pain; neither ambitious to suffer martyrdom, nor yet desirous to inflict it. Such is the character naturally fostered in times of refinement and luxury like ours; and such we know to be the temper natural to a dignitary of the English Church in the present day; and if not the highest character, it has still much to demand our sympathy and respect: above all, it cannot be supposed that men of such a temper would be guilty of injustice or oppression, much less that they would be unjust and oppressive in the peculiar direction of religious persecution, and that the persecution of views held by the recognised authorities of our Church.'

We need not say that this argument has much weight, and it is accordingly earnestly pressed. It is not, however, difficult to exhibit, in reply, several circumstances which do in fact altogether remove the improbability; and if, in explaining our meaning, we are forced to speak of individuals, this is not our fault. When personal character is adduced as a proof that we have nothing to fear, we are forced to inquire what that character is. If any one had argued, a few years ago, that the well-known moderation and goodnature of Lord Melbourne was security enough against any evil that might be feared under his administration, he would have forced us to inquire whether there were no other parts of Lord Melbourne's character which might be mis-

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chievous enough, in spite of good humour and moderation. When Madame de Staël declared that the character of the Emperor Alexander was a constitution to his subjects, she appealed in fact, as far as in her lay, to every Russian and Pole to say what sort of constitution that was; and when we hear of the 'kindness of Dr. Wynter,' and the improbability of oppression in Oxford in our day, we are driven, whether we will or not, to look a little deeper into the security which we derive from these things. Now, we need not inform any one who has observed the course of the world, that, in estimating any body, and especially any small body of men, we must look not at every individual, or even at the majority, but at few, and often at one. There were ten generals with equal powers in the Athenian army at Marathon, but the victory was won by Miltiades. The city of Carthage was for many years but the body, of which the spirit was Hannibal; and, in a body of twenty-four Oxford Heads, the real moving power will perhaps at all times be in one or two active individuals; in an energetic minority.

First, then, we are met with the fact that one member of the Board is Dr. Hampden.

Dr. Hampden, be it remembered, *still says* (for he boasts that he has nothing to retract, nothing to qualify, nothing to explain) that several expressions of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds 'are founded upon notions both unphilosophical and unscriptural; but used only to exclude others *more obviously* (sic) 'injurious to the simplicity of the truth.' He still 'puts the 'Unitarian on the same footing precisely of earnest religious 'zeal and love for the Lord Jesus Christ on which he would put 'any other Christian,' although he blames him for 'theological 'dogmatism.' He still teaches that 'Christ is emphatically said 'to be our atonement; not that we may attribute to God any 'change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done; but 'that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of 'sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our *own hearts* 'may not condemn us.' He still holds that 'the general belief 'in magic, in the early ages of the Church, may sufficiently 'account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental 'influence,' as that which every true Churchman holds to be a Divine Revelation; and that our Lord 'accommodated Himself,' to this notion, when He said 'Virtue is gone out of Me.' He still publicly pronounces the Creeds 'a dogmatic and sententious wisdom;' 'some of the infinite theories which can be raised on the text of Scripture,' to say nothing of numberless other assertions, some even more offensive than these, only not so short as to be transcribed with equal ease.

We have mentioned Dr. Hampden first, because his views are

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published, and long controversy has rendered them a matter of notoriety. We may, without indelicacy, name another Head: Dr. Hawkins, the able and respected Provost of Oriel College; for his sympathy with, and support of, Dr. Hampden is put forward, as a matter of the highest commendation, in a work recently published, and to which he has himself contributed so many interesting materials, as to assure us against saying anything unacceptable to him in repeating what we find there. We may then assume, that his powerful influence at the Board is exerted in the same direction with that of Dr. Hampden.

We had rather weaken our argument than mention names, except in connexion with avowed published statements; and the fact cannot be concealed, that a publishing Head of a house is a rare phenomenon, as we have already seen to be the case with regard to preaching. We are content then to say, that two at least of the ablest members of the Board are publicly pledged to statements such as we have quoted.

And is this able and active minority an exception to the pervading influence commonly possessed by such bodies?—let facts answer. About ten years ago, when the Church and her institutions were the objects of fierce and open attacks in high quarters, an attempt was made in the House of Commons, and promised at one time to be successful, to force open for the entrance of dissenters, as such, the doors of the University of Oxford, and the degrees both there and at Cambridge. This attempt was quashed by the united opposition of all Oxford men. A paper, headed 'The Oxford Declaration,' lies before us, from which it appears that the protest of the resident Masters is dated, April 24, 1834; that of the non-residents, April 25; and that of the heads, May 2. It seems that, when the University moves to the rescue of the faith, it is not its head that goes first. There are other occasions, however, on which Heads are willing enough to lead the way. Dr. Hampden was then, as now, a Head; already, too, he had been honoured with a university professorship; he had been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy, the appointment being vested in a small section of the Heads; and having published much that was very objectionable in his lectures from that chair, he was elected, in 1832, Bampton Lecturer, the nomination being intrusted by the founder to the Heads of Colleges,—an appointment which produced the volumes so much spoken of. Thus empowered, as we must say, beyond any other to speak in the name of the Board, Dr. Hampden published, in the autumn of 1834, 'Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the use of Religious Tests in the University.' From this pamphlet and the Bampton Lectures, to which it refers

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throughout, it appears that Dr. Hampden objects to tests, on the ground that religion consists of 'facts,' not in any degree of inferences from them; and that these facts are merely the very letter of the declarations of Scripture,—all doctrines whatever being but inferences—which men cannot help making because others have, although it would be much better that none should be made at all. It follows, that although the author himself adopted the doctrines of the Church, he adopted them not as doctrines, not as any part of his religion, but as mere theological opinions; —it was an infirmity of his nature, that he could not help forming some inferences from the facts of religion, and it chanced that those inferences coincided with the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and the like, which we hold as our life. Yet, God forbid that he should make these opinions any part of his religion, much more that he should think worse of any other man's religion because he denied them. Now, what was the conduct of the Heads when these doctrines were preached by one of their own body, from the University pulpit, and afterwards published both in sermons and pamphlets? Did they convene the preacher before a board of Six Doctors, or proceed to condemn him by such a board without convening or hearing him? Or did they, at least, issue a declaration against the pamphlet? No; but yet they did feel it necessary to do something: and therefore they proposed to convocation a statute for removing the signature of the Articles at Matriculation; a proposal which was, of course, far from satisfying Dr. Hampden, but which was a most decided move in his direction. Moreover, a 'Letter to Lord Radnor' was published, which was universally attributed to an influential member of the Board, in which we are told, 'the question of the removal of subscription is gaining ground. It has been twice considered within the last two years' (this must mean at the 'Board,' for elsewhere it had not been proposed), 'and found many more supporters on the second occasion than on the first.' He concludes, therefore, 'Time is required: we may not move very quickly; but ought we to do so?'

It appears, then, that the effect produced upon the Board of Heads by the publication, by one of their own body, of repeated attacks upon all Christian doctrine, as doctrine not opinion, and specially on the creeds of the Church, was this, that they gave no sign of diminished confidence in him; and moved, slowly indeed yet decidedly, in their practical measures, in the direction to which he invited them.

But the power of the Heads was not supreme. They had left to convocation (that is, to the University) the right of saying, 'Yes,' or 'No.' And on the 20th of May, 1835, it did say 'No,' very unequivocally, by a majority of 459 to 57 against.

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A few months past away, and the excellent Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, was taken to his rest, from the strife of tongues. We are not going to weary the reader with the detail of those exciting events, which made 1836 a year so memorable in Oxford,—the appointment of Dr. Hampden,—the general burst of indignation and alarm with which it was met by all Oxford men,—the exertions made to induce Government to select some other name,—the determination of the great body of the University to procure some authoritative condemnation of his works,—the tardy concurrence of the Heads (now, as before, following, rather than leading),—the legislative measure proposed by them, instead of the formal trial demanded by the University at large,—a measure valuable, because it contained a censure upon Dr. Hampden's theological writings; yet never satisfactory to those who had forced it from the Heads, and containing one expression,* which subsequent events made men almost fear, must have been inserted to enable those who could not prevent the censure to watch for an early opportunity of procuring its repeal.

And now what impression were these things calculated to produce upon the minds of English Churchmen? Could they inspire confidence in the Board? Could they reconcile us to see the government of the University practically more and more engrossed by them, from the hands of the ancient and statutory authorities? We will speak plainly,—thinking men could not but perceive, that no common qualities are needed by the rulers of a Christian university. Among these are sound theology and deep learning, together with high self-denying piety, giving a pledge for freedom from all secularity of spirit, and, moreover, for a fixed and definite line of conduct of their own, independent of pressure from without. They saw these to be needed already, and they could not but anticipate times when they might become more urgently needful. But, withal, they could not but feel that (whatever might be the case with some of its members), it was not by these qualities that the deliberations of the Board were mainly influenced. And, therefore, there was a very extensive want of confidence in their fitness to maintain the very foundations of the Christian faith, of which we could not but feel the danger. It was not that men suspected the majority of the Heads of any conscious unsoundness of belief upon the chief mysteries of the faith; that

* We allude, of course, to the phrase, 'Donec aliter Universitati placuerit;' which, no doubt, might mean, 'until Dr. Hampden shall have recanted and vacated the chair,' but was afterwards explained by the framer of the statutes to mean, 'till the University shall change its mind'—that time, we are thankful to say, has not yet arrived.

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they regarded them as Socinians or Sabellians,—nothing could be further from the truth. But it is not from any earnest proselyting by those who hold these heresies that we dread their success; it is from secularity of spirit in those who ought to maintain the purity of Christian doctrine. This is, perhaps, the chief source of heresy in every age; but most assuredly in none so much as in our own. Let us not forget our present circumstances. An age of coldness, of rebuke and blasphemy, fell, beyond all question, upon the English Church in the last century. It is within the memory of many now living, that a young man, of the highest character and qualifications, being reproved by a Bishop, who was believed to belong to the school of Hoadly, for preaching what was then called Methodism, pleaded in his defence the authorized declarations of the English Church; and received answer, that such as that was indeed formerly the doctrine of the English Church, but that the Church had tacitly changed her doctrines, and it was now exceedingly presumptuous for a young man to teach those which had been abandoned alike by the bishops and clergy of the existing Church. At a rather earlier period, when subscription was assailed in parliament, it was the boast of infidels and latitudinarians, that the Articles of the Church found no defender, —and, be it remembered, that the articles assailed were not those which refer to minor points,—the Christian's oath, the lawfulness of arms, and the like,—but the fundamentals of the faith—the three Creeds. Of the glorious Athanasian Creed it became a sort of proverb to say, 'I wish we were well rid of it.' And when this state of things was at last shaken by earnest (though, in some respects, mistaken) preaching, the cry from all quarters, high and low, was, 'Beware of enthusiasm.' Enthusiasm, however, was seldom talked down by cold caution; and it went on its way, and accomplished its victory, insomuch that the fashion of this changing world is now to praise and admire as 'efficiency,' 'evangelical preaching,' and the like; that which, a few years ago, it would have reviled as enthusiastic. But it is quite needless to say, that the world seldom patronises a religious school without receiving a payment for its patronage, —religion is secularized as often as the world made religious; and thus it has chanced that many of those who regard themselves as the legitimate successors of the earnest men of the last century, have, in truth, inherited from them very little more than their phraseology.

Now, in such a state of society, let us for one moment imagine the governing body of a great school of religion to be men of a low and secular spirit, men more engrossed by thoughts of professional advancement,—or, again, by mere comfort and ease,

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and the gentle intercourse of society, or even by literary pursuits—than by study or meditation upon the great depths of theology; who are not, in any real sense of the word, living lives of self-denial—waiting, watching, and looking out for the coming of the Lord, living under the constant sense of His presence, and the contemplation of His sufferings. Suppose such a state of things, and by what outward symptoms would it be betrayed? We may be pretty sure that such a governing body would not be the energetic, practical preachers of Christian holiness, of Christian hopes, and Christian fears; that they would either avoid the duty, or perform it heavily. If great moral and social evils stalked the land, it would be by others, rather than them, that the alarm would first be sounded; and by others, rather than them, would great sacrifices be made to arrest their progress. They would not persecute indeed, rather they would gently encourage, a moderate profession of what was considered evangelical, while they would shrink from any extremes. And supposing the higher mysteries of the faith, or the creeds of the Church, to be treated with disrespect as mere scholastic subtleties, to which other ages had assigned undue importance, we should not expect to find them stirred by that deep and piercing pain with which saints and doctors have started at the touch of heresy. They would consider these as mere speculative errors, as abstract opinions; and, in truth, to such as them these great doctrines must ever be mere speculations and opinions; for it is by living upon them, by leaving all for them, not merely by that negative faith which consists in not disbelieving them, that they become to men more than mere opinions—even living and practical realities; and if the propagator of such sad opinions should be one of their own body, the sharer of their daily society, their weekly associate in business—they might go away shrugging their shoulders at his speculations, and there the matter would rest. Thus, then, it seems plain, that no deliberate heresy, no conscious abandonment of the faith, is necessary to make men most unfit to be its guardians and defenders. They need merely be comfortable, respectable, self-indulgent men of a secular spirit, and the cause will be no safer in their hands than in those of conscious traitors.

As often as the faith has been assailed, so often has God raised up some champion to beat back the invaders. These men, each in his day, have been reviled, suspected, denounced, and (where it was possible) persecuted; but they have done their work, and the truth has been handed down; they have suffered, and they have succeeded; and we reap the fruit of their sufferings and of their victory. But who have been the instruments in this blessed work? Holy bishops, worn with

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long toils, and fasting, and prayers, and the care of all the churches; monks long dead to the world and its delusive promises; hermits of the Egyptian desert—not the decent and respectable men who would fain gain as much of this world as it is possible to grasp without throwing away all hope in the next. For not to mention the great gifts of spiritual perception given to those who thus follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth, and take up their cross; it is evident, that to these holy men, the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Sacraments, the indwelling Spirit, are not abstract opinions; they are their very life; they are those things for which they have gladly suffered the loss of all things, and for which they would again, more gladly than before, give up all the world if they had it. Rob *them* of these things, and you leave them nothing,—neither the things that are seen, nor the things unseen; neither this world, nor the other. Self-denial, and the crucifixion of self, then, is the school of the Champions of the Faith. Well fed, sleek orthodoxy, is the orthodoxy of peaceful times and of fair weather.

Supposing, then, that men of a secular spirit should ever obtain the rule in a great school of the Church in times like these: such would be their administration, and by it the door would assuredly be left open to the inroads of heresy. But, without presuming to judge individuals, just such as this has actually been the rule of those who have possessed themselves of the chief power in Oxford. Dr. Hampden may, perhaps, have been sent to try them, whether they were disposed to regard error on the higher mysteries of the faith as a matter of vital concern, or as a mere abstract opinion. They were weighed, and found wanting; before the great body of Oxford men arose at once and wrested from them a tardy censure. But there was one test more by which the same spirit might be shown. It might please God to raise up, under such rulers, some whom He had prepared for a great work of reformation. To one, He might give that keen and penetrating glance by which the great Athanasius instinctively saw through every subtlety of false doctrine, and a glowing earnest power which (for want of a better word) we may call eloquence, to send sacred truths through all the rind of prejudice and worldly-mindedness, with which men have enveloped themselves, and make them feel that God is with him of a truth. He might gift another with unwearied powers of application, and great depth of thought, so that no difficulties should be more than incentives to his pursuit of any worthy attainment, and an earnestness of purpose which carried away with it the minds of many common men. Having thus prepared chosen instruments, He might be pleased to endow them with

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singular graces—eminent devotion of themselves and all they have; gentleness and meekness, which might soften the breasts even of savages; guileless simplicity, humility so great as to be unconscious even of its own existence, and the like;—what gift of Him "from whom all good things do come" is so precious as men like these? Now how would the rulers whom we have been imagining receive men such as these?—Not of necessity with the forbearance which they extended to the 'abstract opinions' of the other. What if such an one should be (as is not unlikely) very practically impressed with the sin and danger of spending God's gifts upon ourselves? What if he should recall men as with a voice of thunder, to forgotten practical duties? if he should remind them of fasting and mortification of the flesh? if he should show them that sin is a thing of mysterious malignity, in those especially who have been made the temples of the Holy Ghost? And when it appeared that tens of thousands were perishing without the means of grace, or the hope of glory, what if he called on men to make sacrifices for their relief, with an earnestness wholly discordant to the temper of their minds, and the course of their lives? what if the contemplation of great spiritual wants should so grievously weigh upon his mind, as to affect him as their personal calamities have affected many men, and lay him upon a bed of sickness?—what if, while others are thinking it a great thing to give a few shillings, or pounds, to provide for the spiritual necessities of their brethren, he should offer, from less means, his thousands, and seem to himself to have done nothing, because he felt himself to be offering to his God and Saviour; and seeking 'treasure in Heaven?' Here it is evident enough we have no 'abstract opinions;' these things are positive, obtrusive, offensive.—'There is one man, but I hate him; for he does not 'prophecy good concerning me, but evil.'

It is perhaps not inconceivable, that the same authorities who were before so tolerant, might be eager to condemn men like these, even if they dare not allege any reason, lest it should condemn those whom all the people hold to be prophets.—And again, if they thought that they had found in their writings, or those of any who sympathized with them, anything inconsistent with the formularies, the same men might be ready to spring on this with savage delight, who could before pass over denials of all doctrine.

Now return, once more, from an hypothetical statement, to the facts which we have witnessed,—it cannot be denied that many men, while they would have shrunk from the presumption of judging individuals, thought they saw circumstances not unlike these in the conduct of the same authorities who dealt so

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tenderly with Dr. Hampden. Without going into particulars, one of these authorities found it necessary to preach a sermon, in order to apprize the University of its danger;* and in this sermon we find him denouncing especially 'gloomy views of 'sin after baptism,' (although he does not explain whether it is a duty to regard sin in Christians as a peculiarly jovial thing,) and grouping with these views in his condemnation, 'rigid morti-'fication, and self-abasements, and painful penances, which call 'us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition.'—He notices too with especial condemnation a passage (quoted from St. Ambrose) which says, that in the public penance for great crimes, '*the world must be renounced:*' (the italics are the Professor's) 'sleep must be indulged less than nature 'requires—must be interrupted with groans—must be seques-'trated for prayer. *We must live so as to die to this life.* Man 'must deny himself, and be wholly changed.'—P. 42. The dignitary who felt it needful to denounce these statements, had found nothing to call forth his energies in Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent!'

We sincerely believe that, in points like these, lay the gist of the offence of several persons who have given much umbrage to the authorities at Oxford. We suspect that they might, with much quiet, have insisted upon the Apostolical succession and the authority of the Church, and such obsolete doctrines, if they had steered clear of practical matters, or at least had only so treated them as that they might safely have been left among abstract opinions.

Upon the whole, then, we think that men had good reason to feel doubtful before Dr. Wynter entered to his office, whereto things were tending in the administration of the Heads. They saw them exercising authority much greater than any statute authorized; they had seen this power pass by the public preaching of one who, himself professing most of the doctrines of the Church, yet placed them and every class of heresy upon the same footing. Lastly, they saw an evident tendency to tolerate everything, except the revival of the ancient theology of the Church of England, when that was combined with high and exalted practice.

Our limits require that we should proceed to the doings of the late Vice-Chancellor, and we can afford to be more brief in this; because we have already exhibited the principles of his administration, and therefore confine ourselves to his acts. When the President of St. John's took, in rotation, the office of Vice-

* 'The Revival of Popery,' by G. Faussett, D.D. the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. 1838.

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Chancellor, those who thought that freedom from bigotry, and gentlemanly bearing and address, were sufficient securities against maladministration, must have looked forward to a season of mild rule. He was little mixed up in the parties or disputes of the University, and not very extensively in its society. In fact, it is said that he was more commonly thought of as an Oxfordshire gentleman than an academical authority—a result not unnaturally promoted by the fact, that his college possesses several manors in the vicinity of Oxford. He was esteemed a good man of business, and men thought him well qualified to act as the chief magistrate of the university and city. After what we have premised, our readers will be prepared to hear that we would gladly have heard of some more theological qualifications, and that we regard all these highly respectable qualities as, rather than otherwise, unfitting their possessor for forming a sound judgment upon the relative importance of religious questions. We think, moreover, that one whose mind and habits were more strictly academical, would have been less likely to forget the important fact, that great as is the authority of the Vice-Chancellor, the supreme power is in Convocation, that is, in the University itself.

The first public act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship, was the public condemnation of one of the 'Tracts for the Times,' by the Board of Heads. We are not going to say one word in defence of this tract, although we retain our own opinion that, in a University, where several leading members have been permitted, without censure, to assail, both from the pulpit and the press, the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith, it would have been a glaring inconsistency had any authority whatever ventured to condemn a work, of which its accusers say only, that it gives an interpretation of some of the Articles more favourable to the Roman Church than the Articles (in their opinion) allow. But let that pass. We will allow, for the sake of argument, that it merited all condemnation; but we say, that, in censuring it, the Board was guilty of a gross usurpation and encroachment upon the authority of the University. The Heads of Houses are merely twenty-four members of Convocation, except so far as they are by statute constituted into a Board for certain purposes. Among these they are not authorized to condemn obnoxious publications. Such censures have been pronounced, not by them, but by Convocation. They are authorized, indeed, to consider any subject, and therefore this, for the purpose of proposing a measure to Convocation, but for no other purpose. It is no answer to say that the Heads had the same right which every member of the University possesses, to express their own opinion of this work. No one denies their

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right as individuals, but as a body they are the creation of Convocation, and have no powers of acting, save those which Convocation has given them. But, in truth, their sentence professed to be the act of the University, and was so regarded by the world. It was intended to be so understood; and so it was and is understood. Here they were guilty of an act of usurpation as gross as can well be imagined; and this usurpation was aggravated by all the circumstances: their sentence (the sentence, not of a court, but a cabal) was issued from the press, with every formality which could have attended a real *Judicium Academiæ Oxoniensis.* This was no promising commencement.

We pass a year, and meet with the new Divinity Statute, which passed Convocation May 12, 1842. The occasion of this statute was the foundation, by the Crown, of two new Professorships; one of 'Pastoral Theology,' (which means, we are told, all that relates to the ministerial office;) the other, of 'Ecclesiastical History, and Patristic Theology.' These chairs were to be endowed with the two Canonries in Christ Church, which the ill-omened measures of the Commissioners misnamed 'Ecclesiastical' had abolished. Thus far the measure was a concession to the united voice of the Church, and could not be received otherwise than thankfully. It was also generally felt that the theological distinctions of the University, (the degrees of B.D. and D.D.) are, in fact, open to any Master of Arts who chooses to pay the fees, and assume them; and the Board, it seems, proposed to alter this, while they regulated the office of the new professors. That this was a reasonable purpose, may be admitted; although many might be disposed to doubt (with ourselves) whether, on the whole, the apparent anomaly might not be, in fact, a less evil than that which must necessarily attend any public examination of the candidates for Divinity degrees. We do not, however, wish to detain our readers on this subject, upon which, at least, the majority of the Board had as good a right to their opinion as we have to ours. The statute, then, after regulating the residence and lectures of the new Professors, provides that those who choose (after obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts) to give in their names for the purpose, shall be called Scholars in Theology; and after having attended certain courses of lectures, shall have the right of offering themselves for examination. Two examiners are to be appointed every year by the four Divinity Professors, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, out of their own number; and a third is to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor, and confirmed by the Graduates in Divinity. The examiners thus appointed may give or refuse certificates to those whom they examine:

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those who obtain certificates are to be styled Candidates in Divinity; those who fail may present themselves again.

We are not about to discuss the details of this statute.* It is, however, to be observed, that it is entirely optional with every B.A. whether he will or will not be a 'Scholar,' or a 'Candidate in Divinity;' the whole is purely voluntary. This was quite a new feature in the University system: every other voluntary examination is a step to some scholarship, or the like; this leads to nothing. The 'Candidate in Theology' has no greater advantage towards his Divinity degree than any other Master of Arts. One other manifest effect of the statute is to substitute, as far as may be, for the University itself, in all matters theological, another body, namely, the five Professors, four of whom are simply nominated by the Crown, the other being elected by the Graduates in Divinity. It would be easy enough to show reasons against this arrangement.

But the strongest objection to the statute in the minds of many Oxford men was, that, by vesting the Regius Professor of Divinity with new functions, while that chair was occupied by Dr. Hampden, the University might, at least, seem to have forgotten the circumstances which led to the censure of 1836. For this reason (had there been no other) the statute ought, in our opinion, to have been rejected by the University; and that it would have been rejected, had time been allowed to the great body of Masters of Arts to express their feelings, we have no doubt. But the measure was announced and carried in a few days, and many non-residents were ignorant that it had been proposed, until they heard of its adoption. Moreover, the measure had no professed relation to Dr. Hampden; it was a general statute, and only affected him incidentally; while, as we have shown, the members of Convocation possessed no power of amending the proposal, they could but adopt the whole, or reject the whole; and by rejecting it, they laid themselves open to the charge of refusing to meet the wishes of the Crown, by providing for the more effectual encouragement of theology, and the like: for we may be sure that, had the statute been rejected, the very suggestion that it had any bearing upon Dr. Hampden would have been scouted as monstrous.

Carried, however, the measure was, although nearly one-third of the members present, in all only 85, recorded their votes against it.† It was no sooner carried than the tactics of its proposers were in part disclosed. They were announced to the

* Our readers will find this task ably performed in an article in the *British Critic*, for July, 1842, with which we have made free use.

† We must again refer our readers to the very able and graphic account of these matters in the *British Critic*.

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world in the following article, which (to the great annoyance of many an Oxonian, who had never heard of the statute) went the round of the newspapers:—

"OXFORD.—By the provisions of the theology statute passed at Oxford last week, Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity, has been constituted chairman of the new Theological Board, and is also recognised as a University Professor of Dogmatic Theology. The statute, therefore, virtually rescinds the judgment passed by the University on the Professor's theological opinions in 1836, on occasion of his appointment to the Chair by her Majesty, at the recommendation of the late Whig administration."

We believe there were few who read this, without feeling that the University had been (to speak plain English) entrapped; but there was no time for more than passing feelings, for a few days more produced the following authorized notice:—

"The following form of statute will be promulgated in Congregation on Saturday, the 4th of June next, at ten o'clock, and submitted to Convocation on Tuesday, June 7th, at two o'clock.

"P. WYNTER,
"Delegates' Room, May 24, 1842. *Vice-Chancellor.*

"'Quum per Stat. Tit. xvi. § 8, 11, publicatum et confirmatum in Domo Convocationis die V^to^ mensis Maii, A. D. 1836, statutum sit, ut Theologiæ Professor Regius munerum quorundam in eodem statuto memoratorum expers sit, donec aliter Universitati placuerit;'

"'Placuit Universitati Statutum istud abrogare.'"

Notwithstanding all that had been done to prepare us, most Oxonians were altogether astounded at what they would have called in any less dignified body, the impudence of this measure. That the whole University should be expected, at a week's notice, to rescind their own solemn act, the circumstances remaining perfectly unaltered which had induced them, at so great sacrifice, to sanction it; and that the preamble of the proposed repealing statute should actually recite no circumstance upon which the repeal was based, except the fact that the censure had been passed by the University six years before—all this did, no doubt, seem amazing. The event, however, proved that although premature, the calculation of the Heads was less preposterous than it at first sight appeared.

First, if there was any one of the majority of 1836, whose condemnation of Dr. Hampden was in any degree as the nominee of Lord Melbourne, this at least was gone by. It is the nature of Englishmen to shake hands after a good stand-up fight is decided; and now that Lord Melbourne was removed, let bygones be bygones.

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But, again, it cannot be concealed, that the whole of that section of the University which is represented* by the 'Christian Observer' and the 'Record,' and which had supported the censure in 1836, was now for removing it. The 'Christian Observer' had long before declared, that 'if they could ever 'have doubted the excellence of the appointment,' a certain sermon of Dr. Hampden's would have satisfied them of it.† The 'Record' ‡ had just pronounced 'the appointment itself an excellent one.' The reason of this change is more evident than satisfactory. Dr. Arnold stated in 1836, in a letter to a pupil, printed in his Life, that this section of the Church joined in the condemnation, not in consequence of any real difference between themselves and Dr. Hampden, but only because he did not use their peculiar phraseology. How bitter would have been the indignation called forth by this declaration, had it been made publicly in 1836! But, lo! Dr. Hampden did adopt that phraseology, and, in adopting it, he repeated solemnly, both in public and private, up to the very day of the proposed repeal, that he altered no one opinion he had ever expressed. Dr. Arnold's assertion,—which seemed at the time merely his own opinion,—was tested by experiment, and, alas, it has been fully confirmed. We could not mention any man who is generally supposed to belong to that party, and who opposed the repeal. We could mention many, including, if we are not misinformed, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University, and one member of the Committee of Five in 1836, who supported it; and meanwhile nothing is altered in Dr. Hampden except his phraseology. Those who support him may say, indeed, that they do not in every point agree with him; but thus much is certain, that every one who voted for, or approved of, the repeal, as the section of the Church which calls itself exclusively Evangelical too generally did, is pledged to the opinion, that one who speaks as he does of the Creeds—of the Sacraments—of the Socinian heresy—of the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the rest—is fully qualified to be the authorized teacher of divinity to half the Clergy of England—so fully qualified, that it is incumbent on the University rather to condemn itself (by repealing a censure solemnly passed), than to leave any stigma upon his theology.

The result of the whole is known to our readers. The votes of the University were declared to be 334 against the measure of repeal proposed by the Heads, and 219 for it. Upon

* We would earnestly beg any reader who may not be acquainted with it, to study carefully the 'Essay on the Introduction of Rationalism into Religion,' in vol. iii. of the Tracts for the Times, in which this painful fact is by anticipation explained.

† We quote from memory. ‡ May 21, 1842.

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this decision, we must say a few words in passing, because the able writer, to whom we have more than once alluded, seems to doubt the possibility of any considerable error in the numbers, although he bears testimony to the general suspicion upon the subject. We must take the liberty of saying, that it is not only possible, but very probable. The 'placets' were retained by themselves in the 'Convocation House;' the 'non-placets' being sent into the 'School of Divinity.' When the two were thus divided, tellers were stationed at the door which admits from the Divinity School into the Convocation House, to number the 'non-placets' as they re-entered the Convocation House; and others at the outer door of the Convocation House, to count the 'placets' as they left the building. But, as both processes went on at the same moment, the 'non-placets' who came out of the Divinity School into the Convocation House could not stop there—there was no room. They were hurried on in a crowd mixed promiscuously with the 'placets,' through the door at which these latter were then being counted, and through which they ought of course to have passed alone. At this outer door, therefore, the work of the tellers was not merely what it should have been, to count those who passed, but to ascertain from each as he crowded by, which way he voted. The crowd was dense, the confusion hopeless; and the question asked of each was in the words, 'placet?' or 'non-placet?' We need not say that the effect of the least indistinctness, or noise, or the passing of another person between the voter and the teller, was to cause the first word to be indistinctly heard; and the voter, who had already been counted as a 'non-placet,' was again numbered as a 'placet.' The result (admitted, we believe, by all who had means of judging) was that, while the majority was correctly numbered at 334, the minority was over-estimated by at least one-half. This was observed by persons on both sides. We can vouch for the fact, that when the non-placets were leaving the Convocation House for the division, one of them lingered to the last moment on the highest seats (which overlook the whole house) in company with a friend who is one of the ablest and most zealous of Dr. Hampden's supporters. Looking down upon the 'placets' who were then alone in the area, each made such a calculation of their number as the time allowed, and each independently made them about 150. Whoever has tried the experiment will admit, that his tendency is to over-estimate numbers in such a situation: that two persons independently should have counted 150 instead of 219, seems hardly possible.

Thus much for the honour of the University. With regard to Dr. Wynter, we do not know that he took any public part in this affair; but we shall show hereafter, that he did not

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scruple to interpose his official veto in circumstances in which, we believe, it had never before been employed by any Vice-Chancellor on record, and by so doing, he made himself clearly responsible for every measure brought forward by the Heads during his administration. Certainly, if there was ever a proposal which, for the sake of peace, of the credit of the University, and for the maintenance of Christian doctrine, a Vice-Chancellor might have vetoed, it was this; which had been already so fully sifted and investigated—already had twice called up the clergy of England from their home duties; and on which it was generally understood that the real hope of the agitating party was, not that the body of the University had changed their opinion of Dr. Hampden's doctrines, but that their patience and their purses might be alike exhausted by these repeated calls.

There is, however, one aspect yet more painful in which this proposal must be regarded: we mean, in its connexion with the theological statute passed just before. That statute, as we have seen, professed to be merely general and permanent; but it is impossible to believe that those who framed it had not then in their minds the measure by which they immediately followed it up, for repealing the censure on Dr. Hampden. Indeed, many who supported this as a general measure one week, were notoriously found the next arguing that it committed the University in favour of a particular functionary. A more serious charge, however, could not very easily be proved against the fair-dealing of any body of men. Of course such a step goes the full length (as far as its influence extends) of dissolving the whole fabric of academical society. Mutual confidence and respect are the foundation of all civil communities. What will be the state of Oxford if it is to be understood that every Master of Arts is to scrutinize every practical measure proposed by the Board of Heads, not as designed to effect its alleged and professed objects, but as an artful device for tricking the University into the acknowledgment of principles, which, if honestly put forward, it would at once repudiate? And yet to what other result does this lamentable precedent tend? Such a state of things would be bad enough any where; but Convocation has not, practically, the power of amending any proposal. It can but accept or reject the measures proposed to it in the gross. Is it really meant that each man is in future to vote against the whole of every practical measure, however important, however indispensable he may believe it to be, if he thinks that there is in it so much as one expression, however unimportant and incidental, which either implies false principles, or may have been introduced by some subtle adversary, whose interest it may hereafter

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serve* to contend that it did imply them? Do not those who thus exercise powers, however obtained, deserve above all men the censure (which they are rather too fond of lavishing upon others) of being *perturbatores pacis?*

We defer, for the present, another series of unjust and oppressive acts which followed immediately upon this unsuccessful attempt to implicate the University in an approval of Dr. Hampden's theology, and which, indeed, must be regarded as retaliation for the defeat, and turn to the case of Dr. Pusey. He was called to preach in his turn before the University, on Sunday, May 14, 1843. Being aware that some expressions in his celebrated work on Baptism had been misunderstood, he had, as he tells us,

"On such occasions as my office afforded, commenced a course of sermons on the comforts provided by the Gospel for the penitent, amid the consciousness of sin; with the view to meet the charge of sternness, involved by the exhibition of one side of Catholic truth; in this course the sacred subject of the Holy Eucharist of necessity came in its order; and it was my wish (however I may have been hindered by sudden indisposition from developing my meaning as I wished) to point out its comforting character to the penitent in two ways:—first, indirectly; .... secondly, because in Holy Scripture the mention of remission of sins is connected with it.

"In essaying to teach this, I could not but forget controversy having in the commencement warned against irreverent disputing, I lived for the time in Holy Scripture, and its deepest expositors, the Fathers; and was careful to use rather their language than my own, lest on so high a subject I should seem to speak overboldly. Conscious of my own entire adherence to the formularies of my Church, and having already repeatedly expressed myself on this subject, and in the very outset of this sermon conveyed at once, that I believed the elements to 'remain in their natural substances,' and that I did not attempt to define the mode of the mystery.† . . . I had no fear of being misunderstood. . .

"My own views were cast (so to speak) in the mould of the minds of Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, which I regarded as the type of the teaching of our Church."—*Preface*, p. iii.

Of the sermon itself we will only say that it is written throughout in this tone and this spirit. We need say nothing more to prove how singularly offensive it must have been to

* We are compelled to notice a similar instance, in the use made of the words, 'donec aliter Universitati placuerit,' in the censure upon Dr. Hampden. What would have been thought of any man who had voted against the statute because it contained them?

† Our omissions are only of a few words, which we have passed by, rather than bring in sacred words in a discussion to the subject of which they are not suited.

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many of that day's congregation. The ancient theology of the English Church is notoriously very different from that which has extensively prevailed ever since the age of Burnet and Hoadley. And if it is more dangerous to attack an offensive preacher, when he says nothing more than has been said a thousand times of the great lights of the English Church, as well as the Saints of Antiquity, still it must be admitted that such a preacher is, on this very account, far more provoking than one who brings forward offensive matter of his own. Now there sat opposite to Dr. Pusey a brother professor, Dr. Fawcett, who had in print declared concerning Bishop Cosin, (whom the Bishop of Exeter has just pronounced 'one of the most dis-'tinguished Prelates of the Diocese of Durham, and one of our 'most eminent ritualists,') that 'it will be difficult to imagine 'that those who adopt his views fall much, if at all, short 'of what has been commonly termed consubstantiation.' And who had, moreover, declared his own view to be, that Christians 'show forth, declare, or commemorate the Lord's death, '*representing by visible symbols His absent body and blood.*' Of course he could hardly be ignorant that every revered divine of the English Church would at once reject this statement, as heresy. Whether it be so or not, is not our present question,—we merely intend to notice two circumstances which go far to explain the proceedings in the case of Dr. Pusey. His accusers and judges (they discharged both offices) were well aware that they had to deal with no new opinions, no inventions of his, but with the recognised theology of the English Church. And they were already pledged in print against that theology.

Still we suspect the difficulty of condemning Andrewes, Bramhall, Cosin, and the like, would have caused Dr. Pusey to pass unmolested; if there had not been much of a singularly offensive character in his sermon. His very earnestness,—those who have had the privilege of hearing him say, that it brings to their mind the text—'Cry aloud—spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, 'and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of 'Jacob their sins.' It was impossible to treat all this as a mere fancy—a peculiarity of a learned bookworm,—to put it off by calling it 'like Dr. Pusey,' and the like; and then, when, to adopt a contemporary account, 'towards the end of the sermon the 'preacher, lowering his voice to a pitch which we believe he con-'sidered inaudible to the mass of the congregation, solemnly 'addressed the Canons of Christ Church, and the other Doctors 'sitting within a few feet of him, just under the opposite pillar, 'on the duty of weekly Communion, with a pointed allusion to 'the neglect of it in that Cathedral; the words were heard by all, 'as indeed the merest whisper would have been, at that moment,

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'from one end of the Cathedral to the other;—all this of course could not but create a desire to silence the obnoxious preacher, yet how to do it was the question; for the sermon was so strictly Anglican, that to select any one proposition for censure, would have been simply to condemn themselves.

Of course each of our readers knows as well as we, how this difficulty was avoided, but we must briefly record the facts, because they form the chief public act of Dr. Wynter. On Wednesday he wrote (in his usual civil terms) to inform Dr. Pusey that the sermon had been complained of, though without mentioning by whom, which was never made known to the accused, except by rumour (the well-known practice of the inquisition), and demanding a copy of the sermon, that he might deal with it as directed by the statute. The sermon was sent as quickly as the severe illness under which Dr. Pusey laboured when it was delivered would allow, accompanied by a note, in which he requested (what seemed hardly necessary) that if any further explanation were required, he might be allowed a hearing. To this request he received no answer, but it transpired that the Vice-Chancellor had called in the aid of the Provost of Oriel Dr. Hawkins, the present Vice-Chancellor Dr. Symons, the Master of Balliol Dr. Jenkyns, Dr. Ogilvie the new Professor of Pastoral Theology, Dr. Faussett Margaret Professor, who is generally understood to have been Dr. Pusey's accuser (although knowing that by statute he must be one of the judges), and Dr. Jelf Canon of Christ Church. So far Dr. Wynter's proceedings were statutable. Next came the trial. Of this, when, where, or how, it took place no one but the judges knows anything. No answer at all either way was made to Dr. Pusey's demand, or rather entreaty, for a hearing. No communication of any kind, direct or indirect, took place between his judges and him until, after eight days, he was privately informed by one of them, Dr. Jelf, that the sermon had been condemned. Whether by the whole court, or by a majority, or on the same grounds, or whether each had different grounds, no one knows.

What follows is hid under a veil of secrecy. We can only know, first, that the sentence of the court was passed upon the sermon without, and prior to, any communication at all with the accused; and secondly, that when, after the court had decided, the judge began to tamper with the condemned, he felt, and still feels, the line of proceeding to be such, that it was safer to leave each man to guess at the truth than to let it be known.

If, as has been hinted, this strict silence was for the sake of the peace of the Church, Dr. Wynter has earned a sort of title to confessorship with his party; for certainly, that secrecy has placed him, we believe, in a position as unen-

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viable as was ever occupied by a judge who bore the Christian name. All we can know is, that after condemnation of the sermon, the writer (known to be labouring under very serious illness) was tampered with by his judges. Papers were then shown to him which he was not allowed to see until he had been bound by promise to conceal from every one both their contents, and even the fact that any communication had been made to him; and, above all, to consult no friend upon the subject—it being the avowed resolution of the Vice-Chancellor to suspend him at once, without any communication at all, unless he first bound himself, by solemn promise, to consult no one, and to keep secret from all men both the nature of the communication to him, and the fact that any had been made!

After this process had gone on awhile without result, (for we can only guess that Dr. Pusey proved to be of less pliant mould than was anticipated,) the following sentence was sent to him:—

"Junii 2°, 1843. Cum Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. Ædis Christi Canonicus, necnon Linguæ Hebraicæ Professor Regius, in concione intra Universitatem Maii 14^to^ proxime elapso habita, quædam Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dissona et contraria protulisse delatus fuerit; Idemque Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. postulante Vice-Cancellario concionis suæ verum exemplar eisdem terminis conscriptum virtute juramenti tradiderit: Mihi igitur Vice-Cancellario verbis quæ in quæstionem vocabantur in medium prolatis et rite perpensis, adhibito consilio sex aliorum Sanctæ Theologiæ Doctorum, scilicet D. Doctoris Jenkyns, D. Doctoris Hawkins, D. Doctoris Symons, D. Doctoris Jelf, D. Doctoris Ogilvie, nec non et Prælectoris Dominæ Margaretæ Comitissæ de Richmond, criminis objecti dictum Edvardum Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. reum inventum, a munere prædicandi intra præcinctum Universitatis per duos annos suspendere placuit.

"P. Wynter, Vice-Cancellarius,
"Philippus Bliss, Registrarius, Univ. Oxon."

Against this sentence Dr. Pusey protested as follows:—

PROTEST.

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor.—You will be assured that the following Protest, which I feel it my duty to the Church to deliver, is written with entire respect for your office, and without any imputation on yourself individually.

"I have stated to you on different occasions, as opportunity offered, that I was at a loss to conceive what in my sermon could be construed into discordance with the formularies of our Church; I have requested you to adopt that alternative in the Statutes which allows the accused a hearing; I have again and again requested that the definite propositions which were thought to be at variance with our formularies should, according to the alternative of the Statute, be proposed to me.

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I have declared repeatedly, my entire assent, *ex animo*, to all the doctrinal statements of our Church on this subject, and have, as far as I had opportunity, declared my sincere and entire consent to them individually; I have ground to think, that as no propositions out of my sermon have been exhibited to me as at variance with the doctrine of our Church, so neither can they; but that I have been condemned either on a mistaken construction of my words, founded upon the doctrinal opinions of my judges, or on grounds distinct from the formularies of our Church.

"Under these circumstances, since the Statute manifestly contemplates certain grave and definite instances of contrariety and discordance from the formularies of our Church, I feel it my duty to protest against the late sentence against me, as unstatutable, as well as unjust. I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June* 2, 1843."

Upon the publication of this protest, the first public document, or act, in the whole case, the judges (who, be it observed, did not, in any degree, consider themselves bound ontheir sid e of the question by any promise of secrecy, similar to that extorted from Dr. Pusey,) began to think that they would stand in a better position with the world, if the fact were made public that communications had been made to Dr. Pusey, after the condemnation of his sermon. Thus much, therefore, was stated by one of the six (the Provost of Oriel College), and stated in a manner which was understood to cast a reflection upon the truth of the facts stated in Dr. Pusey's protest. Being thus released from his promise of secrecy only to the extent which his judges deemed most convenient for their own character, Dr. Pusey published the following letter:—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—When I drew out my protest, I felt myself bound not to allude to the fact, that, after it was announced to me that my sermon had been condemned, I received confidential communications from yourself. I had been informed, when I received them, that the fact of my having received them, as well as their contents, was strictly confidential, and this injunction to entire silence had not been removed. I felt it, therefore, even my duty to ascertain that there was nothing in my protest which could trench upon that confidence.

"I expressed to yourself privately at the time, my sense of the kindness of *your* intentions personally, in making to me the first of these communications; and of this I was thinking when in my protest I spoke of 'not casting any imputation on yourself individually.'

"To the nature of these communications I can make no allusion, since you saw right to impose silence upon me. It is sufficient to say, that after they were concluded, I received a message from yourself,—'*Dr. Pusey has my full authority for saying that he has had no hearing.*' It ever was and is my full conviction, that had I had the hearing which

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(for the sake of the University and the Church) I earnestly asked for, I must have been acquitted.

"These communications, then, in no way affect my protest. I add this explanation, because while I retain my strong conviction that my sentence was both 'unstatutable and unjust,' it is right, since I am now at liberty to do so, to acknowledge the kindness of your own intentions to me individually.—I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant, "E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June* 6, 1843."

The next document in the case, is the following address 'of a very large Majority of the resident members of Convoca-'tion:'—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—We, the undersigned members of Convocation, and Bachelors of Civil Law, beg permission respectfully to address you on the subject of the sentence lately pronounced by you on Dr. Pusey: with the request that you will make known to the University the grounds upon which that sentence was passed, that we may know what statements of doctrine it is intended to mark as dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as publicly received."

This request it certainly would have seemed difficult to refuse, the answer was as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Respecting as I do the motives of those who have signed the paper conveyed to me by you, and ready as I am at all times to satisfy the reasonable demand of members of Convocation, I regret that I cannot in the present instance comply with their request. It is my plain duty as Vice-Chancellor to abide by the statutes of the University, and as these do not prescribe, so I have scarcely a doubt they do not permit, the course which is now suggested to me. For the silence of the statutes on this point, satisfactory reasons may be presumed—reasons which are not applicable to me alone, but to yourselves individually, and to the University at large.

"I beg to subscribe myself, &c.

"The Rev. H. Wall, E. P. Eden, E. Hill, &c."

A correspondence* followed between Dr. Wynter and E. Badeley, Esq., Barrister of the Temple, and Master of Arts of Brazennose College, who writes to inform him, that he is entrusted with an address 'from more than 230 non-resident 'members of Convocation, respecting the proceedings lately 'adopted against the Rev. Dr. Pusey, and begs to know when it 'will be convenient to him to receive it.'

The Vice-Chancellor replies, that he will receive Mr. Badeley, 'or any other gentleman,' but does not promise to receive the address, not knowing its contents. Mr. Badeley then sends a

* 'Times,' August, 19, 1843.

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copy of the address, and asks whether he will receive it? and whether, if so, it may be sent by post?

Dr. Wynter replies:—

"St. John's College, Oxford, August 1, 1843.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date, with a copy of the address, which you inform me has been intrusted to your care in order to its being presented to me.

"After the address shall have reached my hands, I shall be enabled to tell you whether I will receive it or not.

"I should not wish to put you to the trouble of coming down to Oxford, if transmitting the address by the post would answer your purpose. I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

"P. WYNTER, V.C."

"E. Badeley, Esq."

Mr. Badeley sends the address, with a request that, if refused, he may be informed of the reasons of the refusal, that he may communicate them to the gentlemen who signed it.

The address is as follows:—

"*To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

"We, the undersigned non-resident members of Convocation, beg leave respectfully to express our serious regret at the course which you have adopted with reference to Dr. Pusey's sermon.

"We deprecate that construction of the statute under which Dr. Pusey has been condemned; which, contrary to the general principles of justice, subjects a person to penalties without affording him the means of explanation or defence; and we think that the interests of the Church and of the University require, that when a sermon is adjudged unsound, the points in which its unsoundness consists should be distinctly stated, if the condemnation of it is intended to operate either as a caution to other preachers, or as a check to the reception of doctrines supposed to be erroneous.

(*Signed*) "DUNGANNON, M.A., Christ Church.
"COURTENAY, B.C.L., All Souls, M.P.
"W. E. GLADSTONE, Christ Church.
"JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE, M.A., Exeter."

Dr. Wynter's reply, together with the address itself, reached Mr. Badeley, at the Temple, not by the post, but by the hands of the University bedel, who was sent to London for this purpose; it was thus worded:—

"St. John's College, Oxford, August 4, 1843.

"SIR,—The address, which, as you inform me, you were commissioned to present to me, reached me by yesterday's post; I return it to you by the hands of my bedel.

"When a document of a similar nature, upon the same subject, was some time since presented to me, I was induced, from respect for the presumed motives of those who signed it, not only to receive it, but to

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state the ground on which I felt myself precluded from complying with the request which it contained. But the paper which you have transmitted to me, presents itself to me under very different circumstances, and demands from me a different course of procedure.

"In whatever point of view I feel myself at liberty to regard it, whether as addressed to me in my individual or my official capacity, it is deserving of the strongest censure.

"In the former case, it imputes to me, by implication, that in a matter wherein every thoughtful man occupying my position would most deeply feel its painful responsibilities, I have acted without due deliberation, and am capable of being influenced by many to concede that which I have already denied to a few. Assuming it to be addressed to me in my public capacity, a graver character attaches to it. If it be not altogether nugatory, then is it an unbecoming and unstatutable attempt to overawe the Resident Governor of the University in the execution of his office.

"In either case, I refuse to receive it; and I hold it to be my duty to admonish those who may have hastily signed it, while I warn others who may have been active in promoting it, to have a more careful regard to the oaths by which they bound themselves upon admission to their several degrees; this act of theirs having a direct tendency to foment, if not create, divisions in the University, to disturb its peace, and interfere with its orderly government.

"I am, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

"P. WYNTER, V.C."

"E. Badeley, Esq., M.A."

We have felt it our duty to put on record the facts and documents of this case, as far as they can be known. Only one fact remains to be mentioned—the communications between Dr. Wynter and Dr. Pusey had been carried on, by the latter, in a spirit so confiding, that he had not retained copies of his notes to the Vice-Chancellor, or of the remarks which Dr. Jelf wrote down at his dictation, when he waited on Dr. Pusey with the mysterious communications of the Vice-Chancellor. Some months afterwards Dr. Pusey wrote to request to see these, as well as some papers which he had sent to the Vice-Chancellor. To which Dr. Wynter replied that 'he regretted that circumstances precluded his compliance 'with this request.'

We do not enlarge here on the singular mistake which led Dr. Wynter to call himself the resident governor of the University, on the censure of 'Mr. Gladstone for perjury, and Mr. 'Justice Coleridge for riotous insubordination;' or on many other grotesque features of the case. We are writing seriously. The condemnation of the sermon, while a hearing was refused to the preacher; the messages from the judges under a promise of secrecy, while they allowed themselves the liberty of dis-

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closure; statements pronounced heterodox, and the Church not informed what those statements are—such is the summary history of Dr. Pusey's suspension. The sentence is, in fact, condemned by its own form and wording. It alludes to specific 'charges—*verba quæ in quæstionem vocabantur*,'—which words 'were they? *In medium prolatis et vite perpensis*,'—publicity and discussion! where are they?—'*reum inventum*'—the '*reus*' is refused admission!

We turn to another act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship.

Mr. Everett, a Socinian preacher of admitted respectability, in the city of Bristol, following the example of Dr. Priestley, emigrated some years ago to the United States. There, after continuing for some time his old occupation, he abandoned it and betook himself to politics. In this better employment his talents rapidly raised him; and, by a curious coincidence, he was sent back as ambassador to the very native country which he had left as Socinian preacher.

It so chanced that a strong accidental light was thrown, about the period of the events we have been detailing, upon the history of Mr. Everett, by a grotesque notice of him in the well-known book which goes by the name of 'Sam Slick.' Sam is sent as an *attaché* to the United States embassy in London, and describes himself as calling on the ambassador, whom he styles his Excellency Abednego Layman. He says, 'He was a Unita-'rian preacher once, was Abednego, but he swapt preaching for 'politics, and a good trade he made of it, too,—that's a fact.—'"A great change, says I, Abednego, since you was a preaching 'at Connecticut, and I was a vending of clocks," &c.

This fact being thus notorious, it was announced, that Mr. Everett was one of the persons selected by the Heads of Houses, to receive the highest honour the University can give to a stranger, by being publicly admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws, in the theatre, at the great assemblage which takes place every summer, immediately before the University breaks up for its long vacation. Few Englishmen, or even Englishwomen, are unacquainted with an Oxford Commemoration—the brilliancy of the scene, the season of the year, the throng of strangers, the gaiety of young and old in Oxford, just released from the harness of term, the solemn pageantry of the procession, the academical dresses worn that day in their fullest splendour and variety, make a whole which can hardly be forgotten. On this public stage Dr. Wynter and the Heads resolved to exhibit, practically, the latitudinarian theories which Dr. Hampden had set forth in heavy volumes, read very painfully by very few.

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We must mention, that a custom has prevailed, more or less, for many years among the undergraduates, (who occupy a gallery, set apart for them on this occasion,) of expressing, by applause and groans, their feelings upon the academical authorities, the public men of the day, and anything else which happens to come into their heads. On Wednesday, June 28, 1843, it was generally known that they had resolved to carry this licence to an extreme, and interrupt the regular proceedings of the day, in order to signify their dislike of one of the Proctors. This might, of course, have been easily guarded against, had measures been taken for the purpose, but taken they were not.

To return to the case of Mr. Everett. Several members of Convocation waited upon the Vice-Chancellor, upon two several occasions, with an earnest request that, by withdrawing his name, he would save them the pain of publicly opposing his degree. Precedent was entirely in favour of his acquiescence to this petition. Two instances, at least, are remembered, the last occurring as lately as the installation of the Duke of Wellington into the office of Chancellor. It was then proposed to invest with the honours of the day, among other distinguished foreigners, the Ambassador of France, Prince Talleyrand; and the proposal was abandoned, because many members of Convocation thought it unfit that our festivities should be sullied by honours offered to a renegade Bishop. That which had been suffered to pass unnoticed in the case of the French nation and the most distinguished civilian of the age, could hardly have been thought disrespectful to the United States or to Mr. Everett. However, lest their proceedings should in any way be misunderstood, several members of Convocation called upon him, and explained their intention and their reasons. To the Vice-Chancellor, too, their intentions were most clearly announced. He in turn requested them to be satisfied with this private protest, and not interrupt the unanimity of the theatre by dividing the House. They replied that they felt it a point of duty, and must bring their opposition to a division. So fully did Dr. Wynter understand this, that he informed several of his own party that Mr. Everett's degree would be opposed, and requested them to be prepared for the vote. The procession entered the theatre as usual, and was greeted with unusual uproar by the young occupants of the gallery. This had been foreseen. Whether the omission of precautions against it was connected with what followed cannot of course be known. It was certainly a remarkable omission, and as certainly it enabled the Vice-Chancellor (whose duty it was to have prevented any indecency upon such an occasion, and who showed this year that he did not want power to fulfil that duty,) to commit a far more

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serious breach of law, upon which he could hardly otherwise have ventured. The custom is, that, after taking his seat, the Vice-Chancellor puts the question in Latin, first to the Doctors and then to the Masters, with regard to each candidate for a degree separately. This is of course in ordinary cases met by a unanimous assent, and when the House has voted all the degrees, the candidates are introduced, conducted up the centre of the area through the crowd which occupies it, and stationed in front of the Vice-Chancellor, to whom each one is separately presented with a Latin oration by the Professor of Civil Law; after which the Vice-Chancellor, addressing the candidate, says, 'Ego auctoritate mea et totius Universitatis admitto te ad 'gradum Doctoris in Jure civili, Honoris causâ.' A bar is then opened which separates the seats of the Doctors from the area belonging to the Masters, and the new Doctor having made his reverence, walks up and takes his seat. Such is the routine in unopposed degrees. With regard to an opposed degree, as this is the first instance in which a Vice-Chancellor has refused to attend to the expressed wish of the Masters, and has pushed the affair to a division, we can only speak from the analogy of other disputed proposals in Convocation. If any Doctor or Master replies 'non placet' to the first question, the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor asks whether a scrutiny be demanded; and if demanded by any individual, the scrutiny takes place as a matter of course. The result is decided by the majority of voices.

There is absolutely no instance on record, of any Vice-Chancellor venturing upon so daring a measure, as that of refusing to take the votes of the House—of course, if it were legal to do so, his authority would at once be absolute, and the assemblies of the University, as much of a form, as those of the Roman people under the emperors.

In this instance, the Vice-Chancellor put the question to the House when the uproar was at the loudest, and availing himself of that circumstance, went on as if no opposition had been made, although many masters quite close to him vociferated 'non placet,' as he had been informed by themselves that they would, with the utmost power of their voices. He never asked whether a scrutiny was demanded; and when some made their way to him through the crowd and demanded it, although Mr. Everett had not yet been introduced, he disregarded the demand, and conferred upon him on his arrival, the honours of the University, 'by my own authority, and by the authority of the whole 'University.'

There are of course, two aspects, in which this action must be regarded—in its bearing upon Christian doctrine, and upon the constitution of the University.—Of course, if the act of such a

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Vice-Chancellor as Dr. Wynter could be regarded as a precedent for his successor, this cause would amount to an entire annihilation of the University Constitution. It is as if in the state, the Speaker of the Lords or Commons should first suffer the deliberation of the House to be overwhelmed by cries from the gallery (through his own neglect), and then avail himself of that interruption, to pronounce some favourite measure of his own, voted by the House, when he knew that it was the intention of the members to reject it. There are quarters in which the comparison of the Convocation to a House of Parliament may excite a smile—yet even politically, the question is not unimportant; for if Dr. Wynter's precedent had been lawful, there is nothing to prevent any future Vice-Chancellor from returning both the Members of Parliament for the University, 'by his own authority, and that of the whole University,' but against the avowed opposition of every one but himself.—The election is by law vested in the same body—the House of Convocation.

But we confess that, regarding this particular act as too irregular to find supporters, especially as the Masters obtained the opinion of three eminent barristers that 'the degree is a 'nullity, and that Mr. Everett cannot lawfully assume the rank 'of Doctor of Civil Law of the University of Oxford,'*—we think the religious bearing of the question the most practical, as it is, of course, infinitely the most important. A distinguished clergyman, the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Perceval, wrote soon afterwards—'It is some consolation to consider, 'that both the attempt to degrade one who is conspicuous 'for his zealous exertions in defence of that truth for which the 'Lord of Glory bled, and the attempt to confer honour upon 'another, who is reported to maintain and to have taught that 'doctrine, which St. John declares to be the mark of antichrist, 'and which the Church, in all ages, has condemned as blasphemy; 'that both these attempts, which have been exhibited in the 'chief seat of learning of this nation, have been the work of one 'and the same individual, for whose conduct the Church is in no 'degree, and the University only indirectly, responsible.'

But we must turn to another series of events which began before those which we have lately been detailing, but which we have postponed in our narrative because they carry us on to the very close of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship. In June, 1842, while the agitation excited by the Heads of Houses in their attempt to repeal the censure upon Dr. Hampden was at the hottest, it became necessary for the Rev. R. G. Macmullen,

* The opinion at length was published in the 'Times' of Dec. 11, 1843.

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Fellow of Corpus Christi College, to proceed in due course to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. We must again beg any Oxonian, who may honour us by a perusal, to excuse our giving some explanation for the benefit of others. The Divinity degrees granted by the University are those of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity, commonly written B.D. and D.D., or S.T.B. and S.T.P. respectively. All that has ever been required to the attainment of these titles is, that the candidate should have taken his degrees in Arts—first Bachelor and then Master—B.A. and M.A. (which of late years implies a general examination) that he should have received Holy Orders, have resided certain years in the study of theology, and have performed certain exercises—of these requirements some, (which required residence, &c.) have been habitually dispensed with, and in practice the degree has been granted to all clerical M.A.'s who possessed the requisite standing, paid the fees, and performed the exercises. These last were a relic of the ancient scholastic system, once common to Oxford, with every other University. The candidate for degrees (whether in Divinity or any other faculty) was to hold public discussions in Latin in the schools. Twice he was required to act the opponent to some other candidate, whose duty it was to defend an appointed thesis, —once to be prepared to answer the objections of opponents who impugned his own. Mere intellectual tournaments, we need hardly say, were, in their day, the exercise of the keenest intellects of Europe; and their influence upon the minds of men and the whole literature of ages, was as great as that of chivalry and its encounters upon their civil and military habits. But times are changed; and if the times of chivalry are gone by, not less so the days of scholastic disputations. Still, however, the statute remained unaltered, and still the candidates for degrees ascended the opposite pulpits, and the Moderator took his seat elevated above them, and in such Latin as they could compose or purchase did they discuss to empty benches the proposed theories.

All this being, however, somewhat of a farce, Dr. Burton, the universally beloved Professor of peaceful days, by his own authority, and without statute, modified the system. Instead of Latin disputations he introduced the custom of the candidate reading an essay in English upon some theological question, and without an opponent. The selection of this question was left to the candidate; and if he was at a loss, it was the custom of the Professor to present to him a considerable list of subjects, out of which to select such as he preferred. When the time came for the reading of the exercises, Dr. Burton (according to the immemorial custom of Divinity Professors) presided,

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although he could hardly be said to moderate when there was no longer any disputation.

The practice thus adopted by Dr. Burton, was continued from 1836 to 1842, by his successor, Dr. Hampden, and thus had the authority (such as it is) of ten years' practice against law; and many years more it might have continued, until its origin had been forgotten, if Dr. Hampden had not conceived the project of employing it as a test, which would enable him to prevent any person distasteful to him from proceeding to degrees in Divinity. Let no man think the object in itself a small one; not to mention that certain privileges in the University belong to these degrees. The statutes of a considerable number of colleges absolutely require every fellow to proceed to them, on pain of forfeiting his fellowship, and with it his present maintenance—his ultimate succession to a benefice—in a word, his prospects for life. It was evident, then, that if Dr. Hampden could carry his point, one-half of the University would be in his power: he might boldly demand the repeal of the censures against him, or indeed upon anything else. Still the attempt was so erroneously, so incredibly bold, that (great as was the prize) we cannot believe that he would have ventured it in cold blood. Those, however, who heard the lecture delivered by the Professor in the school of theology, on June 1, 1842, would be inclined, we believe, to think his state anything but one of cool blood. The same impression, we understand, was conveyed, both by his conduct and correspondence during the struggle of 1836, not to mention the letters published by him, and entitled, 'Correspondence between Dr. Hampden and Dr. Howley.' However this may be, the attempt was made. To estimate its boldness we must not merely consider the difficulty of establishing a new test in the present day, in a Church so divided as ours unhappily is, and which has always allowed so great variety of opinion on many religious subjects;—we must add, that Dr. Hampden had, publishing in print and from the pulpit, opposed all tests as such: that, in this particular point, among others, he still professed not to have changed his mind. His object was not to revive any antiquated test of doctrinal soundness; not to enforce any obsolete statute; but to establish a wholly new test in a case where confessedly there had never before been any such thing at any period however remote, and where moreover he had no statute at all on his side. Again, a man may often put his own interpretation upon immemorial customs, and defy the world to prove that such may not have been their original intention; but the custom which Dr. Hampden hoped to convert into a test, was but of ten years' standing, and was simply

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illegal from the commencement. For it must be carefully borne in mind, that it was upon Dr. Burton's new and unstatutable custom alone, that the attempt was founded. And Dr. Hampden, moreover, could only establish as his test, agreement in his own theological opinions,—namely, in those which had been already three several times, solemnly condemned by the whole University; and which had raised so great a thrill of indignation through the whole Church, that the clergy from remote parts of England, had come forward to thank the committee in the University, which had procured their condemnation.

The means adopted by the Professor, were as follow:—When Mr. Macmullen called upon him to request subjects on which to write according to custom, and (as he erroneously believed) to statute, he was not surprised to be received coldly, and kept standing; but he was surprised that, instead of settling the matter at once, the Professor told him he would send him subjects on which to write, before he left Oxford. This not being done, Mr. Macmullen renewed his application, which produced the following letter.

"Ch. Ch. June 11, 1842.

"The Regius Professor of Divinity, encloses these subjects to Mr. Macmullen, for the Divinity exercises, agreeably to his request. The Professor will thank Mr. Macmullen, to give him a week's notice of the days when he wishes to read his exercises. *He should also mention, that he expects to have copies of the exercises, delivered to him after the reading of them.*

"1. The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the elements at consecration in the Lord's Supper.

"2. It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation, to speak of Scripture and Catholic Tradition, as joint authorities in the matter of Christian Doctrine.

"Rev. R. G. Macmullen, C.C.C."

We must observe that the requirement of the copy of the exercises was wholly unprecedented.

To proceed with our narrative, Mr. Macmullen finding it impossible to take the view required by the Professor, of Theses purposely worded so as to entrap him, requests to be allowed to write on those clauses of the Thirty-nine Articles, which relate to the same subject,—namely, that on Transubstantiation in the Twenty-eighth, and that on the authority of Holy Scripture in the Eighth. It seemed impossible that a proposal so reasonable should be rejected, by a Professor who had allowed other candidates to select their own subjects;—but Dr. Hampden drew a subtle distinction between this, and Mr. Macmullen's case; because, as the latter had requested subjects from the Professor,

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he was bound to write on them,—though why so bound, he did not think fit to explain. Mr. Macmullen now examined the statute, and finding there no admission of the Professor's claim to select the subjects, renewed his endeavours. The correspondence lasted for three months; at the end of which, the Professor intimates for the first time, that 'he by no means 'prescribed to Mr. Macmullen, the view which he was to take of 'the Theses, or restrict the line of his argument. He merely 'states, in each case, the proposition on which the disputation is 'to turn.'

Mr. Macmullen now wrote a statement of the facts to the Vice-Chancellor, requesting him 'either personally, or in con-'junction with the Board of Heads of Houses, or with any 'other body, to whom may be intrusted the decision of such 'questions,' to advise him how he ought to proceed. The Vice-Chancellor replies very kindly, that the Board did not feel justified in coming to any decision, and therefore advises personally, that Mr. Macmullen should 'fulfil the previous conditions 'required by the Divinity statute, in regard to subjects for 'exercise,—*i. e.* those conditions which had of late years been neglected; for he adds, 'It may be as well to remind you, that 'your notices should be in Latin'—which had not been practised since the Latin disputations had been discontinued. Mr. Macmullen follows the advice of the Vice-Chancellor, and proceeds with the required forms. The Professor refuses to preside at the disputation, assigning as his reason, that Mr. Macmullen has not fulfilled the letter of the statute, but declining to say wherein the defect is. He drops the following important words:—

"As Mr. Macmullen resorts to the letter of the statutes, not simply for the maintenance of the statutes, but for the purpose of avoiding particular theses, which, he avows, are distasteful to him, (though the Professor cannot understand how the given theses can be distasteful to any minister of the Church of England), it becomes the obvious duty of the Professor to see, for his part, that the appeal to the statutes be not used for the same purpose, but that it be a real appeal, and strictly followed out."—P. 20.

That is, the Professor impedes Mr. Macmullen's degree, because he objects to subjects which the Professor deems unobjectionable to any clergyman. The test, then, after all, is, as we have already seen, agreement with the Professor's views,—that is, with views denounced by the whole University, and the mass of the clergy.

However, preside the Professor will not, and what is to be done? Mr. Macmullen proceeded with the formal notices requisite before disputations; but the Vice-Chancellor now

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interferes, although still in the most friendly manner, and will not allow the disputation, which he had himself suggested, to take place, except under the Professor, as moderator. Even in doing this, however, he reminds the candidate that the formal steps already taken will be very useful, should he at length be forced into a court of law, which, however, the Vice-Chancellor does not at present wish to recommend. The unfortunate candidate next applies for advice to the Heads of Houses, who answer almost in the words of Dr. Hampden (himself one of their Board) that, having applied for questions, he ought to write on them; although without explaining how this resolution is to be reconciled with the statutes which it is the business of the Board to see not set aside.

Mr. Macmullen then commenced the action which the Vice-chancellor had not obscurely suggested, and the object of which was to compel the Professor to preside. The assessor, a sound lawyer, determines that he is bound to preside; but Dr. Hampden appeals to the delegates,—a set of very respectable clergymen, who reverse, with costs, the sentence of the lawyer, on being told by Dr. Hampden's counsel that the presence of the Professor was not necessary. Mr. Macmullen having now burnt his fingers with law, makes one more attempt to prevail on the Vice-Chancellor to allow the disputation to take place, without the Professor, in accordance with the doctrine of Dr. Hampden as counsel. This, however, was still refused by the Vice-Chancellor, while the Professor is equally resolved, delicately, never to preside, unless his subjects are taken. Thus tenderly was the new test tendered to poor Mr. Macmullen, his kind friend the Vice-Chancellor refusing to allow his exercises to take place without the Professor's presence, and the Professor refusing to preside, because that presence was not necessary to the performance of the exercises.

While Mr. Macmullen was in this unenviable dilemma, reports were spread through Oxford that the Heads of Houses were about to propose a legislative measure on the subject of divinity degrees. Mr. Macmullen then stays all further proceedings, and waits to avail himself of the promised redress. Then, as before, the Board came forward; and, as the publication of Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent with a View to the Use of Tests in the University,' had been followed by their proposal to dispense with subscription; so now his attempt on Mr. Macmullen they rewarded by a statute which (had it passed) would have gone far to give him the legal authority to exercise upon every other candidate for degrees the same power which he had practised illegally upon one.

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The proposed statute was announced to the University in February, 1844. One most important effect it would have produced; and that by a claim so incidental and unobtrusive that its meaning was for some time actually unnoticed by many careful readers. It rendered compulsory upon all candidates for degrees in Theology, the hitherto voluntary examination of 1842. Thus it of course armed three examiners, over whose appointment, as we have seen, the University has no control, with the power of entirely barring any individual's access to his degree, and in many cases endangering his fellowship. It rendered an additional year of residence necessary to the obtaining a B.D. degree, but moreover it practically changed this theological examination from an honour, which it was when it was voluntary, into a doctrinal test, which it would immediately become when every candidate for a B. D. degree was obliged to pass it. So objectionable did this clause appear upon consideration, that men thought the rest of the statute would have been superfluous for Dr. Hampden's purpose had this been carried. It would of itself have changed the character of the University.

However, as this would but have given most dangerous powers, not to the Regius Professor personally, but to the Board of Theological Professors; and, moreover, as some might pass this ordeal a year after taking their degree, in Arts, whom it might be an object to test at a later period; another net was to be spread at the conclusion as this was at the commencement of the seven years which elapse between the degrees of M.A. and B.D., and the strings of this net were placed in the sole hands of Dr. Hampden. It required the copy of the candidates' essays to be delivered to the Professor for his private perusal; and it provided, that if any dispute arose (leaving the expressions so vague as to exclude every question of doctrine as well as the form of exercises and the like) it should be referred, not to the Courts of the University, but to the private and individual determination of the Vice-Chancellor, which determination was to be final.

The effect of all this, of course, would have been to change the exercise into a doctrinal test, and to take away from the University the power which it had ever possessed of granting or refusing divinity degrees; transferring the entire and irresponsible control over them, and through them, over half the fellowships in Oxford, to the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor. The former being selected by the Prime Minister, who may be a Socinian or a professed infidel, and whose nominee may, like Dr. Hampden himself, be appointed in open defiance of the expressed judgment of the University and of the whole Church;

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and the latter, or Head of a House, taken in rotation, and if it so chance, a layman. Above all, these powers were proposed to be given to these functionaries, when one office was held by Dr. Wynter, and the other by Dr. Hampden!

We need not say that the whole proposal was received with astonishment by the University and the whole Church. There had been enough of secret conclaves, accusations, courts, accusers, judges, accused refused admittance or hearing; sentences, without arraignment, trial, defence. 'The resident governor of the University,'—would have had the statutable right now of sitting in his own drawing-room and ejecting from his degrees one member of the University after another— all with the utmost kindness and tenderness, without public discussion, or any of those inconvenient forms which the common consent of men has established. This is indeed already a recognized theory of the constitution of the University, though one not yet realized. Let our readers observe the following passage from the demi-official gazettes of the Board, the 'Morning Herald,' and 'Standard' of September 26, 1844:—

"The grand fallacy of the Tractarians consists in this—that they choose, because it answers their purpose, to argue as if the University were a democracy; and as if nothing could lawfully be done in it without a debate and a taking of votes. Now the real fact is, that the University more resembles, on a large scale, a School; in which, as every one knows, there must be an arbitrary Governor. Nobody is *forced* to go to the University—youths are sent there by their parents, and with their own assent; but both the parents and the young men know full well, that they are consenting to submit to an arbitrary dominion for a limited time, and for an especial purpose.

"Dr. Pusey, it is true, was not a young man. But our observation was, that the general system of the University is that of absolute sway, not of a democracy, or a place where all things are to be discussed and put to the vote."

We need not tell our readers that the proposed statute obtained actually no support at all. We at least have never heard of any member of Convocation who approved it. It was therefore very soon announced that the proposal was referred back to the Board for reconsideration.

And now to return to Mr. Macmullen, whose case was to be set at rest by this statute; he was of course left where he was—pent up between Dr. Hampden and the Vice-Chancellor. The amended statute, of course, was to set all right; but he could wait no longer, for the time was come when he must graduate or lose his fellowship. Having therefore made one more vain appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, he was forced 'to accept, under protest, the original theses which the Regius Professor

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had imposed.' He wrote accordingly, and read his exercises in the school on Thursday 18th, and Friday 19th of April, 1844. 'After the reading of the first exercise, the Professor pronounced 'the words, "Non sufficit pro formâ,"'—words which no one had ever heard before, and which certainly do not carry their own meaning with them, but which, under the circumstances of time and place, and yet more of person, were understood to mean, that he did not admit the exercise as qualifying Mr. Macmullen for his degree.

We have no room to discuss the doctrinal merits of the exercise which had the ill-fortune to displease Dr. Hampden. It is published, however, and there is one remark which we think every one who has read it will admit to be true,—we mean, that if Mr. Macmullen maintained the negative side of Dr. Hampden's thesis at all, he could not have done it in a manner more moderate, or with more care to guard against misconception of his meaning. This we think will be admitted even by those who think that the thesis cannot safely be denied at all; although Mr. Macmullen shows that it is denied by the Fathers, the chief divines of the modern Church of England, and by plain inference by the Prayer-book:—it remains then that the exercise was rejected merely because it denied, instead of affirming, the thesis; and that, although we have seen the Professor had volunteered the statement, that 'he by no means 'prescribes to Mr. Macmullen the view which he is to take of 'the thesis, or restricts his line of argument.' By no means,—only he impedes his degree, if that view is not the same as his own!

This may be deemed exceedingly clever management in the secret conclaves of the Hebdomadal Board. How the world, and men of the world, commonly estimate such proceedings, we need not say. We admit that their opinion is no safe standard for divines, or even for Christians. Yet we think their conduct should not sink below, but rise above it. Upon these proceedings the 'Times' says,—

> "We have simply to remark, that impertinent as are unauthorized tests, and extremely impertinent and glaringly ridiculous as are such tests from a formally condemned latitudinarian—there is another thing to which we have even a stronger objection, and that is, to dishonesty."

Meanwhile the statute comes out again from the hands of the Board slightly amended, in deference to the unanimous opinion of the University. Dr. Hampden's usurpations were not sanctioned in the mass, for the copy of the exercise was no longer to be given in to the Regius Professor; and with regard to the power of forcing subjects upon the candidates, and the appeal from the Professor to the Vice-Chancellor, verbal changes were made, which, if the University had believed

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them to be concessions *bonâ fide*, might, in some degree, have changed the character of the statute; but the words now proposed would throw the whole into the hands of the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor, if interpreted with far less violence than had been already exercised upon the celebrated Six Doctor Statute, when an instrument of oppression against Dr. Pusey was needed: and it was universally believed that these seeming concessions were only intended to get the measure through the House; when once past, the University (in its turn) had 'scarcely a doubt' how the Vice-Chancellor would interpret it.

In Oxford, therefore, and throughout the country, there was really but one feeling about the statute, and yet this general feeling was curiously mixed. Every one whom we saw or heard of rejected it with indignation—every one seemed convinced that the pretended alterations were but illusory, and that it was really, in its meaning and effect, the same as ever; yet this common feeling turned itself (as it was natural) in different minds towards several parts of the measure. All were indignant; but one was felt most, the pretended alteration devised to remove the edge of opposition, where there was no real change. Another (and this was stated to be the feeling of the venerable President of Magdalen College, the representative in Oxford of the ancient theology) felt strongly the attempt of the Board, now a second time repeated, to remove indirectly the censure upon Dr. Hampden, which they had in vain openly assailed. Another was most keen in deprecating the statute, because he felt sure that it was calculated and intended to remove the real power out of the hands of the University into those of the Hebdomadal Board and the Vice-Chancellor. Another, because he knew well the way in which whatever power was obtained, would be employed. With feelings like these, the clergy came to Oxford. Daily prayers were intermitted in perhaps half the churches where they are offered—men who can ill bear travelling expenses, came from Northumberland and Cornwall. But (what was almost the most remarkable feature of this assemblage) men came to deliver their own souls, without knowing, or professing to know, which way the majority would be. And when they came together they asked, 'Where are our opponents?' For then it appeared, that of all the Oxford graduates in England, the measure of the Heads could obtain the support of only twenty-one, that is, only eight more than a bare majority of their own Board. Of this number several had been brought up from the country for the purpose; while those who passed the vote of no confidence and censure upon the Board, its measures, and its 'Resident Governor,' were 341, about 16 to 1. Men felt that it was no measure of University detail; it was a condemnation of the Hebdomadal

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Board's censure on Mr. Newman; the condemnation of Dr. Pusey without trial; the attempted repeal of the Hampden censure; the theological statute; the treatment of Mr. Macmullen; the degree of Mr. Everett; the systematic exclusion of genius, devotion, and learning from the offices of the University;—things written upon our hearts; things which we can never forget till we cease to be ourselves. These were they which thronged the Convocation House that day.

Neither had men any cause to go far back in order to justify these feelings. Convocation met at noon. In congregration, at 10 the same morning, Mr. Macmullen's degree had been refused. We left this gentleman when the Professor had spoken the enigmatical words which were supposed to mean that he rejected the exercise. As, however, the Professor was believed by those who knew the statutes to have no right of refusal beyond that which belongs to every member of the Houses, this did not prevent his proceeding. Proceed indeed he must, and having performed his exercises, although not statutably, which the Vice-Chancellor refused to allow, yet according to the custom of the University for several years past, he was now by that custom qualified to receive it. The degree is conferred by the House of Convocation; but before it reaches this step, a Grace, as it is called, *i. e.* a permission, must pass the House of Congregation. The passing of these graces is the chief practical business of this House; and while all other questions submitted to either House are decided by the vote of the majority, the manner of granting these graces is regulated by a peculiar statute. The vote is secret, and every member of the House may stop any grace without making public his name or assigning his reason. But when this has been done at three several meetings of the House, it cannot be a fourth time repeated. The objector must then assign the reasons of his refusal, and these are judged of by the House, which grants or refuses the grace at its discretion. The Vice-Chancellor singly, or the two Proctors jointly, having, as we before mentioned, a veto on all business in either House, Dr. Hampden then, as a member of Congregation, had an unquestioned right to refuse Mr. Macmullen's grace three times without giving a reason. And when men heard on the morning of the 2d of May that it had been that day refused, they took for granted that it was his act. This, however, time would of course show; for Mr. Macmullen could not but repeat his application, and after the third time, the name and reasons of the objector must be made public. Meanwhile it was felt that if at ten o'clock Mr. Macmullen received the censure of Dr. Hampden or his unknown supporter, Dr. Hampden and his supporters received a censure of the University at noon.

Mr. Macmullen's grace was a second time presented to Con-

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gregation, and a second time refused in silence and mystery. A third time the same scene was enacted, and men were expecting the fourth, when lo! on the 20th of May, the Heads of Houses assembled, and, as if laboriously and studiously to stultify themselves, passed a unanimous resolution, 'That the Vice-Chancellor should direct the Regius Professor of Divinity to recur to 'the legitimate statutable exercises of the B.D. degree.' This very Board had been repeatedly consulted by Mr. Macmullen when his degree and his fellowship were in jeopardy, through no fault or omission of his own, but solely because the Professor refused to allow him to fulfil the statute, both when he earnestly entreated to be allowed to do so as a favour, and when afterwards he sought it by law as a right! The dignitaries of the University—the resident Governor, the pro-resident Governor (our readers will excuse us if we coin new words to express unheard-of claims)—put off Mr. Macmullen with the cool resolution, 'that having applied to the Professor for subjects, he ought to write upon them;' and then having driven this innocent victim into the toils of his persecutor, they turn round—as if to assure the world that they have done what they did, not from any ignorance of the statutes, nor from any love of the existing system, but from pure, simple delight in persecution—and pass a resolution that the whole system on which they compelled him to act was, from the beginning, illegitimate and unstatutable, and that what he was begging as a favour, and what they refused, was plainly enjoined upon one and the other by the statutes to which both had sworn obedience! Their only excuse is, that a measure had lately been contemplated for putting the exercises on a new footing; as if that could form any excuse for maintaining, even for a day, a system illegal in itself, and actually abused for the purpose of unjust oppression. Yet, even this excuse could hardly apply to the past period when Mr. Macmullen asked their advice, two years ago.

Thus, then, the whole of Dr. Hampden's test scheme ended for the present in the restoration of the old disputations; the very idea of which, as we have shown, precludes their being so employed; and the weariness that the Professor may, at times, feel stealing over him as he listens to long hours of theological Latin from one candidate after another, must, we fear, be regarded as no more than a just penance for the boldness of his attempt.

But we must return to Mr. Macmullen; a few days after the unanimous resolution of the Heads, which acknowledged the total illegality of the whole system employed for his oppression, his grace was a fourth time sought, when it appeared that the obstacle proceeded, not from Dr. Hampden, but from the Vice-Chancellor—the same functionary by whom his most important steps had been recommended; who, by assisting him with advice

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after he had refused the theses, had shown his opinion that a man might differ on those subjects, even from so great an authority as Dr. Hampden, without forfeiting his claim to be considered a sound member of the English Church. The same, too, who had refused to allow him to perform his exercise in the way which he himself had now admitted to be alone legitimate and statutory, and which, as such, he was actually enforcing upon the Regius Professor.

It is stated in the newspapers of the period, that Dr. Wynter's reason was, that he could not tell officially that Mr. Macmullen's exercises had been performed; as his grace was not supplicated by the Regius Professor, but by the authorities of his college. In the newspaper, we repeat,—and if it be asked what was the reason alleged to congregation on the fourth refusal according to statute? the answer unfolds a proceeding highly characteristic of Dr. Wynter. On the fourth occasion he did not, as before, object as a member of the House; because he must, in that case, have assigned his reason. He therefore interposed his official veto, as Vice-Chancellor, upon the grace, which he could do without explanation. The statutes having provided that every member may reject a grace secretly for three times, on condition of avowing his reason on the fourth; and that the Vice-Chancellor may reject without reason, on condition of avowing his act from the first. Dr. Wynter lays aside the Vice-Chancellor's prerogative, and avails himself of the former privilege as long as it gives him the power of striking altogether in the dark; and when called upon to fulfil the condition upon which that power is given, he shifts his ground, and acts in his other capacity, which enables him to conceal his reason, though not any longer his person. Common fairness, we suppose, requires that he should make his election at once in which character he would act, and give to the candidate whom he rejected, the full advantages allowed him in either case by the statute.

Whether the history of the University affords any other example of veto interposed by a Vice-Chancellor, we are not aware. The calendar published every year by authority, speaks of it as almost as rare as the exercise of the royal veto in parliament.

With respect to Mr. Macmullen's fellowship, it appeared, upon the close examination which legal proceedings required, that it was in the power of his own college by presenting him for his degree to prevent its forfeiture, although the degree might be refused by the authorities of the University. This fact, alike unknown to both parties at the commencement of the struggle, has as yet saved him from the full effects of the persecution of Dr. Hampden and Dr. Wynter; although, not receiving his

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degree, he becomes, of necessity, junior to each of the fellows below himself upon the list, as they proceed to it; and thus suffers very serious injury, both in his present position and his succession to a benefice. It is said that the Vice-Chancellor wrote to Mr. Macmullen's college, urging them not to present him for his degree; and intimating that by doing so they would break their oaths to the University, because, forsooth, such a measure would tend to disturb the public peace. If this statement is correct (and we confess we think the caution about the oath bears much internal evidence of truth), the success of the attempt would have cut off the only resource by which it was possible for him to escape the loss of his fellowship, and of his prospects in life.

And now having traced Dr. Wynter's course in office, it remains to mention some circumstances of his retirement from it. Nothing in his life became him like his leaving it; it was all his own. In the usual rotation of university office, it was his lot to be succeeded by Dr. Symons, the Warden of Wadham, at the commencement of the present term. Why the admission of this new functionary was opposed we need not repeat. That he was strongly supported could not be a matter of surprise. Formally, although not virtually, he was nominated by the Duke of Wellington. There was no precedent for refusing to admit a Vice-Chancellor. We need not detail the other reasons which kept from Oxford many of those who usually support the cause of the Church, and divided those who were there against each other. Dr. Wynter however was seriously alarmed, and his method of assisting his friends was this: Having, in his official capacity, the right of appointing the day on which the nomination should be submitted to Convocation, he carefully kept this a secret from all whom he thought likely to inform the opponents of Dr. Symons. The Senior Proctor (the second resident official in Oxford) made a formal request to be informed of it. 'The answer was substantially (and nearly in words) this—that he should feel himself extremely culpable in departing from the custom which had prevailed—that he could give no official information of the day. *And* (not *but*) although unofficially he might say that one day, or one of two days,' (not naming either of those days, or the week in which they might occur,) 'is more likely than any other, yet at this distance of time he could not pledge himself to any day.'

The following notice was then circulated and appeared in the newspapers:—

"Oxford, Sept. 23, 1844.

"Members of Convocation are respectfully informed, that the Vice-Chancellor, although requested by the Senior Proctor, has refused to give any information as to the day of the nomination of his successor.

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Whether this information will be open to Dr. Symons, Members of Convocation may decide for themselves from the events of the past year. At all events it is to be hoped that they will hold themselves in readiness to come up, on the receipt of a notice of the day, if the discovery of it prove possible; or if not, to show in some other marked way their sense of this fresh act of injustice."

And now it came out, that the committee of Dr. Symons, which met at Wadham, had known several days before this that October 8th was to be the day; for they had written to inform their country supporters of the fact, and, incautiously, had actually sent the same notice to some of whom they thought themselves secure, but who voted on the other side. One at least of these wrote to the newspapers announcing the fact.

The disgrace of this could not well be borne at such a moment; 'it hurt their conscience to be found out.' All men argued, in the words of a paper which appeared in Oxford, 'How did Dr. Symons's party come to the knowledge of the 'day? It must have been by intuition inducted from former 'years, or direct information. The first is hardly possible. For 'the second an uniformity of precedents would be necessary. 'But there is unhappily no such uniformity; for last year 'the nomination took place on *the 6th* Oct. And it may be 'just stated by the way, that this fixing of the day so early was 'boasted of by a friend of Dr. Wynter as an artifice to avoid the 'opposition that was expected. In 1842 the nomination was on 'the 8th, 1841 and 40 on the 9th, 1839 on the 8th, 1838 on the '9th, 1837 on the 7th. Too much variation here for any in-'duction! The last alternative therefore is inevitable.'

The only remaining chance for the Vice-Chancellor was to show that he had not concealed, from either side, the day he intended to name. The Wadham committee, therefore, the chairman of which is the Head of a House, the secretary a highly respected tutor of Wadham College, threw itself into the breach. Its circular announced that—

"It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day on which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the previous afternoon; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change the custom this year by any *official* declaration. But he has concealed from no one his *opinion* that Tuesday, the 8th of October, will be the day; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary hour is twelve o'clock."

This statement, it must be observed, directly contradicts that of the Senior Proctor, upon a point on which he could not by possibility be either mistaken, or forgetful,—viz., whether the Vice-Chancellor had concealed from him the day of nomination. Moreover, as it was impossible that the truth of the assertion (that he had never concealed from any one his opinion, that

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Tuesday 8th would be the day) could be known to any man living, except Dr. Wynter himself, that assertion must have been made upon his authority. To suppose otherwise, would be to accuse the Wadham Committee of publicly making a statement in direct contradiction of the fact stated, on his own knowledge, by the Senior Proctor, and yet wholly gratuitous. No one who knows Mr. Griffiths can think this possible. Yet, while we see no way of avoiding the conclusion that this assertion was made upon the authority of Dr. Wynter, it is impossible to deny that that conclusion exhibited the University in a novel and unpleasing attitude. For, here were two distinct, positive, statements of fact, published to all the world, one by the Senior Proctor, the other by the Vice-Chancellor, relating to a question upon which it was not easy to conceive either mistake or forgetfulness to exist on either side, and yet directly contradictory to each other. This fact seems to have so deeply impressed Dr. Symons's Committee, that they declared to the world their full conviction that the Proctor, in his letter of Sept. 23, (in which, it will be remembered, he stated that, in answer to his request, the Vice-Chancellor had *refused to give any information* as to the day of nomination,) had not suppressed anything which the Vice-Chancellor had actually told him. Their notice was as follows:—

"COMMITTEE ROOM, WADHAM COLLEGE,
October 8, 1844.

"Whereas we have been informed that the following paragraph in the circular issued from this room on the 26th of September, viz.—

"'It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day, on 'which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the 'previous afternoon; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change 'the custom this year by any *official* declaration. But he has concealed 'from no one his *opinion* that Tuesday the 8th of October will be the 'day; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary 'hour is twelve o'clock.'

has been supposed to charge the Senior Proctor with suppressing some information which had been given him by the Vice-Chancellor.

"We beg to have it understood that we are not aware of any grounds for casting such an imputation upon him, and that no such imputation was intended.

"EDWARD CARDWELL, *Chairman.*
JOHN GRIFFITHS, *Secretary.*"

And here the matter rested, in a condition satisfactory, as it appears, to all parties concerned; and the same day Dr. Wynter resigned his office, in which he declared his pleasure in finding himself relieved of it, and that he forgave his enemies.

The facts which Dr. Wynter's administration appears to us to have developed, are these; that there has been for some time a systematic attempt going on in Oxford to transfer the admi-

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nistration of the University from its legal holders, the two Houses, to the Board of Heads, and the Vice-Chancellor; that, in this attempt especially, two powers have been exercised by Dr. Wynter, which were never before claimed by any man; viz. that of condemning those who are obnoxious without a hearing, and that of passing decrees in the name of the whole University, while refusing their votes. Of this last usurpation, we may say, in passing, a second instance was threatened on the very last day of Dr. Wynter's rule. It was confidently denied that the University had the power of disapproving a Vice-Chancellor, a right never before questioned, and acknowledged, as it was observed in the Oxford Calendar, published every year, by authority.

We have now concluded our annals, much to our own satisfaction as well as that of our readers. It is no pleasing task to reckon up acts of injustice—injustice committed with a trembling hand—concealed to the last possible moment—at last detected rather than avowed. It is no pleasure to tell of Englishmen condemned without trial, punished while they are still kept upon honour, under an obligation of secrecy as to the communications which passed between them and their judge. To exhibit authorities usurping power which was never given to them, and yet wholly incompetent to use that which they do possess, the voice of authority, and at the same moment refusing to the members of a supreme assembly the right of voting on their own affairs; one day disallowing those who earnestly request the permission, to fulfil their legal obligations, and then the next day compelling all to fulfil the same obligations; permitting the voice of authority to be drowned by the uproar of pupils, and at the same moment declining to receive the votes of a supreme assembly when met in lawful gathering, for the discharge of its own duty. Neither is it any gratification to tell of numerous acts of unauthorized, undignified, unsustained interference; of the Vice-Chancellor forbidding Mr. Macmullen to publish the correspondence which stands at the head of this article, yet not ensuring obedience to his own command; forbidding the publication of the legal opinion as to Mr. Everett's pretended degree, yet quietly sitting down in the unenviable situation in which its publication left him. Equally painful is it to see ancient authority made ridiculous; to see 'my bedel' pompously bearing to London threatenings against the judges and clergy of England, and the counsellors of Queen Victoria, on the part of one, who, because he had refused to hear the humble and holy man whom he had unjustly condemned, seemed to imagine himself above censure and beyond blame, forgetting that, after all, there are strong things, even here upon earth—justice, and law, and right, the shadows of the Almighty

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among men—shame and punishment dogging the guilty, and that God Himself is above all. But chiefly, to find those who sit in the seats of our worthies, and are appointed guardians of our theology, condemning doctrines which they dare not give us the opportunity of defending, and tampering with heresies against which the very object of their office was the maintenance of perpetual war.*

Few considerations are more awful than that of the heavy responsibility which men often bring upon themselves and of which they seem the while all unconscious. The Church of England is just now in a state more critical than she has known for two hundred years. Many who promised much faithful service seem shaken and unsettled; some have left us; who can say that others may not go after them? Many more, there is every reason to fear, will be discouraged by these instances of instability, from turning their thoughts to high and holy things at all. It may be that carelessness or scepticism may be really the danger that is imminently impending upon Oxford; we may even see it in a few months. Can any thoughtful observer think these things unlikely? Now in this state of things God had given us a preacher with soul of fire—whose very daily life is a sermon which the most careless could not put from them—whose voice was likely, above all other human means, to bring home to the hearts of men the solemn truth, that religion is indeed a rule of practice and of life, or it is nothing; that time is short, and judgment is near; and withal, one who is well known to be fixed and firm himself, and, above all things, to

* Nor is it in Oxford alone, nor by Oxford men, that the general administrations of the Heads of Houses are put together as parts of one whole. We can mention one instance amongst thousands. A very exemplary clergyman, a Cambridge incumbent, holds a parish on the eastern coast, which has been miserably demoralized by smuggling. To his great surprise, a young and most estimable Oxonian, a Fellow of a College, who was spending the vacation in his neighbourhood, applied to him to direct him to some smuggler. The vicar, who knew his parish well enough, did not, probably, want power, but he certainly had no will. Upon this, the Oxonian told him, that before he left Oxford, the head of his college sent for him, and said, 'Sir, I believe you are going into the neighbourhood of ——?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Well, 'then, you can do a commission for me. I hear that the smugglers there import 'particularly good brandy, and I want you to buy a keg for me.' It was really lucky that the clergyman, whom we have introduced to our readers, was a Cambridge man. He, therefore, has nothing to fear; had he been of Oxford, there is great reason to think that his orthodoxy would have been found in fault, for he represented so strongly to the young man the sin of encouraging smuggling, that he returned without the keg. Whether the dignitary was driven to the hard necessity of drinking lawfully imported brandy, or whether he found a less scrupulous agent, we do not know; but we can assure our readers, that our Cambridge friend, whenever he hears of any valiant deed of that zealous head, against the revivers of obsolete error, seems to detect in it a certain smack of smuggled brandy. Highly illogical, no doubt; for the authority would tell him that whether it be right or wrong to deal with smugglers, that is a question which, in the favourite phrase of the day, 'has nothing to do with theology;' but illogical as it may be, the effect upon our friend's mind was such as we have described.

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labour in fixing others in dutiful adherence to the English Church. This voice is now silenced: and shall we say by whom?

There are men who, owing to circumstances, produce momentous effects, without possessing any very unusual qualities, either good or ill. May God defend His Church among us, and the venerable institutions which have grown up in her shade; and of these, not the least, our Ancient University. May He shield her from all dangers. But, assuredly, if she is to fall,—if she is to lose her privileges, and be made the slave of some parliamentary commission,—if her independence, her powers of self-government, are to be taken from her, and her time-honoured name disgraced,—we may venture to predict how all this will be accomplished. It will not begin through violence from without, but in evil government within; in an administration oppressive while it is feeble; in a rule which forces the members of the University into resistance, while it invites contempt and aggression from the world around; in one word, in Vice-Chancellors like Dr. Wynter.

But in saying this, we do not forget that there is One above Who can and does bring good out of evil—Whose purposes must stand, and are never nearer to their accomplishment than when they seem baffled: to Him we commend His Church and His servants. For ourselves, one consideration has been continually impressed upon us in the course of our narrative. It is this:—Few, we suppose, have failed to wonder in their earlier years why it is, that in the Psalms, that pure well of devotion for all ages, we find so frequently recurring the exhortation, 'Fret not thy-'self:' 'Be not grieved at the ungodly;' and the like. It seemed to us hardly practical; so many other temptations were rather to be guarded against. But as life goes by, and the real state of this world opens to us, how sweetly do these texts fall upon the ear! 'Put thou thy trust in the Lord, and be doing good:' 'Fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil.' We are, then, but in the circumstances to which we have been taught to look forward, when we see wrong prevail. Let us wait awhile, each in his daily duties. Let us not be moved to wrath; though we find Englishmen content to abandon all that has made the name of England really glorious, so that an obnoxious divine may but be crushed. These sayings would not have been so often repeated, unless it had been appointed for us, in every age, to feel, in one form or other, the peculiar temptations against which they warn us; to be moved to indignation by finding those of whom the world is not worthy, rejected by the world; those who condemn the world, condemned in their turn. Be it ours to be preparing, each one himself, for the day when these things shall be set right.

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Art. VII.—1. *The Oxford University Calendar.* 1844. Oxford: Parker, &c.

2. *Corpus Statutorum, &c.* Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico.

3. *Suggestions on the New Statute proposed to the University of Oxford. By* W. GRESLEY, M.A. *Prebendary of Lichfield.* London: Burns. 1845.

4. *The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined: with a Preface on the Measure about to be submitted to the Oxford Convocation.* By FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. *Fellow of Balliol College.* Second Edition. London: Toovey. 1845.

THOUGHTFUL minds have long since anticipated the quarter of the theological heavens in which the gathering storm of years would break. Without going into a superfluous proof of what the simplest must have felt, there can be little question that, speaking generally, the two great parties in the Church have each their strong position. The symbol of one is, in the main, the Prayer-book; that of the other, the Articles. They re-represent respectively, and perhaps fairly enough, the Voice of Antiquity and the Spirit of the Reformation: it is a separate question how far, it may be entirely, the two may be found, or made, to harmonize; but on the first glance at them they certainly present a different aspect. Lord Chatham expressed this distinction not accurately, but still with a sufficient approximation to truth for a popular statement, when he talked of our Papistical Book of Prayer and Calvinistical Book of Articles. It is quite certain that the one is not Papistical; and most are convinced that the other is not Calvinistical. But the two great schools who verge towards either extreme have each felt bound to endure one for the love of the other. They are the Leah and Rachel of the English Church. The Prayer-book party are charged with disparaging the Articles: and those who most quote the Articles seem to tread lightly over the Prayer-book argument. On the one side we find a Lutheran bias, a good many sermons, popular preachers, justification by faith, once-a-week Christians, a disparagement of fasting, penitence, gloomy views, and the like, combined with vigorous and frequent appeals to the Thirty-nine Articles—on the other are seen to be ranked "Romanizing" tendencies, daily service, "exaltation of the sacraments," the word of God esteemed as something higher than "painful preaching," and all this combined with a very confident grasp of, and a most consistent and uniform polemical reference to, the Prayer-book. In pamphlets, tracts, and magazines, we frequently find them bracketed: but in conversation, in preaching, and in the Christian walk, we can recall no single instance where the one scale or the other did not very soon preponderate.

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Indeed, were it necessary, some of the commonest facts prove this bias. How was it that the Dissenting teachers, till lately, received their licence to preach by Act of Parliament, upon doing what? Assenting to the Thirty-nine Articles: *i.e.* they were legally empowered to preach *against* the Church's Prayer-book, under cover of her Articles. Compare too the source of the Articles —the known principles of their framers—and their sympathies with the Foreign Reformed—with the origin of the Prayer-book. That the Articles are the National, and the Prayer-book the Catholic, element of our mixed communion, is enough for the popular feeling.

The historical argument, however, is in favour of the Catholic line: the Prayer-book has hitherto been the ruling and paramount estate in our confused relations. Every change at each successive Conference and Revision has been in its favour. Since the Reformation, the Church has done nothing but rise in matters both of doctrine and practice. It is decisive of our tempers that we have never taken a backward step. According, then, to the law of natural and moral growth in the Church of England, our next step must still be onward. We do not say that the Articles have been held unfaithfully by the great divines of the Church of England; far from it: but somehow they never seem to have thought of expanding the Articles, of adding to them, of developing in that direction. In the Prayer-book we can point to the restoration of the oblation in the Eucharist emanating from the same set of opinions, whose influence obtained the Declaration prefixed in the seventeenth century to the Book of Articles.

In what way, then, have the Articles been received by the Church of England? The Articles are not terms of communion: the Articles are not a confession of faith: they are articles of religion, a body of teaching, akin rather to the Homilies than to the Service Book; and what was their original intention and practical bearing, men of most parties have, as we shall presently see, agreed. The Articles have been subjected to various siftings, both as to their sense and obligation, the value and extent of subscription to them, and their necessity, and this in various ways, and for very opposite purposes. Several such epochs have occurred since the first legal requirement of subscription to them on the part of the clergy,* by 13 Eliz. cap. 12. First was the long warfare be-

* It does not appear that they were originally introduced into the Universities, whatever relations they had to the clergy, with a purpose so low and confined as a mere protest against Rome: they were designed with a constructive, rather than a destructive purpose; and perhaps to form a text-book, and not so much to exclude this or that set of opinions; as a test only in part, but mainly, whether wisely or not, as an educational instrument. They were first made compulsory at matriculation in 1581. Subscription to the 36th canon originated in 1616, for the express purpose of checking the advance of "the Presbyterial government, and the suffering of young scholars to be seasoned with Calvinian doctrines." It does not appear that the Vice-Chancellor had power to compel subscription to the Articles, according to his own will, until the

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tween the Travers and Cartwright party on the one hand, against Hooker and Whitgift on the other, which at last developed itself into the predestinarian dispute. In the course of this, both parties appealed to the Articles, and it was primarily to declare the interpretation of the Articles on this dispute, that the Caroline declaration was prefixed to them: though it is obvious that this document then enounced a principle which might safely be applied to any other dispute besides the *Quinquarticular*. Next in order, in 1712, came the controversy concerning the right sense of subscription, which produced Waterland's dispute with Sykes and others on subscription in an Arian sense. But it was between the years 1766 and 1773 that the Articles were most furiously attacked and stubbornly defended. This dispute grew out of the publication of the 'Confessional,' by Blackburne, and the Feathers Tavern Association: the flame raged not only in Oxford and Parliament, but throughout the Church: in Oxford, however, with especial reference to subscription at matriculation. This last dispute was repeated with singular exactness in our own days: and the events of 1772 might be read for those of 1835, if we substitute the names of Hampden for Blackburne, and Lord Radnor for Sir William Meredith. The same caution of the respective Chancellors, Lord North and the Duke of Wellington, the same unfaithfulness and truckling of the Hebdomadal Board, by substituting, after the fatal precedent of Cambridge, a declaration for submission, and the same stern and indignant rejection of it on the part of Convocation, characterised either period.

Hitherto, however, it is significant that the defenders of the Articles had all along one line of defence which is common to every successive revival of the dispute, under whatever forms:—viz. they all assume the sense of the Articles to be equivalent to the mind of the Church. Ten years ago, or seventy years ago, upon what grounds was subscription to the Articles defended by Messrs. Sewell and Maurice, or Dr. Turton—or, again, by Bishop Horne? The various defenders of subscription have assumed that the sense of the Articles was ascertained: and so have the assailants. It was because the Articles were Articles of the Church; because they were a fettering of the liberty of Protestantism, that Jebb and Disney opposed subscription in any sense: because as Lord, then Mr., Grey, said, 'As to speculative matters in religion, they are by no means material; the Articles are the offspring of monkish enthusiasm, a jumble of contradictions: away with such fanatical stuff; we live in more enlightened times;' or, as Dr. Hampden expresses the same idea in terms more scholarly, but quite as intelligible, 'I do not scruple to avow myself favourable to a removal of *all tests*, so far as they are employed as secu-

present statute was enacted. Its object could not have been other than consistent with Laud's well-known views on the Regale, and Church authority.

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rities of orthodoxy among our members at large.' And elsewhere, where he speaks of the 'unphilosophical and unscriptural notions on which the Creeds and Articles are founded.' It is only incidentally—we speak now of the period which has elapsed since the Rebellion,—that the sense of the Articles, or whether the Articles had one exclusive sense, has been disputed. It is only by hints that we can gain the opinions on this head of more recent writers, who are very full and valuable on points which we are not called upon at present to discuss. But since the publication of No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) the question has turned upon the interpretation of the Articles, not upon the abstract desirableness of symbolical writings, nor upon undergraduate subscription, nor any other form and mode of subscription. We do not mean to assert that there has ever been a uniformly current and consistent recognition among our divines of the tribunal to which disputed interpretations of the Articles must yield; the authorized, if such they be, expositors may possibly be as numerous as their authorized expositions. For our present purpose, it would be quite sufficient to take even this ground, and to show that we have received, and subscribe certain articles which do not assert their own authority; and still further, which do not, in the event of varying interpretations, appeal to any standard authority for the resolution of doubts as they arise: it would be enough, then, to rest upon the admission, that there is *no* accredited court of appeal. It would be easy to show that such is the case, but none seem to doubt it: indeed, the conflicting views upon this or that authority, and all held without condemnation, would be a very sufficient argument against the establishment of such an authorized interpretation in days like these, and under the precarious auspices of an Oxford Hebdomadal Board. Taken by itself, the *fact* of the non-existence of any received interpretation of the Articles, we repeat, would be quite enough to condemn that which is now proposed. But we can do more than this; though there may be no synodical decision of the Church on the interpretation of the Articles, we can show what the chief Anglican divines have said on the subject; and we mean to prove that, more or less, they have interpreted the Articles by the general doctrine of the Church, *i. e.* by Catholic belief, rather than by the *obiter dicta* of certain individuals who happened to be their writers or compilers.

The occasion which leads us into this discussion is well known. It is now nearly four years ago since Mr. Newman published the celebrated No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) grounded upon this free interpretation of the Articles. Among those who accepted with marked gratitude this interpretation, was Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Baliol, who, in two publications of that year, 'A Few Words,' and 'A Few more Words in defence of No. 90,' carried

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this principle to its utmost limits, and, in subsequent publications, as most people think, beyond its limits; especially in a publication, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.' With this work we are not now concerned, nor with Mr. Newman's tract; but only with a certain proposed statute, which is to come before Convocation, Feb. 13, which we subjoin in a note.*

* 'WHEREAS, it is notoriously reputed and believed throughout this University, that a book, entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church considered," has recently been published in Oxford, by the Rev. William George Ward, M.A.; in which book are contained the following passages: viz.—

P. 45 (note). 'I know no single movement in the Church except Arianism in the fourth century, 'which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard, as the 'English Reformation.'

P. 473. 'For my own part I think it would not be right to conceal, indeed I am anxious openly 'to express, my own most firm and undoubting conviction,—that were we as a Church to 'pursue such a line of conduct as has been here sketched, in proportion as we did so, we should 'be taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of Divine wisdom and authority in the Roman Church, to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting her communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and restoration.'

P. 68. 'That the phrase "teaching of the Prayer-Book" conveys a definite and important meaning, I do not deny; considering that it is mainly a selection from the Breviary, it is not surprising that the Prayer-Book should, on the whole, breathe an uniform, most edifying, deeply orthodox, spirit; a spirit which corresponds to one particular body of doctrine, and not to its contradictory. Again, that the phrase, "teaching of the Articles," conveys a definite meaning, I cannot deny; for (excepting the five first, which belong to the old theology) they also breathe an uniform intelligible spirit. But then these respective spirits are not different merely, but absolutely contradictory; as well could a student in the heathen schools have imbibed at once the Stoic and the Epicurean philosophies, as could a humble member of our Church at the present time learn his creed both from Prayer-Book and Articles. This I set out at length in two Pamphlets, with an Appendix, which I published three years ago; and it cannot therefore be necessary to go again over the same ground: though something must be added, occasionally in notes, and more methodically in a future chapter. The manner in which the dry wording of the Articles can be divorced from their natural spirit, and accepted by an orthodox believer; how their *prima facie* meaning is evaded, and the artifice of their inventors thrown back in recoil on themselves; this, and the arguments which prove the honesty of this, have now been for some time before the public.'

P. 100 (note). 'In my Pamphlets three years since, I distinctly charged the Reformers with 'fully tolerating the absence from the Articles of any *real* anti-Roman determination, so only 'they were allowed to preserve an *apparent* one: a charge, which I here beg as distinctly to 'repeat.'

P. 479. 'Our twelfth Article is as plain as words can make it, on the 'evangelical' side: (observe 'in particular the word "necessarily"): of course I think its natural meaning may be explained 'away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense.'

P. 565. 'We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole 'cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen.'

P. 567. 'Three years have passed since I said plainly, that, in subscribing the Articles, I 'renounce no one Roman doctrine.'

And whereas the said William George Ward, before the publication of the said book, was admitted to the respective Degrees of B.A. and M.A. of this University, on the faith of the following Declaration; which Declaration was made and subscribed by him before and in order to his being admitted to each of the said Degrees; that is to say:—'I allow the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Arch-'bishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation 'holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and 'two; and I acknowledge all and every the Articles therein contained, being in num-'ber nine and thirty, besides the Ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God:'

And whereas the said passages of the said book appear to be inconsistent with the said Articles, and with the said Declaration, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward, in making and subscribing the same:

In A CONVOCATION to be holden on Thursday, the 13th day of February next, at One o'Clock, the foregoing passages from the said book will be read, and the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the Passages now read from the book entitled 'The Ideal of a Christian Church considered' are utterly inconsistent with the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and with the Declaration in respect of those Articles made and subscribed by William George Ward previously and in order to his being admitted to the Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward in respect of such Declaration and Subscription.

Before

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Had we space, we might say something on such obvious points as the unfairness of this proceeding *now;* if the Heads of Houses had thought it right to interfere with this standard of interpretation, this ought to have been done in 1841. Can it be that they

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Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of answering to the charge of having published such passages so inconsistent as aforesaid.

If this Proposition is affirmed, the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the said William George Ward has disentitled himself to the rights and privileges conveyed by the said Degrees, and is hereby degraded from the said Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively.

Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating any grounds he may have for showing that he should not be degraded.

In the same CONVOCATION the following altered form of Statute, which will be promulgated in Congregation on Monday, the 10th day of February next, at ten o'clock, will be submitted to the House.

TITULUS XVII.

SECT. III.

§ 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii.*

1. After the words, —

'—— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica, et 'Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandandos curet.

'Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 'affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto'—

it will be proposed to insert the following:—

Quoniam vero Articulos illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sit, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego *A. B.* Articulis Fidei et Religionis, necnon tribus Articulis in Canone XXXVI°. comprehensis subscripturus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripturum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Also in the next sentence of the existing Statute, beginning 'Quod si quis S. Ordi-'nibus initiatus,' before the words 'subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus,' to insert the following words,—

una cum Declaratione supra-recitata

2. It will also be proposed in the said sentence to omit the words 'S. Ordinibus 'initiatus.'

Should these alterations be approved, that part of the Statute Tit. XVII. Sect. III. § 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii,* which will be affected by them, will stand as follows:

—— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandandos curet.

Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto. Quoniam vero Articulos illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sat, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego *A. B.* Articulis Fidei et Religionis necnon tribus Articulis in Canone XXXVI°. comprehensis subscripturus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripturum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Quod si quis (sive Præfectus Domus cujusvis, sive alius quis) Articulis Fidei et Religionis, a Synodo Londini A.D. 1562, editi et confirmatis; necnon tribus Articulis comprehensis Canone XXXVI°. Libri Constitutionum ac Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, editi in Synodo Londini cœpta A.D. 1603. una cum Declaratione supra-recitata, subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus ter abnuerit seu recusaverit, ipso facto ab Universitate exterminetur et banniatur.

Delegates's Room, Dec. 13, 1844. B. P. SYMONS, Vice-Chancellor.

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have waited only till Tractarianism got unpopular? Mr. Ward, on *this* matter, has said no more than No. 90. But we are obliged to confine ourselves to the new Test: we say nothing of Mr. Ward: that he is about to defend himself is reason enough for our neutrality; but the amended statute does concern us. It is a vital question to every member of Convocation, and of the Church too. The Hebdomadal Board, for the first time since the Reformation, seeks to close that which has always been open: to limit and to bind that which has been hitherto left free. *Seeks*, we say, for we shall see that after all it fails in its object. But the object is the serious matter.

Again, mark the inconsistency of the Hebdomadal Board. Consistent only in inconsistency, the Heads of Houses have but a single virtue, that of submitting to the majestic popular voice: inflexible as a rock against right, in the shape of Convocation, they reserve all their suavity for the legitimate influence of might in the intelligible shape of Premiers, and Expediency, and the Spirit of the Age. Of the present Heads of Colleges and Halls, sixteen held office in 1835, *i.e.* two-thirds of the existing Hebdomadal Board: *then* Liberalism was the religious fashion; *then* Drs. Hampden and Hawkins were liberals; then they were for admitting Dissenters to the University; then 'avowing themselves favourable to the removal of *all* tests,' (Hampden's Observations, p. 35,) they actually proposed to Convocation the substitution of a Declaration for Subscription, because 'articles are unsuited *to the present state of theological opinion*, and might be improved in accordance with the advances made in other scientific methods,' *ibid.* p. 42;—because 'articles are fatally adverse to all theological improvement," *ibid.* p. 22;—because 'adherence to them is no less incongruous and injurious to Religion, than in a society of physicians to make the maxims of Hippocrates and Galen the unalterable basis of their profession,' *ibid.* p. 22. Then, we repeat, Dr. Hampden was a Liberal, and wrote a pamphlet *against* the Articles; and the proposal to dispense with the Articles followed upon his publication. Now Dr. Hampden *acts* evangelical, and reads lectures *upon* the Articles; and this very same board of Heads of Houses—two-thirds of whom held the same office in 1835,—obedient to the same influence, *now* find that 'anti-tractarianism' is the last phase of fashionable Protestantism. They follow, once more, the changeful popular howl; and they actually have the astounding audacity, in 1845, to venture to make the little finger of a new Test thicker than the loins of the old Subscription, that subscription of which, in 1835, they could not bear the intolerable oppression. To suit the latitudinarianism of 1835, they could have trampled on every article, from 1 to 39,—to suit the equally fatal bigotry of 1845, they cannot endure even the most evanescent shade or difference of possible thought, though in the interpretation of a single clause

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in a single article. O fickle fortune's wheel!—'the principles of the Reformation' in 1835 were unscientific, and adverse to theological growth; now a Cranmer's very commas are sacred. Calvin burning Servetus is the only illustration which occurs to us of the melancholy standard of Christian morality which has, during the last decade of years, influenced the Hebdomadal Board.

But the subject is too solemn and serious for an *argumentum ad hominem*, however tempting and irresistible the occasion. The Test has graver faults than being a mere trick of retaliation and inconsistent spitefulness, on the part of its originators: it shares, in common with many reforms of the day, the character of being proposed either in ignorance, or defiance of the deep hidden principles which were, we believe, held by those who enacted the statute of subscription, which this additional declaration seeks practically to supersede; but it has viciousness peculiarly and characteristically its own. It sets up as the standard of interpretation a double measure; the belief of the compilers of the Articles, AND the *animus* of the University as the *imponens*.

We say then distinctly that the belief of the compilers of the Articles was not held as the legitimate exponent of the sense of the Articles by such writers as we are about to quote.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

"The Commons, in pursuance of their opposition against the growing Arminian faction, on the 28th of January, 1628, (but eleven days after the forementioned proclamation concerning Mountague's book, and prohibiting books against it,) passed this notable vote in Parliament, after a large debate; which the Archbishop in his endorsement on it, styles, *The Challenge of the Lower House in matters of Religion.*

An Order made by the Lower House of Parliament the 28th of January, 1628.

'We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, 'and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were 'established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, which 'by the public acts of the Church of England, and the general and 'current exposition of the writers of our Church have been delivered 'unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all 'others wherein they do differ from us.'

To which challenge of theirs this pragmatical bishop then returned this bold and peremptory answer, written with his own hand, produced, attested by Master Prynne, and read at the Lords' bar in evidence against him.

'1. The public acts of the Church in matters of doctrine are canons 'and acts of councils, as well for expounding as determining; the acts 'of the High Commission are not in this sense public acts of the 'Church; nor the meeting of few or more bishops, *extra concilium*, 'unless they be by lawful authority called to that work, and their 'decision approved by the Church.

'2. The current exposition of writers is a strong probable argument, '*de sensu canonis Ecclesiæ, vel articuli*, yet but probable: the current

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'exposition of the Fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum* '*Ecclesiæ*. * * * *

'6. It seems against the King's declaration, 1. That says, we shall 'take the general meaning of the Articles; this act restrains them to 'consent of writers. 2. That says, the Article shall not be drawn aside 'any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense; 'this act ties to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go 'against the literal sense; for here is no exception. So we shall be 'perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

'7. All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an Article or 'Canon, is to itself, as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear 'more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his 'judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense, *secundum analogiam fidei*, 'and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the Church, and this 'till the Church which made the Article, determine a sense. And the 'wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require 'consent to articles in general as much as may be, because that is the 'way of unity; and the Church in high points requiring assent to 'particulars, hath been rent. As *de transubstantiatione*, &c.' So he in 'affront of the Commons."—*Prynne's Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 163, 164.

This is the incident referred to by Dr. Pusey's letter in the English Churchman, given below,* in a quotation from Heylyn,

* My dear ——, You ask me what I should do in case this new Test, to be proposed to Convocation, should pass. I would say at once, that others, not so immediately affected or intended by this Test as I am, need not, I should think, make up their minds yet. I plainly have no choice; it is not meant that I should take it, nor can I. You will not mistake me; I sign the Articles as I ever have since I have known what Catholic Antiquity is (to which our Church guides us) in their "literal grammatical sense," determined, where it is ambiguous, by "the faith of the whole Church" (as good Bishop Ken says) "before East and West were divided." It is to me quite plain that in so doing I am following the guidance of our Church.

The proposed Test restrains that liberty which Archbishop Laud won for us. Hitherto High and Low Church have been comprised under the same Articles. And I have felt that in these sad confusions of our Church, things must so remain, until, by the mercy of Almighty God, we be brought more nearly into one mind. But as long as this is so, the Articles cannot be, (which the new Test requires) "certum atque indubitatum opinionum signum." How can they be any "certain and indubitable token of opinion" when they can be signed by myself and ——? This new Test requires that they should be: one then of the two parties who have hitherto signed them must be excluded. We know that those who framed the Test are opposed to such as myself. It is clear then *who* are henceforth excluded. The Test is indeed at once miserably vague and stringent; vague enough to tempt people to take it, too stringent in its conclusion to enable me to take it with a good conscience. Beginning and end do harmonize, if it be regarded as a revival of the Puritan "Anti-Declaration" that the Articles should be interpreted according to "the consent of divines;" they do not in any other case. This shifting of ground would indeed (were not so much at stake) be somewhat curious; how those who speak so much of "fallible men" would require us now to be bound in the interpretation of the Articles by the private judgment of the Reformers (it being assumed, for convenience sake, that Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper,* agreed among themselves), instead of Archbishop Laud's broader and truer rule, "according to the analogy of the faith." It would indeed be well, if all who have urged on this test, could sign the 1st and 8th Articles, in the same sense as Cranmer and Jewell. Well, indeed, would it be for our Church, if all could sign

* *Vide* Heylyn's Life of Laud, pp. 178, 182.

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who himself speaking of the imposition of the Articles in Elizabeth's reign, says, in words which are barely quotable:

HEYLYN. (*Life of Laud*, p. 182.)

"Some ministers of the Church, so stiffly wedded to their old *mumsimus* of the mass, and some as furiously prosecuting their new *sumpsimus* of inconformity, it was thought fit that *between those contending parties* the doctrine of the Church should be kept inviolate."

HEYLYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. ix. p. 34.)

"In what sense we ought to understand the Book of Articles, hath been made a question. Some take the Articles in the literal and grammatical sense, which is the fairest and most approved way of interpretation.... Others there are, of which his late Majesty complained, 'who draw the Articles aside and put their own sense,' &c.... The true English Protestants (whom for distinction sake we may call *confessionists*) *accommodate*, though they do not captivate, *their own sense to the sense of*

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the 27th in the same sense as all the Reformers, except perhaps Hooper. One could have wished that before this Test had been proposed to us, the board who accepted it and proposed it to us, had thought of ascertaining among themselves whether they themselves all took all and singular of the Articles in one and the same sense. And yet while they enjoy this latitude, how can the signature of the Articles be any certain and indubitable token of people's opinions?

However, this is matter for others; my concern is with myself. I have too much reason to know that my own signature of the Articles would not satisfy some of those from whom this Test emanates, since, when a year and a half ago, I declared repeatedly (as I then stated) that I accepted and would subscribe *ex animo*, every statement of our Formularies on the solemn subject upon which I preached, that offer was rejected; and this on the very ground (I subsequently learnt) that they did not trust my interpretation. When, then, they require that the signature should be "certum atque indubitatum opinionum mearum signum," it is plain that they mean something more than what I offered, and they refused to accept.

The Articles I now sign in the way in which from Archbishop Laud's time they have been proposed by *the Church*: this Test I should have to receive not from the Church, but from *the University*, in the sense in which it is proposed to me by them. Could I then ever so much satisfy myself that I could take the Test according to any general meaning of the words, I must know from past experience that I should not take it in the sense in which it was proposed to me. I could not then take it without a feeling of dishonesty.

You will imagine that I feel the responsibility of making such a declaration, knowing, as I must, that in case, in the present state of excitement, the statute should pass, younger men, whom it might involve in various difficulties, might be influenced by my example. I know, too, of course, that some will be the more anxious to press the Test, in hopes that my refusal to take it may end in my removal from this place. Whether it would or no I know not. But whatever be the result, it seems to me the straightforward course. It is best in cases of great moment, that people should know the effect of what they are doing.

I am ashamed to write so much about myself, but I cannot explain myself in few words. What is my case, would, probably, be that of others. It has often been painful to witness the apparent want of seriousness in people when things far more serious than office, or home, or even one's allotted duties in God's vineyard have been at stake. But people can feel more readily what it is to lose office and home, and the associations of the greater part of life. It will be a great gain, if what is done is done with deep earnestness. For myself, I cheerfully commit all things into His hands, Who ordereth all things well, and from Whom I deserve nothing. Ever yours, affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Advent, Ember Week, 1844.—*Tuesday.*

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the Church, according to the plain and full meaning of the Articles in the points disputed."

HEYLYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. viii. p. 31.)

"The Articles of the English Protestant Church . . . were drawn up in general terms, . . . meaning that these holy men did prudently discover that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the Church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion for petty differences, which made them pen the Articles in *comprehensive words, to take in all*, who differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion."

Nor was this doctrine of the Laudian School on the faith of the Church new; the Puritans had already admitted to the full that the meaning of the Articles was ascertained by the intention of the Church. They argued that the doctrine or intention of the Church had changed, and as the intention of the Church regulated the meaning of the Articles, they must withdraw their subscription.

ROGERS, *Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft.* (*Preface to his 'Faith, Doctrine, &c. expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles,'* sec. 34.)

"Again, of these brethren [the Puritans] that will subscribe but unto which they please of these Articles, there be some who fain would beat into men's heads . . . that the doctrine of our Church is altered from that it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But this assertion being too gross, &c., . . . they secondly give out and report . . . how the *purpose*, if not the doctrine, of *our Church* is of late altered from what it was. And, therefore, though they can be well content to allow of the old doctrine and ancient intention; yet unto the old doctrine and new intention of our Church they cannot subscribe," &c.

where all that is sought to be established is, the absence of any recognition—and this holds good of both parties in the dispute—of authority in the belief of the writers of the Articles: the dispute turns on the current belief of the Church, not on the sentiments of the compilers of the Thirty-nine Articles. So also

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL. (*Schism Guarded*, p. 476, vol. ii. New edition.)

"He (Serjeant) might even as well let our thirty-nine Articles alone for old acquaintance' sake ('*dissuenda non dissecanda est amicitia*') as to bring them upon the stage and have nothing to say against them. Some of them are the very same that are contained in the Creed; some others of them are practical truths, which come not within the proper list of points or articles to be believed; lastly, some of them are *pious opinions* or inferior truths, which are proposed by the Church of England to all her sons, *as not to be opposed*; not as essentials of faith necessary to be believed by all Christians, '*necessitate medii*,' under pain of damnation."

Two other passages are cited from the same great authority by Mr. Newman,* (Letter to Jelf, p. 20, *et seq.*) who also quotes—

* Dr. Faussett, in his Lecture on the Articles, p. 40, seems to say that these passages from Stillingfleet and Bramhall only refer to 'Lay Communion,' and

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Bishop Bull. (*Vindication of Church*, 27.)
Bishop Hall. (*Catholic Propositions*, Prop. 3, 7, 8.)
Bishop Stillingfleet. (*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, i. ch. 11.)
Archbishop Laud. (*Conference, &c.*, p. 41, Ed. 1839.)
Bishop Taylor. (*Further Explic. Orig. Sin*, § 6.)

To which we venture to add—

Bishop Sanderson. (*Pax Ecclesiæ*, pp. 51, 52.)

"That particular Churches would be as tender as may be in giving their definitions and determinations in such points as these... especially where there may be admitted a latitude of dissenting without any prejudice done either to the substance of the Catholic Faith, or to the tranquillity of the Church, or to the salvation of the dissenter. In which respect the moderation of the Church of England is much to be commended."

A passage important, because Dr. Faussett, (Lecture on the Articles, p. 10,) has extracted one from Sanderson's 'De Juramenti Obligatione,' Prælect. iv. [vi.] sect. 9, which he thinks conclusive the other way. Indeed, Dr. Godfrey Faussett is not quite the person to decide cases of casuistry from Sanderson. Sanderson had said, in the passage cited by the Margaret Professor, that the 'terms of an *oath* must be understood according to the intention of him to whom the oath is made.'* Well: but what is said elsewhere by this writer, our safest guide in such questions?

Bishop Sanderson. (*Nine Cases of Conscience*, p. 94.)

"All expressions by words are subject to such ambiguities, that scarce anything can be said or expressed in *any* words, how cautelously soever chosen, which will not render the whole subject capable of more constructions than one.... Where one construction binds to more, another to less, the true sense is to be fixed by the intention of the imposer. For that all promises and assurances wherein faith is required to be given to another, ought to be understood *ad mentem imponentis* [which seems exactly what Dr. F. and the Hebdomadal Board want], according to the mind and meaning of him to whom the faith is given, so far forth as the meaning may reasonably appear..... *Reasonably appear*, I mean, by the nature of the matters about which it is conversant, and such signification of the words wherein it is expressed, as, according to the ordinary use of speech among men, agreeth best thereto... If the intention of the imposer be not so fully declared by the words and nature of the business, but that the same words may, in fair construction, be still capable of a double meaning, so as, taken in one sense they shall bind to *more*, and in another to *less*, I conceive *it is not*

not to *subscription*. But Stillingfleet, in his 'Conferences' (Works, vol. vi. pp. 58, 59,) written expressly to vindicate the 'Rational Account,' when he again reviews the passages quoted from Bramhall, (cited by Newman in his extract from Stillingfleet, Letter to Jelf, pp. 23, 24,) says, 'What doth SUBSCRIPTION imply less than *agreeing with the sense of the Church?*'

* Compare, from the same book: 'Sunt ergo res aliquæ ita comparatæ ut benignam sibi interpretationem suo quodam jure concedi postulent: quæ sc. non sit interclusa verborum angustiis, sed cum quodam (ut Ciceronis verbo utar) *laxamento* liberior.' De Juram. Præl. ii., sect. 8, p. 29.

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necessary, nor always expedient (but rather for the most part otherwise) for the promiser, before he give his faith, to demand of the imposer, whether of the two is his meaning? But he may, by the *rule of prudence*, and that, for aught I see, without the violation of any law of his conscience, *make his just advantage of that ambiguity*, and *take it in some sense which shall bind him to the less*. . . . Since the faith to be given is intended to the behoof of him to whom it is given, it concerneth *him* to take care that his meaning be expressed in such words as will sufficiently manifest the same to the understanding of a reasonable man. *Which if he neglect to do, no law of equity or prudence bindeth the promiser, by an over-scrupulous diligence, to make it out, whereby to lay a greater obligation upon himself than he need to do.*"

PULLER.* (*Moderation of the Church of England*, c. xvi. § 3, p. 119).

"These articles of religion are generally exhibited as articles of peace and consent, not as articles of faith and communion . . . for the avoiding of diversities of opinions (as the title of the Articles is) . . . the consent designed to be established is such a consent as may keep the peace of our Church undisturbed."

HAMMOND. (*Discourse of God's Grace*, § 24.)

"This I suppose the reason both of our Church's moderation in framing the article of predestination, and of our late King's Declaration."

THORNDIKE. (*Just Weights and Measures*, ch. ix. p. 62.)

"The Articles of this Church, setting forth justification by faith alone, for a most wholesome doctrine and full of comfort, for the sense of it, refer us to the Homily. I will not say that my position is laid down in the Homily. . . . But in the Church Catechism, and in the office of Baptism, it is so clearly laid down as will serve for ever to silence any other sense. And though that which the clergy subscribeth, be as it ought to be, a wholesome doctrine; to wit, if soundly understood; yet that by which Christian people are saved, ought to be that which the offices of the Church, and the instruction which it proposeth, contain."

BISHOP PEARSON. (*Minor Theological Works*, vol. ii.)

[It will be enough to refer to his answer to Cornelius Burges; whose line of argument was that 'the words of the Articles are ambiguous: and *therefore they ought to be reformed by an orthodox explanation.*']

BENNET. (*Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, chap. xxxv. p. 439.)

"If it be inquired with respect to the particular sense of each Article, and the several propositions contained therein, how much we are confined by our subscription, or what liberty is still indulged us; my answer is short and plain. When an Article, or any proposition contained therein, is fairly capable of different interpretations, that man may undoubtedly be said to believe the truth of that Article or proposition, who believes it true in any such sense as it will reasonably admit, without doing violence to the words, and contradicting what our Church has elsewhere taught, and required us to acknowledge. Wherefore, any such sense in which the Article or proposition may fairly be understood, is to be admitted, and may honestly be meant by the subscriber.

* This author quotes "Sancta Clara" for the same purpose.

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Because the Church requires only the belief of the Articles in general, and does not restrain us to the belief of any one Article or proposition in any particular sense, further than we are confined and determined by the words themselves. And therefore, where the words themselves do allow a liberty, the Church does also allow the same; nor are we bound to abridge ourselves, where the Church has left us free.

"Had the Church so much as intended otherwise, it was in her power to have penned the Articles more strictly, and to have determined every proposition absolutely .... Wherefore, till the Church exerts such an authority, her first design, or present permission (either of which is sufficient, and of equal consideration, in this case), is manifest: nor is any person bound, either in law or conscience, to inquire farther, or to make any other compliance.

"Besides, when an Article or proposition is fairly capable of two different senses, I would fain know who has power to determine which is the Church's sense. The Church determines no farther than her words do necessarily mean; and when her words do not abridge our liberty, can a private person give an authentic explication of her words, and oblige his equals to admit the same? ....

"It may be pretended, perhaps, that the concurrent sense of the first writers ought to interpret the Church's words, and to restrain the sense of the Articles: but to this the answer is easy. It will, I fear, be difficult to get (what may truly deserve the name of) a concurrent sense of writers in the far greater number of cases. A single writer or too will not do. For did they write by authority? or were all that lived in their time of the same opinion? Might not the convocation themselves differ as much as the words are capable of admitting? and must we be determined only by a very few that happened to write, when the rest had equal authority? For my part, I think it much more reasonable to suppose, that the Church intended a liberty, and was resolved to determine no more than she thought necessary; and that when she had secured such truths as she was most concerned for, and had chiefly at heart, she was content to leave matters of inferior moment undetermined."

BISHOP CONYBEARE. (*On Subscription. Enchiridion Theolog.* vol. ii. p. 68. Ed. 1825.)

"It may happen in some instances that the meaning of words may not be certainly determinable, either by common use, or by the circumstances of the article. If this prove the case, then we are to understand them in such a sense as is consistent with other articles of religion. .... But if expressions should occur which cannot be determined by passages in other articles, then will it be proper to inquire whether they may be fixed by our public liturgy, or by any other monuments which bear the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The propositions set forth in our Articles ought to be understood *in such a sense as is consistent with every other determination of the Church*.... If the meaning cannot be fixed by [these].... then men of different sentiments may fairly subscribe them... Such a latitude of expression must certainly admit as great a latitude of interpretation; and if a liberty of this kind had not been originally intended, we may fairly presume it would, by some act, have been restrained."

GLOCESTER RIDLEY. (*Answer to the Confessional*, p. 137, 2d letter.)

"I suppose, therefore, that you [Blackburne] would have the original

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sense of the compilers followed. But might it not as well be asked then, what pretence there can be for construing subscription into a declaration of the subscriber's opinion, in a certain original sense different from the original sense of another subscriber? . . . The compilers might be, and certainly in some things were, of different opinions. (Nichols on Articles, p. 3.) And supposing them men of temper also, they would of course agree to use terms expressing in what they agreed, without determining anything on matters in which they did not agree . . . *Even supposing that in these cases they designedly used ambiguous ones, where they knew that either sense was consistent with Christianity: nay, supposing the terms leaned rather to one sense than another, yet supposing them to know that they might, in their literal and grammatical sense, fairly express either; they might well and wisely take this method, on purpose, to preserve their own Christian liberty, and that of those who should come after them.*"

BISHOP CLEAVER. (*Sermon on Subscription*, p. 156, *et seq.*)

"It is contrary to all rule that reference should be had to the *imposers* for their sense of the Articles; a method which would be preposterous, if it were more practicable . . . The sense of the *compilers* . . . will not be less preposterous; whilst the manner in which it has been practised is open to more objections; for the reference has been most often made, *not* to the compilers collectively taken, but particularly to individuals; . . . *and again, not so much to the actual language of their writings, as to such of their known tenets as have best coincided with the sentiments of those who make the reference.*"

Of the writers in the recent controversy, it may be enough to quote one who strongly objects to Tract 90. Not from its principle, but 'for the *application* (sic) of that principle, as contended for in the Tract.' The principle of interpretation itself is thus laid down by

BISHOP PHILLPOTTS. (*Charge*, 1842, pp. 33, 34.)

"The only sound principle of interpreting them is to understand them in the sense in which he, who subscribes, has sufficient reason to know that they are understood by the authority which imposes the subscription . . . This authority is the Convocation of 1571 . . . Now the Convocation of that year, in the very canon which imposed subscription to the Articles, tells us what is the sense which they were designed to bear, namely, *the Catholic* sense [and then the well-known canon on *Preachers* is cited.] . . . If this statement asserts the *very principle* propounded in the Tract, namely, that the Articles are to be understood in the Catholic sense, and will be found, on consideration, to be utterly irreconcilable with the *application* of that principle, &c."

For obvious reasons we have not availed ourselves, on the one hand, of such documents as Forbes, (*Considerationes*, &c.) Sancta Clara, and the Essay towards a proposal for Catholic Communion; or in later times, Mr. Wix's pamphlets; neither have we referred to the Non-jurors; nor, again, to the school of Burnet, followed by Powell, Balguy, and Hey; nor, again, do we rest, though the testimony to fact is not without its weight, on the assertion of [Tindal] Preface to the Rights of the Church. 'It has obtained 'with High Church, that our Articles are not articles of belief,

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but of peace.' But the proposed Oxford addition to Subscription goes directly to abridge that freedom which so many of our best and most temperate divines have claimed and lived upon.

In principle, the introduction of a new Test is a plain innovation upon the doctrine of the Church; and for the first time a recognition of that very straitness which the Puritans, on the one side, and such as Blackburne on the other, sought to impose. It sets up an authority in the University, the Church's minister, apart from, and paramount to, the Church itself.

It invests an official, who may be a layman, with the power of summoning before him *any individual, upon any occasion*, one even so vague as general suspicion, whether *clergyman or layman*,* and compels him to sign a document in *his*, the imposer's sense, without the least security that the imposer is himself orthodox. It proposes for a standard of interpretation the *animus imponentis*, which must vary every year, according to the accidental constitution of Convocation, or the Hebdomadal Board, or the literature and orthodoxy of a single person, *i.e.* the Vice-Chancellor.

It seeks to combine, as *paris materiæ*, two authorities equally unascertainable; viz. the sense of the imposers (of which we have disposed), and the sense of the compilers, *who never were imposers at all:* the Articles being framed by the unauthoritative responsibility of Cranmer, &c., to whom *we* owe no duties whatever, but they were not adopted by the Church till the Convocation of 1562. If, therefore, this composite† sense is to be discovered anywhere it must be, 1. either in the records of that very Convocation of 1571, which passed the famous Canon, cited by the Bishop of Exeter, about the Catholic fathers, at the same time that it enjoined subscription to the Articles; or, 2. in the known opinions and writings of the revisers of the Prayer-book in 1661; *beyond whom no Anglican is bound to go, because they are the last Reformers to us;* the last compilers, because revisers, of doctrine and discipline to us, and because they, if any, are imposers of the Articles upon us, and the last declaratists of the Church's sense. And for either of these *ascertainable* standards of interpretation we are called upon to substitute one as vague as it is ensnaring.

For all these reasons, and many more might be urged, had we space or time, we earnestly conjure every one of every school—

* The omission of the phrase *S. ordinibus initiatus* must be carefully weighed.

† It might at first be thought that this compound rule is sanctioned by the statements of the present Bishop of London, in his Charge, 1842; who (p. 14) interprets the Articles, first "by the Church's Liturgy and Homilies, *especially the former:*" failing this, "by the known, or probable, intention of those who framed" the Articles: but (Appendix, Note A, p. 68), in settling how *their* intention is to be discovered, his Lordship says, "we shall derive assistance from the teaching of the earlier Fathers, by whose statements of all the essential points of Christian doctrine, the fathers of our Reformed Church constantly declared themselves willing to abide." The Bishop's triple standard is the Prayer-book, interpreted by the Reformers, *and them by primitive antiquity;* the binary rule suggested by the Hebdomadal Board, is the Reformers interpreted by—the Hebdomadal Board!

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save that of the bigoted and inconsistent party which sacrifices the peace of the Church to personal pique, and which, on the strength of an accidental majority in October, now thinks to gain the whole government of the University by this new Test—to resist with all their might the measure of February 13.

The cup is now about full: it is significant as well as cheering to know on what ground all who wish well, in whatever degree, to that great movement which has forced the Church of England out of apathy and false doctrine, may at length combine. It is to reject a measure which, in principle, has been affirmed by the Regicides and Puritans of the great Rebellion,* as we have shown—a measure which is directly opposed to the Declaration of King Charles and Archbishop Laud—a measure which seeks to impose a stringent test, which not one of the great ANGLICAN writers whom we have quoted, the Hammonds and Pearsons, the Bramhalls and Bulls, *could possibly have taken*—which in its degree undoes, for the Church of England, the work of centuries—repeals in principle all that the persecutions of the Rebellion, and the successive revisions of the Prayer-book have achieved for us; and finally, invests an individual with an instrument of the most grinding and oppressive tyranny to the conscience, which has been heard of since the days of the Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Assembly.†

* The ordinance convoking the Westminster Assembly recites as its purpose "the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false aspersions and misconstructions."

† We have said nothing of the two previous measures which are to be proposed in Convocation on the 13th of February. As to the passages from Mr. Ward's book which it is proposed to condemn, we are neither called upon nor are we desirous to defend them: but remembering who sit in the high places of Oxford and the Church, and what they have said and done about Creeds, and the most living truths of the Faith, to inflict *degradation* with its ignominious ceremonial on Mr. Ward, is an attempt at oppression, combined with mob-worship, which we are bound to resist: and this the more because it seems that at least one Head is displeased with the measure because *it does not go far enough*. We leave Dr. Cotton and Mr. Ward to count the steps between degradation and combustion.

At the moment of going to press we have received early copies of a well-timed and well-principled pamphlet from Mr. Gresley, 'Suggestions on the proposed Statute,' &c. (Burns), in which he very earnestly and seasonably remonstrates against the whole measure—and a serviceable reprint of Mr. Oakeley's 'The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined, &c.' (Toovey). From a new Preface we make an extract:—

"The sense in which the Articles were propounded, was not a Catholic, nor a Protestant, but a vague, indecisive, and therefore comprehensive, sense; that the Reformers themselves were without any precise doctrinal views of their own upon the points in controversy; that they were consequently the victims, alternately, of extreme Catholic and extreme Protestant influences; that, so far as they had any doctrinal sympathies of their own, they were Protestant rather than Catholic, but that the necessities of their position, as having to provide for the religious pacification of a country partly Catholic, partly Protestant, obliged them to a course (so far as doctrines at issue between the contending parties were concerned) of the strictest neutrality; and that the mode by which they sought to carry out this principle of neutrality, was that of couching their Formulary in language at once sufficiently Protestant in *tone* to satisfy the Reformers abroad, and sufficiently vague in *expression* to include the Catholics at home."

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ART. VIII.—1. *The Autobiography of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr; collected from his Remains.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1839.

2. *Archbishop Laud's Devotions.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

3. *Archbishop Laud's Speeches on the Liturgy.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

BEFORE entering on our subject, we will venture a preliminary remark. None of the regular modern lives (we are not speaking, of course, of the Autobiography at the head of our list,) appear to do full justice to Archbishop Laud. We do not mean that they are not eulogistic enough, and defective in favourable intention to him:—by no means. Benevolence in a biographer, however, is not always synonymous with genuineness. What we want to see in a biography is the man himself, and not the biographer's affection for him. Benevolence does really great injustice often in this way, when it least intends it. A friendly portrait is very apt to be a weak one. We are so tender about our hero; we will not let him come out, but keep him in doors like a sickly child. And the more complex and irregular the kind of character, the greater the risk of its suffering in this way. The biographer is too friendly to be bold; he will not confront traits in his hero that do not *primâ facie* promise well; he avoids rough parts, and goes by the dark corners, instead of going into them, and seeing where they lead him. One set of features preoccupies his field: he is afraid of any irruption. The effect of a favourite trait is threatened to be interfered with by an apparent contrary to it lurking in another part of the character; he stops the rising antagonism from coming to the surface. The consequence is, one weak phenomenon instead of two strong ones,—for the probability is, that the two opposite elements of character would have been positively improved and heightened, instead of being nullified by the antagonism; and that each would have been the better for the opposition of the other. It is hardly paradoxical to say, that a friendly hand is almost as capable of being disadvantageous to a portrait, as a hostile one. The effect of the one touch is favourable but mawkish, of the other malignant but real. We have to go to the enemy for colours which the friend will not give us. And perhaps the joint production of both parties is a more really interesting likeness, after all, to an eye that can embrace and combine them, than the purely and exclusively friendly one.

Laud is regarded too generally in the one light of a zealous champion of forms and ceremonies, an uncompromising advocate of rubrical uniformity. He was certainly this; but he was a

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great many other things too: and in the department of character, additions tell more than simply arithmetically,—they enlarge, elevate, alter the whole basis of a man. The political department *e. g.* in Laud, throws depth on the ecclesiastical, and each benefits the other. But the biographer is afraid of the politician. The combination of bishop and politician has a worldly look; and seems to give an advantage to puritans. The politician is accordingly put in the background: the pious upholder of vestments and the Church service is presented to us. The age catches the character, and expresses it in its own way: and the stickler for obsolete forms, the obstinate old zealot about trifles, becomes the one popular figure of Laud.

We must pay our tribute, however, to the contemporary historian, to the vivid, amusing, clever Heylyn. Heylyn was one of those persons whom Laud picked up in the course of his administration, (as he did many others), and set to work in the Church cause. He wrote books and pamphlets when Laud wanted them, and supplied the Archbishop with university and clerical information. It was Laud's character to be most goodnatured and familiar with his subordinates—with any who worked under him, and did what he told them; and Heylyn thoroughly enjoyed and relished his good graces. There is an amusing under-stream of self-congratulation throughout his biography, at his participation of the great man's patronage. He seems to have been occasionally told secrets and let behind the scenes;—a matter of great pride to him. He communicates the information, with a kind of sly, invisible smirk in the background, and a nudge under the table to the reader,—to remind him of the Archbishop's cleverness, not forgetting the biographer's. The former would not have been particularly obliged, on one or two occasions, for the candid display of his strategics, and bits of necessary state-craft, in his devoted admirer's pages. Heylyn gives us his own account of his first reception by Laud; and it is very significant of the relationship of the two. The flattering attentions of the Metropolitan and Premier to the 'poor Oxford scholar,'—that is to say, a fellow of Magdalen, as Heylyn was, were quite enough to win a person of his temperament; and the courteous arts of the great man, and the pleased sensations of the little man, are equally characteristic.

'Being kept to his chamber at the time with lameness, I 'had,' says Heylyn, 'both the happiness of being taken into 'his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer 'conference than I should otherwise have expected. I went 'to present my service to him, as he was preparing for 'this journey, and was appointed to attend him the same day 'sevennight, when I might presume on his return. Coming

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'precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he 'kept himself to his chamber; but order had been left among 'his servants, that if I came, he should be made acquainted with 'it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his 'chamber, where I found him sitting on a chair, with his lame 'leg resting on a pillow. Commanding that nobody should 'come and interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to 'sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my studies, 'which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold myself in that 'moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to 'discourse of some passages in Oxford in which I was specially 'concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such opposition 'as had been made against him in the University by Archbishop 'Abbot, and others; and encouraged me not to shrink, if I 'had already, and should hereafter find the like. I was with him 'thus, *remotis arbitris*, almost two hours. It grew almost 12 of the 'clock, and then he knocked for his servants to come to him. He 'dined that day in his ordinary dining-room, which was the first 'time he had done so since his mishap. He caused me to tarry 'dinner with him, and used me with no small respect; which 'was much noticed by some gentlemen (Elphinstone, one of his 'Majesty's cupbearers, being one of the company) who dined 'that day with him. A passage, I confess, not pertinent to my 'present story, but such as I have good precedent for from 'Philip de Comines, who telleth us impertinently of the time of 'his leaving the Duke of Burgundy's service to betake himself 'to the employments of King Louis XI.'.

Heylyn's biography, however, only gives one side of the Archbishop: it exhibits the shrewd tactician, the active indefatigable man of business, the spirited Church Champion. Heylyn realizes acutely the religious politics, and party aspects of the times: he catches phrases, watchwords, party notes: a cant term, a piece of abuse that he has treasured up, lets you into the whole feeling of the time being, like a newspaper. Laud, the ecclesiastical combatant and schemer, figures in strong colours throughout; but we are not let into the inner and deeper part of his character: the *homo interior* was not in Heylyn's line. We read through his book and have barely a glimpse of a whole inward sphere of thought and feeling in which Laud's mind was moving all the time. We go to another document for this: the Diary reveals a different man from what the active scene presented; and a fresh and rather opposite field of character appears. Heylyn's portrait has a new colour thrown upon it by the connexion; we look on the stirring features with another eye when we have seen the quiescent ones; the bustle of State and Church politics covers an interior of depth and feeling; the

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courtier, statesman, and man of the world kneels before the cross; and we gain a different idea of him altogether.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a clothier of that town: his mother's family had rather more pretensions, and boasted a city knighthood in the person of Sir William Webb, a lord mayor of London, and a salter by trade, Laud's maternal uncle. The puritans did not forget this fact of a mercantile origin in his days of power, and ornamented it with very circumstantial additions. He was born 'of poor and obscure parents in a cottage,' was Prynne's account: he 'was born between the stocks and the cage,' says the Scots' Scout.—'A courtier,' he adds, 'one day chanced to speak thereof, 'whereupon his Grace removed them thence, and pulled down 'his father's thatched house, and built a fair one in the place;'—a gratuitous and rather ungracious mode of stating the simple fact, that Laud built and endowed an almshouse in his native town. The subject of his birth was a prolific one; and 'libel after libel,' as he said, 'raked him out of the dunghill.' Even with *his* long and intimate experience of the power of puritanical language, Laud was sometimes horrified with the intensity of abuse which poured in upon him on the subject of his origin. Heylyn found him one day walking in his garden, at Lambeth, looking 'troubled'—disgusted, in modern language: Laud showed him one of these virulent papers: he pleaded guilty to the fact 'of not having the good fortune to be born a gentleman;'—'yet he thanked God he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them.' 'And therefore,' continues Heylyn, 'beginning to clear up his countenance, 'I told him as presently as I durst, that Pope Sixtus the Fifth, 'as stout a pope as ever wore the triple crown, but a poor man's 'son, did use familiarly to say, in contempt of such libels as 'frequently were made against him, that he was *domo natus* '*illustri*, because the sunbeams, passing through the broken walls 'and ragged roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely cottage 'in which he was born—with which facetiousness of that pope '(so applicable to the present occasion) he seemed very well 'pleased.' We doubt whether Heylyn's precise case in point would have operated as a consolation to a very marked aspiration after high birth: but Laud's disgust was occasioned by the animus of his libellers, and not by the fact of his own origin.

'In my infancy,' says the Diary, 'I was in danger of death by sickness.' Laud carried with him from his birth one of those constitutions which are always ailing, and never failing. He had never good health for long together; and his fierce attacks of illness brought him sometimes to death's door, leaving him, however, as

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strong for work again as ever, as soon as they were passed. A creaking gate lasts: weakness and iron often go together in the bodily constitution. There are different kinds of health; rude and full; slender and wiry: in-doors health, and out-of-doors health: reading health, and hunting health; the healths capacitating respectively for mental and for bodily work. Laud had the weakly kind of health eminently; a vigorous, obstinate, in-doors constitution. His ailings, except when they broke out violently, seem only to have operated as a sort of unconscious stimulus, and mental mustard-plaster, perpetually keeping him up to his work—his internal puritans.

He went to the school of his native town, and had the benefit of a disciplinarian hand over him. 'After a wonderful preser-'vation in his infancy,' we are told, 'from a very sore fit of sick-'ness, he had a happy education in his childhood under a very 'severe schoolmaster.' He was appreciated, however, for his master 'frequently said to him, that he hoped he would remember 'Reading School when he became a great man.' One of the prognostics, it is curious to notice, was his 'dreams:' the boy had 'strange dreams;' the religious grotesquenesses, superstitions, or whatever critics may call them, of the Diary, seem to have been born with him. We will add that he must have been exceedingly clever to have made the recital of them tell so much in his favour. There is no subject matter that tasks human power more to make interesting. We have no disrespect for the thing itself, for the dream *per se*, for the world of sight, sound, and action, that sleep introduces us into: nevertheless nature herself yawns, and the face of social life lengthens into despondency, as soon as ever the public communication of a dream commences—as soon as ever the preparatory note and prelude is heard—What do you think I dreamed of last night? A man's dream interests himself because it is his own—a plain intimation of reason that it is meant for his own peculiar enjoyment. However, the little Laud had, it appears, very striking dreams; and his schoolmaster saw mind in them. Genuine nature gives a character wherever she is the originator; and the native productions of a soil have a charm about them. We like Laud's dreams for being born with him. He seems to have a right to them; and their shadowy fragmentary character shows an imaginative element in his mind, and points back to a more vivid childish prototype. He appears, in his school-days, to have been what is called a regular sharp boy: and his 'witty speeches, generous spirit, great apprehensions, and notable performances,' raised people's expectations about him.

At sixteen, he went up to Oxford, and entered at St. John's College; became a scholar the next year, and four years afterwards

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fellow. 'He was at that time,' we are informed by Wood, 'esteemed by all who knew him, (being little in stature), a very 'forward, confident, and zealous person;' a not unnatural line of character for a young man to fall into, who had great talents, great earnestness, a strong religious bias, and a considerable disgust for the tone of opinion which surrounded him.

The religious atmosphere of the University at this time was, as is well known, Calvinistic in the extreme. The developed Reformation theology was predominant there. The divinity professorships were in the hands of strong Calvinists; and the Genevan doctrines were the regular authorized teaching and standard of the place. First in power in the University was Dr. Laurence Humphries, President of Magdalen College, and Regius Professor of Divinity; a disciple of Zwinglius, and a correspondent of Calvin. 'The best that could be said of him,' says Heylyn, 'by one who commonly speaks well of that party '[the historian Fuller], was, that he was a moderate and con-'scientious nonconformist.' He was, however, a clever man, a fluent lecturer, and master of a good Latin style. The Divinity Schools were his great field; and his lectures, which consisted of strong expositions of all the Calvinistic tenets, and fierce denunciations of the Pope, moulded the theology of the University students. 'He sowed in the Divinity Schools,' as we are told, 'such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in 'the younger men such a strong hate against the Papists, as if 'nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and 'nothing but abominations to be seen in the other.' His college felt its head: Magdalen 'was stocked with a generation of nonconformists,' and became a conspicuous nursery and hotbed of Calvinism. A change has passed over the face of that society since these religious movements. The incongenial effervescence, under a happier influence, subsided, and has not returned; and Laurence Humphries, were he to visit the scene of his labours again, would have to mourn over his lapsed college; the rigours of puritanism no longer predominant within its walls; the five points untouched; and a fellow of Magdalen not *ipso facto* a supralapsarian.

The Calvinistic party had aid from the political world. Humphries had a warm coadjutor, indeed, in the Lady Margaret Professor; but as if this was not staff enough for the work: as if these two, says Heylyn, 'did not make the distance wide 'enough between the churches, a new lecture must needs be 'founded.' New theological lectures were the protestantizing machinery of those times, as they have been since. The government of the day favoured the Calvinistic side. Walsingham, the Secretary of State, and the Earl of Leicester, Chan-

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cellor of the University, both leant a ready ear to the suggestions of Humphries and his school; and Oxford puritanism was in close and intimate alliance with political power at head-quarters. Walsingham is described by our historian as 'a man of great 'political ability, an extreme hater of the popes and Church of 'Rome, and no less favourable unto those of the puritan faction.' Doctor John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, a learned and rigorous puritan, stood high in Walsingham's good graces: he was appointed to the new lectureship, and joined the other official disseminators of the Calvinistic doctrines in the University.

The coalition engendered a great feeling of security and strength in the party. A party feels itself strong that has a back to lean against; that has reinforcements to call in when it wants them. Confidence is seated in a background; and the mind of the partisan expands with self-complacency and hope as it feels the remoter and more exoteric circle of sympathy and assistance. 'Our friends in the government'—'our parliamentary supporters'—'our friends in the country'—and 'our friends in town,' are indefinite sources of self-gratulatory strength to a side, and the sure aid at a distance has double weight at home. Parties under such circumstances grow easy, boastful, and contemptuous: they ride over the field, clear their way unscrupulously, vote opposition to be *ipso facto* absurd, urge the territorial right, implant themselves in the soil, engraft their own system and character, feel at home, and cover the ground. The Calvinistic party at Oxford enjoyed their alliance with the political world, and nipped all opposition to them in the bud, by simple weight and impetus. They had it all their own way: those who thought differently from them kept their own opinions to themselves, rather than face the storm of censure and vituperation, which they would have encountered by expressing them. Heylyn mentions two names of fellows of colleges as the only public, open, orthodox ones existing in the place at this time. There, doubtless, was another school all the while in embryo, but it was only an embryo one. It had not courage to come out, or voice to make itself heard. It wanted a leader and mouthpiece, somebody to bring it out and make it speak, elicit its powers, encourage its efforts, and mould it into shape and compactness.

Oxford was only a sample of the rest of the country. The Reformation in this country ended in showing itself a decidedly Calvinistic movement. The theology of our native reformers, where it did not run spontaneously in this direction (as it did not in some), was too weak to resist its irruptions; and Calvin and the foreign reformers stepped in almost as soon as the

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movement had begun, threw their whole impetus into it, and turned it their own way. A movement shows itself in its fruits: the Reformation produced Calvinism: Calvinism was its immediate offspring, its genuine matter-of-fact expansion. The divines that the Reformation directly produced, its actual disciples and sons, were everywhere of this school; and the Calvinistic foliage sprouted with all the freedom and exuberance of nature.

Laud commenced his course in this state of University theology: and had to push his way through this adverse system. He fought at a disadvantage. He did not *start* with Laudian station and authority: far from it; he had authority regularly against him, and stood a simple individual, and fellow of a college, against the whole official stream of academical opinion, against the favourite and cardinal doctrines of vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity professors. Laud's ultimate historical position is so prominent in our minds, that we hardly think of him in his previous humbler one; as if he had never not been an Archbishop, and been born, on the principle of Minerva's leap out of Jupiter's head, in full-blown metropolitan maturity and canonicals. The Caroline Court and the Regale, appear born with him. We picture him the man of pomp and station to begin with; with all the paraphernalia of ecclesiastical power ready made to his hands, and leave him only the easy task of laying down the law, and punishing the rebel, bringing down the terrors of suspension on the nonconformist, and of the pillory on the libeller. It was very different in fact: Laud certainly made full use of his powers, both ecclesiastical and secular, when he got them; but it was a long time before he got them. He was long all but alone, and had an up-hill course. Dignitaries condemned, acquaintances avoided, even friends suspected him: he endured a humiliating discipline and a severe succession of rubs. He laid his own groundwork, and created his own authoritativeness; we see the result, and forget the process which led to it; we antedate the man of power, and give him what he made himself before he made it.

He appears before us, in short, in the first instance as an innovator upon the dominant and authorized theology of the day. A high Churchman of the 'old school' can now appeal to his sanction and name; but Laud was not one of an 'old school' himself; there was no 'old school' of high-Churchmanship for *him* to belong to: the 'established school' of the Church was then Calvinistic; Calvinism was the theology of the Church dignitary, the Bishop, the Dean, the College Head. The maintainer of another system had to assume the character which thinks for itself, and will not follow the lead; a free,

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independent, and original one. Laud's high-Churchmanship was no more made to his hand than his archiepiscopate. It did not come to him in the natural course of his education, as the teaching of the day, as the regular, established, proper, decorous, and respectable orthodox system. His orthodoxy raised itself, was the growth of his own mind in opposition to the prevailing system, and had to be maintained by the force of his own judgment and taste against a whole incongenial and hostile state of contemporary theology.

Laud was ordained in 1601 by Young, Bishop of Rochester. The bishop 'found his study raised above the system and 'opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the fathers, 'councils, and the ecclesiastical historians, and presaged that, if 'he lived, he would be an instrument of restoring the Church 'from the narrow and private principles of modern times.'

A series of collisions, accordingly, with the University authorities marks the first period of Laud's theological career. They began upon a tender point. The authorized theology of the Oxford schools denied all definite visibility to the Church through the middle ages. The Pope was Antichrist; Romish orders were the mark of the beast; the Church of England was entirely separated from all connexion with her mediæval existence; and the very idea of deriving her authority from a Romish fountain-head savoured of simple pollution, instead of the dignity of antiquity, to the post-reformation theologians of that day. The visibility of the Church took a leap from the age of the Apostles to that of the Berengarians; from the Berengarians it passed to the Albigenses; from the Albigenses to the Wickliffites; from the Wickliffites to the Hussites; from the Hussites to the congregations of Luther and Calvin; and from them to the English Reformed Church. The English Church was made to rest on a succession of doctrine purely; the torch of 'gospel light' had been caught and passed on by scattered bodies of true believers, one after another, till it lit up the flame of the Reformation: that was the Church's warrant, and the succession of orders was simply beside the mark. Abbot, the future puritanical Archbishop, was then Master of University College, and Vice-Chancellor, a double-dyed Calvinist, and an advocate of this theory especially. When Archbishop, he wrote a treatise in support of it. Laud, in an academical exercise which he delivered shortly after his ordination, maintained the formal ecclesiastical ground, and claimed a regular legitimate existence for the mediæval English Church. He placed the authority of the present Church upon that basis, and traced its orders and genealogy, through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, up to the apostles and the primitive Church. The exercise gave great

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offence. Abbot saw with jealousy the start of a young theological antagonist, and seems to have presaged instinctively the course of the future rival, who was to be perpetually treading on his heels:—'He thought it a great derogation to his parts 'and credit, that any man should dare to maintain the contrary 'of his opinion, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge against 'Laud, which no tract of time could either abolish or diminish.'

His degree of Bachelor of Divinity was the next occasion which brought him out. His exercises in the schools maintained the necessity of episcopacy, and the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Both were unpopular doctrines at Oxford. A clamour was raised against him: he was accused of creating discord between the English and the other reformed churches. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration was doubly odious, too, defended in the language of Bellarmine. It was thought an insult to a Protestant university for one of its members to be publicly quoting Bellarmine, and borrowing his arguments from a Roman Catholic controversialist. The common-sense answer was, that if the arguments were good, it did not signify where they came from.

A sermon delivered the next year (1606), in the pulpit of St. Mary's, the contents of which we are not informed of, brought down upon him a vehement attack from Dr. Henry Airay, Vice-Chancellor and Provost of Queen's, a pupil of the reformer Bernard Gilpin, a person of great repute for gravity, learning, and sanctity in the puritanical party, and the popular author of a treatise 'against bowing at the name of Jesus.' Some passages in the sermon appeared '*superstitionem pontificiam sapere*,' and Dr. Airay cited Laud to answer in his court. The trial went on for some weeks, and made a stir in the theological world. Laud showed great ability, spirit, and acuteness; parried his opponents dexterously, and got clear off at last, without any process of retractation, or apology to go through. It is a pity we are entirely deprived of the details of a scene so highly characteristic. Laud had his first taste here of a theological trial; his last was when he appeared at the bar of the House of Lords. His quickness, steadiness, and vivacity carried him through the academical ordeal, and the terrors of Dr. Henry Airay's tribunal. The Oxford Vice-Chancellor's court had no bill of attainder to fall back upon, when a troublesome adversary had foiled it: the Lords were better provided, and could help themselves to ready-made law, when the statute book failed.

An antagonist is not disliked the less for gaining a victory, or making an escape. Laud was regarded more and more as a dangerous man: Abbot grew more bitter and splenetic every day. Dark rumours were set afloat; and suspicion was rife.

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People were afraid of him, and afraid of being seen with him. 'It was a heresy,' was Laud's own account, 'to speak to him, 'and a suspicion of heresy to salute him as he walked in the 'street.' — It was dangerous to be seen in his company. Friends even began to be perplexed and suspicious of the formal ecclesiastical bearing in his theology; to think him going too far, to profess not to understand him, not to penetrate his mixture, or get behind his veil. He had a character for subtlety and ambiguity; for not telling people what he was, or where he was going. He lived under a cloud. The reports against him reached the sister university; and Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, writes to him: 'I would I knew where to find you; 'then I could tell you how to take direct arms, whereas now I 'must pore and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the 'Romanists, to-morrow in ours, the next day between both, 'against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs, your 'conscience finds you with both, and neither: I flatter you not. 'This of yours is the worst of all tempers. How long will you 'halt in this indifferency? Resolve one day, and know at last 'what you do hold, and what you do not. Cast off either your 'wings or your teeth, and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either 'a bird or a beast. To die wavering or uncertain, yourself will 'grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you 'must begin, why not now? God crieth with Jehu, 'Who is 'on my side, who?' Look out at your window to Him, and in a 'resolute courage cast down the Jezebel that hath bewitched 'you.' Good Bishop Hall is obviously sorely puzzled with him; he sees in him a change upon the established system of the day, and, what is more alarming still, something of a departure from Bishop Hall: and he does not know what to think of it.

A few years passed, and found matters not improved. Laud preached on a Shrove-Tuesday a sermon reflecting on some of the puritan doctrines. Dr. Abbot, brother of the Archbishop, and Divinity Professor, was Vice-Chancellor. He bottled up his indignation all Lent, and on Easter Sunday burst out; and from the University pulpit at St. Peter's, delivered a strain of theological invective sufficiently open and pointed. Laud was not present on that occasion, but the discourse was re-delivered, according to custom, on the following Sunday, at St. Mary's; and to avoid the appearance of being absent through fear, he went, and sat under his castigator. There was no attempt at disguise on the part of the preacher, and all eyes were fixed on Laud as the following interrogatories were addressed to him from the pulpit: 'Might not Christ say, What art thou? 'Romish or English, Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou?

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'a mongrel, composed of both; a Protestant by ordination, a 'Papist in point of free-will, inherent righteousness, and the 'like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament; a Papist in 'the doctrine of the Sacrament. What! do you think there are 'two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place 'yourself there, for unto this where I am ye shall not 'come.' The preacher added a spirited description of Laud's party or set: 'Some,' he continued, alluding to the latter, 'are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion serves them, 'that a man might say, *noster es an adversariorum?* who, under 'pretence of truth, and preaching against the puritans, strike at 'the heart and root of the religion now established among us. 'They cannot plead that they are accounted Papists because 'they speak against the puritans, but, because being indeed 'Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do at any 'time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about 'the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and dis-'quieting the birds that are in it: they speak nothing but that 'wherein one Papist will speak against another, as against equi-'vocation, the Pope's temporal power, and the like, and perhaps 'some of their blasphemous speeches: but in the points of free-'will, justification, concupiscence being a sin after baptism, 'inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, the Papists 'beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the recu-'sants at home make their boast of them. In all things they 'keep themselves so near the brink, that upon occasion they 'may step over to them.'

'I came time enough,' said Laud, writing to his friend, Bishop Neil, shortly after, 'to be at the rehearsal of this sermon, 'upon much persuasion, where I was fain to sit patiently, and 'hear myself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as 'I sat. For this present I would fain have taken no notice of it, 'but that the whole University did apply it to me; and my own 'friends tell me I shall sink my credit if I answer not Dr. Abbot 'in his own. Nevertheless, in a business of this kind, I will not 'be swayed from a patient course.' Perfect coolness and good temper marked Laud's academical career throughout. The theological tribunal and the pulpit, rumour, suspicion, and black looks; vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity-professors, were all at him: they put themselves into agitation, but not him. Dignitaries were jealous of the junior; Calvinists were disgusted at the theologian: but the junior and the theologian himself was quite calm. Laud pursued his own line, kept his object before him, and went quietly on, never giving way an inch, but never at the same time troubling himself to retaliate. Attacks and invectives simply spent themselves in the air, as

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far as he was concerned, and were without practical effect. His mode of aggression showed the same temper, was firm and continuous, taking advantage of opportunities; bold, when there was a blow to be hit; but ordinarily quiet, and working under rather than above ground. He seems to have gone on the rule of keeping as much out of scrapes as he could consistently with his public line: and to get into one was an instantaneous call upon all the faculties of his mind to the rescue; an evoker of all his cleverness and ready wit to get him out of it again. An exercise for a degree, a sermon at St. Mary's, was turned to account, and made a theological weapon. He takes up some definite Church-doctrine—episcopacy, baptismal regeneration, or whatever it may be, and puts it strongly forward. If he is called to account for it, still the thing is done: an inquisition on the sermon, an attack from the pulpit, cannot prevent that fact; the coast is soon clear, and he is quiet again, and resumes his ordinary course. It is remarkable, that no charge of violence, or hot-headedness appears against him through this period. His enemy, Abbot, accuses him of cunning and underhand-work, but not of any violence: the former is of course the charge made, where the latter cannot be.

Ten years of this course had passed, when the Presidency of St. John's became vacant by the promotion of Buckridge to the see of Rochester. Laud had been working his way, and been gaining influence—over his own college especially. He stood for the Presidency; and the whole zeal and activity of the puritanical party were instantly called into play to oppose him. Abbot was indefatigable; the University dignitaries were immediately in communication with the government, and the Chancellor Ellesmere received private notices of Laud being a dangerous man, and having 'papistical' leanings, and of the necessity of keeping him 'out of any place of government in the University.' Ellesmere was gained; Ellesmere had possession of the King's ear, and Laud's election seemed to be fairly done for, before a single vote in St. John's had been taken. Laud was disabled at the time himself from doing anything; being laid up with one of his illnesses in London, and too weak to attempt a journey, or even to write a single line to his friends on the subject. However, the voting came on, and he had a majority. It is a proof of the extraordinary excitement which the election had created, that one of the fellows at this very moment snatched the paper containing the votes out of the hands of the college officer, and tore it in pieces. The evidence of the election was thus disposed of, and Laud's opponents appealed to the Crown, and pushed for an absolutely Royal appointment, quashing all the college votes.

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Laud had an intercessor with James, however, in the person of Bishop Neil of Durham. The appeal came before James in person: he heard both parties for the space of three hours, and concluded by declaring Laud President of St. John's. The day of the decision was August 29, 'the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist,' adds the Diary. Laud was a great observer of all coincidences of days, and did not pass over the coincidence of his being declared President of St. John's on St. John's day.

Placed at the head of his college, he instantly adopted the amiable line; forgave and tranquillized, and threw oil upon the angry waters. He was particularly affectionate to the fellow who had torn up the scrutiny paper. College propriety demanded, of course, some judicial notice of such a disorderly proceeding, and a solemn tribunal sat upon the offender. But authority was satisfied with showing itself, and then graciously descended from the judicial chair, and embraced the criminal. He was a clever man, and capable of being useful. Laud took him into favour, and paid him great attention. He afterwards made him his chaplain, gave him preferment, and married him to his niece; and finally raised him to the very presidency which had been the subject of all the commotion. 'To the other fellows,' continues Heylyn, 'who had opposed 'him in his election, he always showed a fair and equal counte-'nance, hoping to gain them by degrees; but if he found any 'to be intractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would find 'some handsome way or other to remove them out of college, 'that others, not engaged upon either side, might succeed in 'their places.—Notwithstanding all this care, the faction still 'held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same 'side which had been taken by their tutors.' Perseverance, however, won the field at last.

We now quit the Oxford scene for a more expansive one; and Laud's real life begins. He steps out of the threshold. A college headship does not ordinarily figure as the starting point; it is more commonly the harbour than the port of exit, and rewards exertions oftener than stimulates them: it does not often send either a political or ecclesiastical adventurer into the world. It did in his case. Laud did not feel the satisfying influences of station. The common tendency of minds to rest upon their oars, and repose at the first stage of their progress, —to erect the *templa serena* on the very first elevated spot,—to think they have done enough as soon as they have done anything at all—to enjoy dignified ease—to give up growth and abandon themselves to efflorescence, was not his failing. The President of St. John's immediately set out for a *terra incognita*, and entered upon a wholly new sphere of exertion and line of life. At

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home in one department, Laud was instantly a beginner in another; and the labourer and drudge on the large political field was more to his taste than the University dignitary. His career in Oxford had done what he wanted; drawn him out, given him an experience, exercised his talent, and shown in what direction it lay. He could now apply what he had got to a fresh sphere; and the University-tactician grew into the Church's statesman.

Laud is our last specimen of a very dominant class once—the class of statesmen-ecclesiastic. The character is not a popular one at the present day; and we do not know whether, in the present state of society, such a union of positions is natural or desirable. In ages of the Church's power, the Church is naturally more political than she is in her ages of weakness. Genuine ecclesiastical influence, imbibed, and felt, and acting over society, forms a suitable atmosphere for an ecclesiastical statesman, when another state of opinion does not. In the middle ages, temporal power was actually put into the Church's hands by the world. The world liked to have its statesmen priests, and priests accordingly became its statesmen. The combination was a natural phenomenon of the day, as much as feudalism and chivalry; particular classes were jealous of the Church, but the state of opinion, as a whole, put power—political temporal power—into her hands. She found herself in possession of it; she could not help exerting a vast overwhelming influence with respect to all sorts of subjects, ecclesiastical and secular, upon the public mind. She was a spiritual society indeed, but she was also an actual living and human one, in intimate contact with the world, and her exertion and interference in the social system was called for and expected. With power *de facto* lodged in her, she was responsible for what became of it, and her natural course was to administer it herself, instead of letting it get into worse hands. The case is different when the Church is weak; the effort would be artificial. She does not strain after power, and snatch it eagerly out of the world's hands; she does not care for it on her own account; and therefore, if the world does not voluntarily give it her, she does not seek for it. She administers it if she has it, but she does not want to have it, if people do not want to give it. She does not accept it from reluctant hands, or legislate for a jealous and mistrusting age.

Laud, in his day, just saw the last remaining vestiges of the old system: the vitality gone, the case still partially existing. The form of the old idea of the statesman-ecclesiastic survived. The age rested under the last shadow of the mediæval empire; and the times in which Bishops were set at the political helm, and the Stapledons, the Wykehams, and the Wainfleets of the day were

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our Lord High Chancellors and Lord High Treasurers, had still a faint reflection in the position which even the post-reformation prelates occupied in the English Court, the seats in the privy council, the employment on the foreign embassy. A class of higher clergy were a good deal about Court, and took their share in public matters; not as interlopers in the scene, but as if they were at home, and in their natural place: public opinion maintained them there. Minds have their favourite aspects in which they realize particular truths: Laud realized the Church's greatness under this one. A mixture of motives rivetted Laud's eye in this direction. He had caught the particular mediæval idea of the Church's position, as a political estate, an heiress, by a divine nobility of birth, to the world's honours and elevations. The half conscious idea ran in his thoughts perpetually; and incidental acts and expressions show the image in his mind—the form of a Church which haunted him—a sacerdotal political form of a Church in power, her orders nobility, her prelates pillars of the State. He saw dignity and grandeur upon her, a splendid ritual, grave munificence and hospitality, the stamp of venerable power on her brow, and profound homage bending the knee to her. A genuine hierarchical taste vented itself in the mediæval combination, and the priestly idea took the heightening feudal colour and political expression of itself. It is a mistake to charge him with ambition: the feeling was totally different from ambition. A sense of a particular vocation, and the natural tendency of a set of tastes to get scope and exercise, carried him toward the position of statesman-ecclesiastic: but the position had its charm as the expression of an idea, and not as the gratification of a personal aim. His own elevation put his own theory into execution; and he realized the exaltation of his Church in that of himself. He had every bit as much pleasure in putting Juxon into the office of Lord Treasurer, or Archbishop Spottiswoode into the Scotch Chancellorship, as he had in any public preferment of his own. His track was to be recognised everywhere by the elevation of the Church and Clergy. The feeling amounted to a species of poetry in him: the poetical element in his mind took the ecclesiastical form, and pictured the revival of the Church's greatness and splendour. 'The Church has been low these 'hundred years, but I hope it will flourish again in another 'hundred,' was a saying of his remembered against him at his trial. A fancy, and a fond dream it may have been: the age was not in keeping with the aim, and it was cut short—still it was a disinterested dream if it was one; and he turned it into a most effective stimulus, and invigorated himself by it. Whether true or not it was a useful one. He seems to have doubted it, mis-

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trusted it himself; still there it was—it stood before him, and he followed it. It was something to follow at any rate, something to have before him; it appeared, it shone: the phantom was majestic, even if it was a phantom. It led him on through stage after stage of his work: a mediæval glow terminated the dark laborious vista; and the plodder's slow subterranean passage had an inward poetry to illuminate and relieve it.

The poetical feeling did not at all supersede the strict utilitarian one. The Regale was the great centre of power in that day, both in Church and State; the Court the very first and most necessary instrument for the objects of the Church-reformer. He was obliged to work his way at Court, to get any of the practical acting power of the nation into his hands. A hundred other things he ought to be perhaps, but a courtier he must be; he must gain access to the great political lever, if he was to put a finger on the ecclesiastical. The ins and outs of Court were an essential part of his experience, and the whole order of things went to domiciliate him first at the focus of the nation, in order to obtain any spread of his influence over the general surface. Laud wanted to gain some ground on which he could work upon the nation; he wanted ways and means, facilities, sources of weight, and a whole machinery for producing effects. He fixed his eye on the Court as offering such resources, such machinery. A natural turn for the exercise of power, for tactics, and *managing*,—so strong a taste in a mind that feels itself to have it—sympathized with this object; and the whole political element in Laud's character mingled with the enthusiastic in taking him to a yet unexplored mine of influence and labour—the Court.

The Stuarts had just ascended the English throne, when Laud made his first entrance into Court, in the capacity of king's chaplain—a situation which his patron, Bishop Neil, procured for him, very soon after his election to the Presidency of St. John's. The Stuarts brought with them a very different character to the throne, and to the English Regale, from the Tudor Elizabeth's—a much less imperial and a much more amiable one, better tendencies and less firmness; a temper weak and difficult to keep up to the mark when raised there, but very accessible to influence in the first instance. Elizabeth, made up as she was of caprices and humours, kept up the great family trait with an iron uniformity; hated the puritans, but ground down the Church, and with all her high-church whims, was the very reverse of the character that is subject to Church *influence*. The Stuart character was open to this influence. Fresh charged with a highly unfavourable experience of puritanism in Scotland, and without the deepset erastian pride of the Plantagenets

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in their nature to stiffen them against the Church at starting, they were open ground, and invited cultivation. Laud gave it. He elicited the favourable traits, fastened their predilections, and marked out their line. The great monarchical families of European history seem to have all had their peculiar stamp of character upon them: a Plantagenet is great; a Bourbon is magnificent; a Romanoff is political and adventurous. A more passive character and gentler interest attaches to the name of Stuart; but an interest it is. With all the faults and all the weaknesses of the individuals, enough remains to throw a grace over the dynasty, and race. From the Scotch Mary and her grandson Charles, the victims of a cruel English policy, to the very last of the exiles; history sets them before our eyes in a broken and scattered, but still fascinating colour. The Stuart power ever befriended the Church; and they were the Church's sons when they might have been her foes and oppressors. The pride which is the guilt of the kings of the earth did not belong to their character; their Regale was a religious one; the haughty world frowned upon such half kings, such children in policy, such weak infantine Church dupes. Yet the secret inward Church spell would operate, its very forebodings fascinated and led them on; they hovered around their destiny till it seized them: in an evil hour they left the very communion whom they had nurtured, condemned themselves to melancholy exile, and the Church of England to a reaction of weakness and sterility. They shone like an autumnal sun upon her, and were born for the elevation of our Church and for her depression.

Laud now divided his time between Oxford and the Court, and was penetrating into the upper sphere, while he kept his position in the lower. His progress at court was slow, tedious, and trying; he made no way whatever for a long time. Three years had passed and found him only king's Chaplain still. The black Oxford cloud had followed him, and the pressure of Abbot's archiepiscopate kept him under, and would not let him see daylight. At the end of three years with nothing done and nothing promising, he made up his mind to withdraw from the scene, and return to his simple Oxford headship. However, he told Bishop Neil of his intention; Neil remonstrated; he staid on, and gave the experiment another trial.

Three or four years cleared the prospect a little, and an opening was made: James took notice of him. In 1616 he accompanied James into Scotland. He stood by James's side, and heard pedantic speeches from the Scotch Universities, and listened to James's puns. The king was in capital humour, enjoyed the technicalities and pomps of a progress, made jokes on the Scotch Professors' names, and argued points of ritual. Years ago Laud had seen James on his

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favourite stage. The king's manor at Woodstock brought him into the University region; he 'graciously received the Vice-'Chancellor of Oxon. together with the doctors, proctors, and 'heads of houses, at his manor of Woodstock.' The invitation was returned, and the king on his part 'accepted a solemn in-'vitation from the University, and performed in all manner of 'scholastic exercises, divinity, law, physic, and philosophy; in 'all of which he showed himself of such great abilities, that he 'might have governed in those chairs as well as all or any of his 'three professors.' Times had changed certainly on a more recent visit of royalty to the place; and George IV. did not adopt his erudite predecessor's model: whether frightened by a more formidable show of scholastic criticism and power, in the divinity professors of the present day than what the latter had to encounter, or for any other reason, we cannot say. James's was a harmless and simple style of affectation after all: it showed itself frankly, and had no concealments. He liked theology, and he liked mulled wine: he liked both for his own amusement and as pleasing cordials and recreations. He was of the nature of a puss in boots, and carried a flattering consciousness of the regal *cothurnus* about with him. The grace of the Stuart-character took a leap from the mother to the grandson, and passed over the personage in the middle. A more comfortable life than that of either, gave him the balance for the loss in a shape which he particularly appreciated; and he was amply compensated for a rather ungainly and ridiculous mediocrity of character by not having to fight, and not being beheaded. On the present occasion he was quite himself, and Laud had the benefit of his royal self-complacency. James, with the usual awkwardness, which always made him choose the most offensive form of speech for a suggestion, told the Scotch divines that 'he had brought some 'English theologians to enlighten their minds.'

Laud wedged his passage further and further through the dense mass, and found himself at last approaching something like a centre, and penetrating within the inner circle, in which stood the great man himself—the wielder of court power, the dispenser of court favours—Buckingham. A proximity once begun became rapidly closer, till the two fairly met, and Laud and Buckingham made a coalition.

The connexion of Laud and Buckingham is one of those odd juxtapositions, which people ordinarily account for by supposing an inconsistency in one or both of the parties in it. We do not think this necessary, at the same time fully recognising its striking, pungent, and comic grotesqueness. Laud and Buckingham, the grave Oxford scholar and the light-hearted 'Favourite,'—the very plume of court chivalry, and bright

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flourish of silk mantle and rapier and white feather, dashing manner frankness ease, swordsmanship duelling and dancing; and the stiff-set ecclesiastical figure, the physiognomy in the square cap, side by side, is certainly a picture! Buckingham is an odd companion and intimate for Laud, it is true: but then it is also true that men will form strange friendships when they have a public object in view. The public man, purely political or ecclesiastical, is forced upon a different class of connexions to what he would have had in private life, his very vocation brings him across the person, whoever he may be, who is the key to certain means and resources, the medium of approach to the particular position he wants. He finds him necessary; he makes himself convenient. The bargain is struck, and we have a political friendship formed; so far a political one only. However, once brought into connexion with him, upon whatever ground, the man is seen, the man is known: if he has fine qualities, they are recognised; and the mere fact of his company, places him in a favourable relation to you. Much intercourse between two persons, however it may have originated, if it only as a matter of fact takes place, must have its consequences: and if parties do not get to hate each other, they naturally get to like each other. Mutual convenience produces mutual heart. These mixed relations are in fact the commonest ones in the world, and persons are every day forming the private friendship upon the public. An ecclesiastical object brought Laud into contact with Buckingham, but being brought into contact with him, he saw, knew, and liked him. There was a great deal to like in Buckingham. Spoilt child of a Court, as he was, his mind had a generosity, openness, and transparency of its own. Clarendon mentions his entire 'want of dissimulation.'

To have much to do with persons of wholly different mould from yourself, is no enviable situation. However Laud may have taken to the work and got himself to like persons,—and Buckingham, he really was fond of,—the friendship was a creation of his own out of incongruous material, and was a work of mental art and labour. Endurance, vigilance, and self-command were implied in it. Charles, Strafford, and others, are not to be named with Buckingham; but they are instances of the same power in Laud; of wholly different stamped minds to his own, which one after another he got hold of. An ordinary temper does not like the exertion: it throws off another as soon as ever a symptom of incongeniality arises, and will not bear the burden of an external mind. The vicinity of difference is a yoke, and only another self is comfortable. A larger sympathy is more under discipline and command; is patient of

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barriers, and allows whole tracts of difference within its scope and domain. It sees through exteriors, surmounts obstacles, and bears the presence of the incongenial feature for the sake of the congenial one by its side.

It would be injustice to Laud and Buckingham's friendship, not to mention one point in it. The priest and the politician were joined in the knot which bound the two; and Laud was Buckingham's confessor. The commotions and intrigues of the court arena and the life diplomatical, which bore the great noble and the ecclesiastic along together, covered a deeper relation. A politician of the present day may think the combination a grotesque one, but it never seems to have entered either into Laud's or Buckingham's head to think it so. The same cabinet walls heard them scheme, and heard them talk religion; and the two statesmen dropped from the political attitude without effort, whenever they chose it, into that of the religious pupil and teacher. Laud, at the proper moment, put off the politician and put on the divine, and was grave and spiritual with the gay splendid duke. 'Whitsunday, June 9,' says the Diary, 'the Marquis of Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a nearer respect unto me, the particulars whereof are not for paper. —June 15, I become C. to my Lord of Buckingham.' 'Confessor,' says Heylyn. The modern biographer of Laud does not like 'confessor,' and makes C. stand for 'chaplain;' but it obviously means confessor: the whole context interprets it so; and Laud, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, as he was then, could hardly become a domestic chaplain to a nobleman. 'On the morrow after,' it follows, 'being Trinity Sunday, the marquis having thus pre-'pared himself received the sacrament at Greenwich.' In the midst of the turmoil of politics, we catch a glimpse of Buckingham on a sick bed, and Laud by his side. 'He was extreme impatient 'of his fits till Laud came to visit him, by whom he was so charmed 'and sweetened, that at first he endured his fits with patience, 'and by that patience did so break their heats and violence, that 'at last they left him.' Laud improved the occasion, and made Buckingham take in a considerable share of theology. He was made to understand distinctions—to see the doctrinal differences between the Puritans and the Church. 'The duke had a desire 'to learn the heads of doctrinal Puritanism, and he served him 'in it.' The treasury was desperately empty, and a project was on foot to alienate the lands of the Charterhouse, for the maintenance of the army. Laud dissuaded Buckingham from it. The notices in the Diary let us into a department altogether behind the scenes, and odd mysterious fragments come across us; 'Jan. 11. My Lord of Buckingham and I in the inner chamber 'at York House. *Quod est Deus Salvator noster Jesus Christus;*'

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a Sunday-night talk on the supernatural world:—'The discourse which my lord duke had with me about witches and astrologers.' Buckingham was a mixture. The man of gaiety and court license had a religious element in his character, and was deeply attached to a devout mother. The Roman Catholics tried to turn the family stream into their own church. Laud kept the duchess back a long time, and brought her back once, but she slipped his hold at last. The duke was near following his mother. The prayers in the Breviate, '*pro Duce Buckinghamiæ*' show the religious interest which Laud took in him. He seems to have had a pleasure in eliciting what religion there was in the naturally generous but wild soil, to have wished to make his fascinating scholar as good a boy as might be, to have had a quiet power over him, and been able to calm, soothe, and attract the wayward mind of the princely child.

The alliance of Laud and Buckingham once struck up, Laud was always at his side, was his adviser and assister, helped him through the scrape, supplied his place by the royal ear when he was gone, kept up his influence, and prevented rivals starting. Ciphers and mysterious signs passed between them, and an invisible cabinet enclosed the pair. Laud did not do anything by halves; and once a politician, he threw himself into the character. He entered deep into court struggles; into diplomacy, domestic and foreign; watched parliament, and watched the king. He got a good share of the duke's odium, and the affair of the Spanish match, and the expedition of Charles and Buckingham into Spain, brought popular feeling upon him. James's policy then was to please the Pope, who was to grant the dispensation for the match. The English recusants were consequently let off their fines; and the expressions of the royal controversialist, on the point of the Pope being Antichrist, were explained—he had only made the assertion argumentatively. The relief and the explanation were attributed to Laud, and the Spanish journey was reported to be a stratagem to convert the prince to Popery.

The crown was in perpetual want of money, and a war, or other extraordinary event, made national loans necessary. Laud, as the term was, 'tuned the pulpits,' a practice of Elizabethan origin: and the clergy received their instructions to lay before their congregations the hard case of 'our dear uncle, the King 'of Denmark, just brought into great straits by General Tilly,' who would be exceedingly obliged to them for liberal contributions to his cause, in which they were so extremely interested. The German Emperor was made the bugbear, and a break up of the balance of power, and a German march over the Continent, were predicted to the auditors, if his present designs on Den-

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mark succeeded; 'for if the Emperor of Austria once get Ger-
'many, he will be able, though he had no gold from India, to
'supply the necessity of those wars, and to hinder all trade and
'traffic of the greatest staple commodities of this kingdom, cloth
'and wool, and so make them of little or no value.' The majority of auditors would probably feel their connexion with Denmark but feebly, but the last appeal would, at any rate, tell on the imagination.

The secret ramifications of political life now begin to spread, and his feelers extend over the ground, touch here and there, and find out this man and the other. Connexions widen underground, and a mysterious world of acquaintance forms, and we explore with him the parts behind the scenes of the political stage. Alphabetical personages appear in the pages of his Diary, E. B., and C. D., A. H, and S. and T., with whom he has interviews, private engagements, compacts, pledges given and taken, and an issue awaited. A taste for the Eleusinian chambers, and hidden strata, of statesmanship, is a characteristic of Laud's; and his course to the last is perpetually dipping under, or retiring behind a screen, or sounding some depth, or following some cavernous winding. He, and the unknown X. Y. or Z., are seen in an obscure corner of the stage, standing together in mysterious attitude; and what they are talking about nobody knows; but it seems to be on some matter of deep interest to them, and signs and looks pass, and their faces have a serious expression. And they seem sometimes as if they could not understand one another, and parted in displeasure. 'My unfortunatenesses with T.—with S. S., M. S.'—'Ill hap with E.'—or, 'There I first knew what F. H. thought of me.' The balance is long trembling with K. B.—'*May* 29. My meeting and settling upon express
'terms with K. B., in the gallery at Greenwich, in which busi-
'ness God bless me.'—'*Jan.* 1. My being with K. B. this day,
'in the afternoon, troubled me much. God send me a good
'issue out of it.' There is a change, and 'K. B. and I came
'unexpectedly to a clearer declaration of ourselves, which God
'bless;' and then a relapse—'K. B. and I meet—the lowest
'ebb that ever I saw. I go away much troubled.' Another meeting, and 'All settled well again;' another, and 'An
'absolute settlement between me and K. B.' He notes down when he first saw a man, and when he begins to know him; and when he knows him better; and the mystic scale of sympathy has every line marked. These corners spring up everywhere, and he is in contact with half the Alphabet at once, with the ubiquity of a ghost—'*hic et ubique*,' would Hamlet have said—'a worthy pioneer—rest, rest, perturbed spirit.' He lives in a prolific world of occult life, and individual influences and

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conjunctions; and a diplomatic astrology spreads its filmy web over the scene.

Laud stood fast by Buckingham in his parliamentary battles, made him an able adviser, and, it is said, wrote his speeches. In the parliament of 1626, both houses, Commons and Lords, were combined against him: the Earl of Bristol attacked him in the upper house: the whole regiment of lawyers in the lower. 'Glanville, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland 'managed the case; the prologue was made by Sir Dudley 'Diggs, the epilogue by Sir John Eliot.' He was accused of engrossing offices, buying the places of lord admiral, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, and of not guarding the seas when he had got them; of 'staying the St. Peter of Newhaven, and 'the East India fleet, and lending the Vantguard to the French 'at the siege of Rochelle; of selling honours and offices, pro-'curing honours to his kinsfolk, of diminishing the revenues of 'the crown; and, lastly, applying physic to King James, in the 'time of his sickness.' Buckingham's answer to this curious House of Commons mixture of charges was cautious, temperate, and humble; strong in denying all particular facts, but balancing the denial with general professions of humility, and acknowledgments of deficiency. 'He acknowledged how easy a thing it 'was to him in his younger years, and inexperienced, to fall 'into thousands of errors. But still he hoped the fear of God, 'his sincerity in the true religion established in the Church of 'England (though accompanied with many weaknesses and 'imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily 'to confess), his carefulness not willingly to offend so good and 'gracious a master, and his love and duty to his country, had 'restrained and preserved him from running into any heinous 'misdemeanors and crimes. For his own part, he both hoped, 'and would daily pray, that for the future he might so watch 'over all his actions, both public and private, as not to give 'cause of just offence to any person.' Buckingham's new appearance in the penitential character astonished people not a little; the line of defence had not the look of being wholly a self-suggested one, and the sagacious immediately detected Laud's hand underneath. The speech, however, answered its purpose, and gained and softened many. 'The answer of the 'Duke,' says a contemporary, 'was so inlaid with modesty and 'humility, that it became a new grievance to his adversaries, 'and was like to have a powerful influence toward the conver-'sion of many who expected a defence of another and more dis-'dainful spirit.'

Two envious eyes, meantime, were fixed on the alliance; and Laud, cabineted with Buckingham, was an intolerable eyesore

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to the old Oxford enemy, Abbot, and the Lord Keeper Williams. 'There he sits,' says Abbot, 'privately whole hours with 'Buckingham, feeding his humours with malice and spite.' Abbot was the disgusted Puritan. Williams, calm and serpentine, writhed under the feelings of a supplanted rival.

Williams had long felt Laud in his way: on one occasion especially, when Abbot's unfortunate shot in Lord Zouch's Park at Bramsall, seemed to open a road to the primacy. Abbot became by that act 'a man of blood,' and fell under canonical disabilities. James, who enjoyed a theme of canonical disputation, instituted with promptness a commission, composed of bishops, judges, and doctors of laws, to sit on the offender; and while the unfortunate criminal retired to melancholy solitude in his native town Guildford, a variety of opinions were given. Sir Edward Coke looked on the matter with a lawyer's eye. On the question being propounded, 'Whether a Bishop might lawfully hunt in 'his own, or in any other park' (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty), that most profound lawyer returned this answer thereunto; viz. 'That by the law a Bishop 'at his death was to leave his pack of dogs (by the French 'called *Morte de chiens*, in some old records) to be disposed 'of by the king at his will and pleasure. And if the king was 'to have the dogs when the bishop died, there was no question 'to be made, but that the bishop might make use of them 'when he was alive.' Williams most characteristically wished to be lenient, but also wished for the Primacy, to which he looked forward on the first vacancy; and his letter was a model of significant ambiguity:—'I wish with all my heart his 'Majesty would be as merciful as ever he was in his life; but 'yet I hold it my duty to let his Majesty know, that his Majesty 'is fallen upon a matter of great advice and deliberation. To add 'affliction unto the afflicted is against the King's nature: To 'leave *virum sanguineum*, a man of blood, primate and patriarch 'of all his churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old 'councils and canons of the Church. The Papists will not 'spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the 'knot for his Majesty's deep wisdom to advise and resolve 'upon.' Laud and Bishop Andrewes thought Williams much the more formidable person of the two, and kept Abbot in his see, to prevent Williams getting it.

Cool and keen, absolutely unprincipled, and as slippery as an eel, Laud had a sort of dread of Williams, as of some subtle, malicious animal. He did not show it; but in his Diary Williams's evil eye seems to pursue him. 'Oct. 3, Friday. I 'was with my Lord Keeper; he was very jealous of L. B.'s 'favour.—Dec. 14. Tuesday night I did dream that the Lord

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'Keeper was dead; that I passed by one of his men that was 'about a monument for him. This dream did trouble me.— 'Dec. 27, St. John's day. I was with my Lord of Buckingham. 'I found that all went not right with my Lord Keeper.— 'Jan. 25. It was Sunday. I was alone, and languishing with 'I know not what sadness. I was much concerned with the 'envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper. 'I took into my hands the Greek Testament, that I might read 'the portion of the day. I lighted upon the thirteenth chapter 'to the Hebrews, wherein that of David, Psalm lvi., occurred 'to me, then grieving and fearing: *The Lord is my helper: I will 'not fear what man can do unto me.* I thought an example was 'set to me, and who is not safe under that shield? Protect me, 'O Lord my God!—Feb. 18, Wednesday. My Lord of Buck- 'ingham told me of the reconciliation and submission of my 'Lord Keeper, and that it was confessed unto him his favour to 'me was the chief cause. *Invidia quo tendis? &c. At ille de 'novo fœdus pepigit.*' Williams now lay in wait, and Laud had to watch him narrowly. He made some attempts at under-mining Buckingham, during the Spanish journey, which were failures: Laud, says Heylin, 'was not asleep.' He was nearer success on the next occasion. The parliament of 1625 wanted to make an example of some great official—the fashionable par-liamentary game then: Cranfield had been tried the parliament before; Bacon, the one before that. Williams now seemed a proper person to take in hand: he emulated Wolsey almost as a pluralist; being Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of Westminster, besides livings and prebendal stalls. He managed most artfully to convert his own danger into a gratification of his spleen. Parliament were more particular about their sport, than about the object of it: he recommended them Buckingham. The humility of the ground assigned was impressive: the Great Duke 'was a more noble prey, and fitter for such mighty 'hunters than a silly priest.' Parliament took the hint, and 'the great game was no sooner started, but they followed it 'with such an outcry, that the noise thereof came presently 'to his Majesty's ears.' Indeed, they were only torn from their prey by a dissolution.

Abbot meantime was surly and angry, called names, opposed for opposition's sake, and had his revenge as long as he could by keeping Laud out of the High Commission. The royal subsidies fell with disproportionate weight on the poorer clergy, and Laud had a scheme of relieving them, and Buckingham, as the representative of the State, agreed to it. The plan aimed at nothing more than this, and was no party effort whatever; even Williams concurring in it. Laud took it to Abbot

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for his approval, and was roughly asked, 'What he had 'to do to make any suit for the Church; that never any bishop 'attempted the like before, and that nobody would have done 'it but himself; that he had given the Church such a wound in 'speaking to any lord of the laity about it, as he would never 'make whole again.' He replied, very quietly, 'that he 'thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so 'did his betters too: that if his Grace thought otherwise he 'was sorry he had offended; but that he hoped he had done it 'out of a good mind; and for the support of many poor vicars 'abroad in the country; and, therefore, that his error might be 'pardonable, if it were an error.' Abbot played the churl; and Laud's disciplined courtesy and humility always put him in the wrong, and unseated him.

Laud's line towards opponents was the quiet effective one; not hurried or importunate, catching at advantages, leaping to success. At Oxford and at Court the same, one strong but quiet course, temper, vigilance, and perseverance, put aside obstacles, and cleared the road to power. Adversaries found themselves gradually displaced without the violence of an assault, and a moving influence insensibly elbowed and sidled them out of the field. The union of Buckingham and Laud was a nucleus of strength, creating a widening circle and atmosphere of its own around it. With his hold upon the centre, he was necessarily from his position the rising man. Williams bit at his heels, lay in ambuscade, crouched, and made his spring; he was suffered to go on opposing impeding and undermining, till his efforts became open, and he had fairly revealed himself: a disgrace at Court then ensued, and he retired to his diocese. Abbot growled morosely from his palace at Lambeth at the growing power, but he could only show his temper, and could do nothing. A cloud was upon him, and his name was tarnished. He retired savagely before the advancing power, scowling and muttering as he went; shut himself up in his palace with Calvinist chaplains, and secretaries, and gathered the disaffected around him. Midnight conclaves and a sepulchral focus and glare of Calvinism lit up the gloomy interior of Lambeth. 'Towards his death,' says Heylyn, 'he was not only discon-'tented himself, but his house was the rendezvous of all the 'malcontents in Church and State; that he turned midnight 'into noonday by constant keeping of candles lighted in his 'chamber and study; as also that such visitants as repaired unto 'him called themselves Nicodemites, because of their secret 'coming to him by night.' An uncomfortable inauspicious shade covers the character of the puritanical Archbishop, and he moves off the scene like a magician to his fastness, or a wild

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animal to its den. The keeper's ghost gibbered through his silent halls. The dark vapour gathered itself up and withdrew reluctantly from the incongenial sky. His death removed an evil eye from the scene, and Laud saw the career of one of his great opponents out; but he had not seen the last of Williams.

Meantime Laud had been the ecclesiastic, had risen to one post after another, the Deanery of Gloucester, the Bishopric of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and London, successively; and been active in Church restorations, and in the fiscal and other external departments of Church administration. As Dean of Gloucester he gave a specimen of what he wanted to do in Church external worship, and mortally offended the Bishop, Dr. Miles Smith, the great Hebrician, and one of the Bible translators; who 'protested unto the Dean and some of the 'prebends, that if such innovations were brought into that 'cathedral, he would never come more within those walls; 'which promise or protestation he is said to have made good, 'and not to have come within that church to his dying day.' The Bishop was certainly 'a man of great pertinacity' if he kept his word,—'the alteration being made in the decline of 'the year 1616, his palace standing near the walls of that 'cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624, which was eight 'years after.'

His episcopal journeys in his Welch diocese do not appear to have had the advantage of the comfortable smoothness of modern roads. —'August 24, Wednesday. The festival of 'St. Bartholomew. I came safely (thanks be to God) to my 'own house at Aberguille, although my coach had been twice 'that day overturned between Abermarkes and my house. 'The first time I was in it, but the second time it was empty.' His new chapel at Aberguilly comes in, in the Diary. His active ecclesiastical eye, meantime, was carried up and down, and everywhere over the kingdom; and from the public centre where he lived, he suggested plans of church improvements, and threw out hints, acted much in the capacity of Archbishop, in Abbot's retirement, and was, in fact, virtual Archbishop before he actually succeeded to the place.

Laud was in a position now to rise to the top, at the first regular opening: and the head which had long guided in the background only waited for the call of circumstances to place it in the front. A melancholy opening arrived: the Duke of Buckingham's assassination at Portsmouth made a successor necessary; and Laud was called to the head of affairs, and became the chief adviser of royalty, or, in the language of the present day, prime-minister. The metropolitan throne became vacant by Abbot's death.

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Laud succeeded, as a matter of course, and the salutation of 'My Lord's Grace of Canterbury' was his next greeting from the royal lips. Minor honours flowed in thick. The Chancellorship of Oxford had fallen vacant: Laud succeeded, as a matter of course: circumstances pointed him out. The Chancellorship of Dublin fell vacant: Laud succeeded: circumstances pointed him out. Circumstances pointed him out for posts of power and influence as soon as they fell in. He had made himself necessary, and things could not go on without him. The official development was the natural result of what he had gone through; the evolution of the bud, the necessary expansion of the force and spring that had been collecting. Laud began to smile at his own official ubiquity, and only reluctantly yielded to Strafford's urgency in accepting the last post. 'I think you 'have a plot to see, he writes, whether I will be *Universalis* '*Episcopus*, that you and your brethren may take occasion to call 'me Antichrist.' He is amused with Strafford's assuming stiffness to him, and treating him as a great man. 'So you are not well enough acquainted with Lambeth,' he writes. Strafford on his elevation, like a true gentleman, refrained from the ordinary freedom and humour with which he corresponded with Laud, and waited to be invited before he resumed it. Laud rallies him on the subject, 'You are afraid that some sour ghost 'walks there—you have not given me one word of your wonted 'recreation.'

Laud now had to act the minister; to entertain kings and nobles, and gather a court scene about him. The stream of public visitors poured in and out of his doors—

> ——— 'foribus domus alta superbis
> Mane salutantum totis vomat ædibus undam.'

The levee, and the interview, the arrival of messengers, and the announcements of important news foreign and domestic, men at arms and horsemen, enlivened and disturbed the interior of Lambeth. He had to wink at some lighter departments of court life. He lived in a court of masques and theatricals, and gay formalities: they were the order of the day, and had succeeded to the tournament and field of arms. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, and Milton's Comus, poetry and sentimentality, sense and nonsense, assumed the masquerading form; and eclogues and bucolics were the vents of courtly humour and taste: princesses figured as shepherdesses, and dukes and barons as herdsmen. Laud was supposed especially to encourage these frivolities by his puritan assailants, and called sharply to account for it. The 'professors' throughout the country set upon him, and reprimanded him for carnality of mind and love of the world. *Prynne's Hystriomastix* came out, and a most

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furious piece of vituperation indeed it was, dragging king and court, the queen and her ladies of honour before the bar as shocking and notorious profligates. The four inns of court took the matter up, and determined to show that Prynne did not represent them on this point. 'The gentlemen of the four 'societies presented their Majesties with a pompous and magni-'ficent masque, to let them see that Prynne's leaven had not 'soured them all, and that they were not poisoned with the same 'infection.' The exhibition 'gave such contentment to his 'sacred Majesty that he desired them to make a representation 'of it to the city of London.' The masque accordingly was repeated, 'to the delight of the people,' and the principle of masques was triumphantly vindicated, and carried public opinion with it. Laud stood up for them on a utilitarian view. He had been used to them, he said, at St. John's, and could assert that the dramatic exercises were of use to the young men, strengthened the memory, 'trained them in the art of speaking, 'and taught them confidence.'

As Chancellor of Oxford, an especial act of magnificence devolved upon him. In 1636 he had to go down to Oxford with his retinue of fifty horse, and entertain the king, queen, and court, in his academical domain, which he did with a sumptuousness and splendour that made a sensation. Heylyn's description is written with *goût* :—

'He invited the king and the queen, the prince elector and 'his brother, to an academical entertainment on the 29th of 'August, being the anniversary day on which the Presidentship 'of St. John's College was adjudged to him by king James. 'The time being come and the University put in a posture for 'that royal visit, their Majesties were first received with an 'eloquent speech, as he passed by the House, being directly in 'his way from Woodstock to Christ Church, not without great 'honour to the college that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord 'Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of 'the Proctors should be at that time of the same foundation. 'At Christ Church his Majesty was entertained with another 'oration by Strode, the University orator; the University pre-'senting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of gloves (as 'their custom was) the queen with a fair English Bible, the 'prince elector with Hooker's books of ecclesiastical polity, his 'brother Rupert with Cæsar's Commentaries in English, illus-'trated by the learned explanations and discourses of Sir 'Clement Edmonds. His Majesty was lodged in Christ Church 'in the great hall (one of the goodliest in the world). He was 'entertained, together with the queen, the two princes and the 'rest of the court, with an English comedy, but such as had

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'more of the philosopher than the poet in it, called the '"Passions Calmed," or the "Settling of the Floating 'Islands." On the morrow morning, being Tuesday, he began 'with a sermon, preached before him in that cathedral from 'these words of St. Luke—"Blessed is the king that cometh in 'the name of the Lord."' [Whoever the preacher was we do not 'exactly commend his text. These texts were too much the 'fashion then.] 'The sermon being ended, the Archbishop as 'Chancellor of the University calls a convocation, in which he 'admits the prince elector, his brother prince Rupert, and many 'of the chiefs of the nobility to the degree of Master of Arts, 'and that being done attends the king and queen to St. John's 'College: where in the new gallery of his own building, he 'entertains the king and queen, the two princes, with all the 'lords and ladies of the court, at a stately and magnificent 'dinner; the king and queen sitting at one table at the north 'end of the room; the two princes, with the lords and ladies at 'a long table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at 'which all the gallantry and beauty of the kingdom seemed to 'meet. After dinner he entertained his principal guests with a 'pleasant comedy, presented in the public hall; and that being 'done attends them back again to Christ Church, where they 'were feasted after supper with another comedy called the '"Royal Slave;" the interludes represented with as much variety 'of scenes and motions, as the great wit of Inigo Jones (surveyor 'general of his Majesty's works, and excellently well skilled 'in setting out a court masque to the best advantage) could 'extend unto. It was the day of St. Felix (as himself observeth) 'and all things went happily. On Wednesday, the next morn-'ing, the court removed, his Majesty going that same night to 'Winchester, and the Archbishop the same day entertaining all 'the heads of houses at a solemn feast: order being given at 'his departure, that the three comedies should be acted again, 'for the content and satisfaction of the University.'

The affair was successful. Laud was a good manager; internally grumbling however at the great bore and trouble it was, and truly happy when it was over,—well over. 'I will not 'detain you,' writes Strafford at the time, 'as you are busied 'with small matters at Oxford.' ''Tis most true,' replies Laud, with the feeling of a recent experience, 'the matters are small in 'themselves, but to me they have been great. I am most 'heartily glad they are over.'

But though masques and entertainments were not exactly in Laud's line, he had, as a genuine patron of learning and literature, a common ground with a well-informed Court, and an accomplished and literary monarch. The Stuart Court was

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clever and intellectual. Charles was a connoisseur in art and a scientific man, liked chemistry, had his laboratory, and experimentalized. The gallery at Whitehall bid fair to be the first in Europe: the king was himself an artist and handled the brush, and his artistical friendship with Rubens and Vandyke, spread an atmosphere of taste around it. The court was the sphere of natural philosophy, elegance, literature, and art. Laud was no judge of pictures like his friend Strafford, or Charles; but he had thoroughly imbibed the literary tone of the day in his own line. He found out men of learning, encouraged the growth of recondite information, collected manuscripts and coins; sent out Pocock to the east. He enriched the library at Oxford with Hebrew, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Armenian, Chinese, Greek, Italian, French, Latin, and old English manuscripts. He endowed a professorship of Arabic, and annexed a canonry to the professorship of Hebrew; and another canonry to the public oratorship, as a stimulus to the art of rhetoric. He procured for the Universities the privilege of printing bibles, which had hitherto been engrossed by the king's stationers. He set the Oxford press going on a more systematic plan, and set up a Greek press in London. His idea of a University was an enlarged one, a place of *generale studium*, a general field of learning and science; and his mind went upon the large basis, of encouraging and appreciating all departments, and all sorts of men, even where he had no acquaintance of his own with the subject.

Laud's court line, indeed, and liberal view of society, brings occasionally men to Lambeth that make us rather stare. Court wits of a brilliant, but rather lax stamp, found their way there, and Lord Conway seems to have had a particular *penchant* for the Archbishop. The mixed external connexion with men of the world was carried on a large scale, and he was ready for anybody that came. And a great many did come, and court jokers carried themselves and their jokes to Lambeth, and jostled with the men of business and secretaries. All made a whole together, and went into his reservoir.

An esoteric life accompanied the public one in Laud. It is the peculiar calling of some devotional minds to be able to throw themselves into the character of the able man of the world, as a distinct phase of mind which does not affect its real internal state. The mediæval prelates were politicians because they were churchmen, and the ascent to power and the atmosphere of a court did not interfere with true sacerdotal sanctity. Laud's devotional character was of the peculiarly ecclesiastical mould—formal and systematic, simple and penitential. The bible in his study, with the five wounds of Christ upon the binding, the gift of a religious

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lady, which was brought up against him at his trial—his feeling for the crucifix—his chapels, oratories, consecrations of churches and altars, sacramental chalices—his bowings, prostrations before the altar—his constant references to saints' days—his almsgiving, fasting, canonical hours of devotion—his prejudice for clerical celibacy—show that peculiar religious shape of mind. "Seven 'times a day do I pray unto Thee, because of Thy righteous 'judgments.' The seven hours of the Church were his hours of prayer, and gave, constantly recurring short respites and pauses to his life of intense activity. His first act as a parish priest was to apportion an annual allowance from the living to twelve poor men. The poor of Reading were especially in his thoughts. 'Jan. 1.' we read in the Diary, 'The way to do the town of 'Reading good for their poor, which may be compassed by God's 'blessing upon me, though my wealth be small; and I hope 'God will bless me in it, because it was His own motion in me; 'for this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much 'beaten them about) till this night, as I was at my prayers. 'Amen, Lord.' The poor at Lambeth fed upon his charity, and assembled in hundreds to take their farewell of him when he was summoned to his trial. There is an appearance of simple interest in his poor flock there, in the way in which he casually notices the 'great wind at Lambeth,' and how 'many of the poor water-'men at Lambeth had their boats tumbled up and down, and 'broken in pieces.' The Lent fast was specially observed in the household at Lambeth, and the Lords of the High Commission heard his regrets that the 'merit of fasting' had so died away in the country.

A deeply penitential tone appears in his religious memoranda. The memory of one ecclesiastical offence that he had committed at a very early part of his life, stuck to him to the last, and the day on which he had, contrary to the Church's canons, married Lord Mountjoy to the divorced Lady Rich (St. Stephen's day), was observed as an annual day of fasting and humiliation. Lord Mountjoy had fallen deeply in love with that lady, when her family compelled her to marry Lord Rich; and the result was unfaithfulness on her part, and a divorce. Laud was a young clergyman then; he yielded to urgent entreaties, and married the guilty pair. Prynne, who could not understand the strong language of self-condemnation which a sensitive conscience is apt to use before God in prayer or in private memoranda, thought that some horrible, unutterable crime was alluded to in the expressions of guilt and anguish with which Laud referred to this act. 'My cross about the 'Earl of Devon's marriage, Dec. 26, 1605. Die Jovis.—*O Deus* '*meus, respice, servum tuum et miserere mei secundum viscera*

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'*misericordiæ tuæ*'—it is his Latin prayer—'I am become a 'scandal to Thy name, serving my own ambition, others' sins. 'Others persuaded, but my own conscience loudly forbad me. 'Let not this marriage divorce my soul from Thy bosom. Ah! 'how much better had I suffered martyrdom with Thy proto-'martyr upon his commemoration day, than done the pleasure 'of too faithless, careless friends. I promised myself darkness 'in my crime, but lo! it flew out; I became more open than 'the daylight. So didst Thou choose, of Thy undeserved mercy 'to me, to fill my face with shame, that I might learn to seek 'Thy name. Even to this day, after so often-repeated prayers, 'and sorrow and confusion of soul, again and again poured out 'before Thee, my sin weighs heavily.' The prayer goes on to allude to another sin 'which, on the very same day of the year, 'I fell into, not made humble or cautious enough by the first. 'I am not stoned for my sins, but stoned by them. Now raise 'me up again, that I die no more, but live, and living rejoice 'in Thee.' Some particular sin marks two other days in his book of devotions. 'Julii 28, 1617. Die Lunæ.'—and below is added, 'Et Martii 6, 1641. I wandered out of my 'way from Thee into a foul and strange path. Thou madest 'me see both my folly and my weakness.' Dangers and accidents which happened gave him the idea that he had committed some sins of which God was reminding him; that he had not been living strictly enough, and that these were calls to greater strictness and severity with himself.—'St. John's College on fire under 'the staircase in the chaplain's chamber, by the library. Sept. 26 'and July 28, days of observation to me. *O misericors Pater,* '*quo me vertam.* I, who going out and coming in, have sinned 'against Thee. *Abii cum prodigo prodigus in longinquam re-*'*gionem. Dissipavi substantiam meam, tuam luxuriose.* Then 'first I felt all spent, and me meet only for the companionship 'of swines. Yet did not even that unclean life, and famine of 'Thy grace, make me think of returning. Returned from an 'inauspicious journey, lo! now, Thy judgments, Lord, pursue 'me. The fire catches the roof under which I dwell. The Lord 'heard, and was wroth: so the fire was kindled in Jacob, and 'there came up heavy displeasure against Israel. For my wicked-'ness, I doubt not, conflagration threatened my college and me; 'for while I was intent on extinguishing the fire, I had very 'near risk of being extinguished by it. But lo! Thy mercy, O 'Lord, snatched me by a miracle out of the flame; for while a 'friendly hand by me pulled me by force away, the spot where 'else I was going to put my foot burst out with the flame; the 'stairs sank, and I should have gone with them. *O peccata* '*mea, nunquam satis deflenda! O misericordia tua, Domine,*

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'*nunquam satis prædicanda! O pœnitentia nunquam mihi magis necessaria! O Gratia tua, Domine, humillime et jugiter imploranda!* I rise, O Lord and Father, I come: with slow and feeble step I come, I confess to Thee. Make me what Thou wilt, but only Thine; and as the terror of that instant did, so let its memory ever burn out the dregs and refuse of my sins, and be within me a fire of charity and devotion, flaming up with flames of love to Thee.'—'Feb. 5, 1628, [he broke a sinew on a journey,] '*die Martis tendonem fregi, et iter.*' The Latin prayer explains. He has the Augustinian way of putting the account of his accidents in the form of addresses to God. '*O Domine Misericors,* Thy blessed name be glorified. As I was travelling with the king upon duty, forgetful of Thee and human accidents, and full of self-confidence, I trod upon treacherous earth, and broke my sinew. I was lifted into a carriage, and taken to Hampton. My nerves felt excruciating torture. I should have certainly fallen into a raging fever, had not an efflux of blood relieved me. I laboured under great weakness, and walked lame for two years. I feel some infirmity still; but, immortal thanks to Thee, O most blessed Trinity, Thou didst restore me the perfect use of my feet, and strengthened my goings. Direct them now, O Lord, in the way of Thy commandments, that I halt not between the world and Thee. I will run the way of Thy testimonies, when Thou hast set my heart at liberty. Defer not, I pray, my heart's liberty, my foot's establishment in Thy righteousness.'

There is something in his dreams which looks the same way. Fragmentary, queer, and grotesque as they are, they have a simple sweetness in them at times which make them look like signs of the man: they breathe an amiableness of heart, unfold a quiet devotional scenery, and have an ethical air about them. It is rather an indulgent sentiment, but we are inclined to say that good dreams are much truer signs of a man than bad dreams are; that the one do not tell against him in at all the same proportion in which the others tell in his favour. We think good people may have bad dreams, be in a passion, and behave themselves extravagantly and outrageously in their sleep; but that bad people cannot well have good ones. There are certain ideas and forms of feeling which come out in dreams, which cannot come out there if the mind itself has them not in the first instance; moral scenes which the mind could not enter into and appreciate even in sleep, unless it had an internal taste for them. Dreams indeed, to quote Lands own dictum, 'are not in the power of him that hath them, but in the unruliness of the fancy, which in broken sleep wanders which way it pleases, and shapes what it pleases;' but they

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may at the same time be unconscious indications of character, the more genuine even for being so. The favoured sleeper sees forms and countenances before him in winning attitudes and expressions, friendly faces of living or departed, figures smiling or beckoning, standing, or leaning, or passing by, or in quiet domestic circle, or in garden group around him;—visitors they seem from a calmer world, yet not sepulchral but genial ones; he feels at home, he looks around him, or goes up to one and then another with modest curiosity; he follows the moving imagery, and imbibes the dream's pictorial solaces and calm. True, these dreamy creations come of themselves, and he did not raise them, yet they had their origin within and not out of himself, and the mind has a property in them, if it owns and ratifies them in its waking state. The spontaneous scenery, and interior world which sleep lights up, are then its own, and memory appropriates them. The mind dwells afterwards on what it saw, the gentle look, and glance serene, and marvellous expression that drew the eye towards it, and touched an inner spring and finer chord, and called up new and fragrant sensations in the admiring dreaming mind.

We say an affectionate and devotional character appears in Laud's dreams. We mean that if we dropped suddenly upon them any where, and knew nothing of the person, we should say he was a good man—kind and tender-hearted, concerned for those who were connected with him, and were about him. He has his relations, friends, and servants, in his thoughts, and he sees them in his dreams. Friends smile and foes frown upon him in his dreams; and the new friendship and lately-formed connexion with E. B., C. D., and the rest of his mysterious alphabet, is going on well or ill. In either case he dreams about them; and sees the cheering or the saddening look. Dreams are part of his society—vents to his mind, his journal-confidants. They express some deep religious state of mind.—'Sunday 'night. My dream of my Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus 'Christ. One of the most comfortable passages I ever had 'in my life'—or some vague melancholy one—'I dreamed 'of the burial of I know not whom, and that I stood by the 'grave. I awaked sad.' His father and mother appear to him.—'Epiphany-eve. In the night I dreamed that my 'mother, long since dead, stood by my bed, and drawing 'aside the clothes a little, looked pleasantly upon me; and that 'I was glad to see her with so merry an aspect. She then 'showed me a certain old man long since deceased; whom when 'alive I both knew and loved. He seemed to lie upon the 'ground, merry enough, but with a wrinkled countenance. His 'name was Grove. While I was preparing to salute him I

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'awoke.'——'Jan. 24, Friday. At night I dreamed that my 'father (who died forty-six years ago) came to me, and to my 'thinking he was as well and cheerful as ever I saw him. He 'asked me what I did here? And after some speech I asked him 'how long he would stay with me? He answered that he 'would stay till he had me away with him. I am not moved with 'dreams, yet I thought fit to remember this.' His old friend King James appears—'I saw him only passing by swiftly. He 'was of a pleasant and serene countenance. In passing he saw 'me, beckoned to me, smiled, and was immediately withdrawn 'from my sight.' We encounter the suspicions and apprehensions of public life—'Dr. Theodore Prince admonished 'me concerning Ma. 3, and that he was unfaithful to me, 'and discovered all he knew: and that I should take heed of 'him and trust him no more'—and its cheerful side—'Toward the morning I dreamed that L. M. St. came to me 'the next day, and showed me all the kindness I could ask.' It follows—'L. M. St. *did* come to me, and was very kind to 'me, the next day.' The dream was fulfilled, but he adds, '*Somniis tamen haud multum fido.*' A dream about an old servant has a remarkable coincidence attending it.—'This 'morning, between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton 'Court, I dreamed that I was going out in haste, and that when 'I had come to my outer chamber, there was my servant Will. 'Pennel, in the same riding-suit which he had on, on that day 'sevennight at Hampton Court with me. Methought I wondered 'to see him (for I left him sick at home), and asked him how 'he did, and what he made there. And that he answered me he 'came to receive my blessing; and with that fell on his knees. 'That herewith I prayed over him, and therewith awaked.' It follows—'When I was up I told this to them of my chamber, 'and added that I should find Pennel dead or dying. My coach 'came; and when I came home I found him past sense, and 'giving up the ghost. So my prayers, as they have frequently 'before, commended him to God.' Laud's kind of parental relation for those under him, and feeling for old acquaintances, and old servants, and all about him, is a great feature in him; and we see when—'my ancient friend Mr. Pearshall,' dies, and when 'Mr. Adam Forbes, my ancient, loving, and faithful 'servant and steward, who had served me full forty-two years, 'died, to my great loss and grief;' and when 'my ancient friend 'E. R. came and performed great kindnesses to me, which I can 'never forget.' And the conversion of Kenelm Digby to Rome is annoying to him on account of the fact, but especially because he never told Laud of his intention beforehand, whose old friendship had a right to know it.

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Or we turn to his patronage of religious minds, and anxiety to secure the benefit of their services to the Church—and see him the ordainer of Nicolas Ferrar and George Herbert; putting Jeremy Taylor into All Souls; promoting Cosens and others. He met Herbert at Wilton House, who had been oscillating in his mind long between the Court and the priesthood. A conversation with Laud had the effect immediately of sending for the tailor from Salisbury to cut him out a canonical suit. Cosens's hours of devotion for the court ladies, were an attempt to supply the regularity of devotional exercises which the Roman Catholic ladies about Henrietta Maria had, and take away a religious scandal from the English Court.

His patronage of the Ferrar family, and the devotional establishment at Little Gidding, was marked. We know pretty well what would be thought of such a religious retreat now; a domestic monastery of the strictest rule, where the whole Psalter was recited every twenty-four hours, and prayer never stopped night or day. Nicolas Ferrar slept on bearskin on the boards, in a loose frieze gown, rose always at midnight, and watched in his oratory three nights of the week. We do not want to make invidious comparisons, but would not men in station now be found to look rather coldly upon such a place? and among the mass what suspicions, black looks, ominous gestures, and shakes of the head would arise on the subject. People would be divided between the hypothesis of superstition and insanity to account for the phenomenon: King and Court would not, of course, know of its existence. Imagine, indeed, the royal suite now going out of their way to see such a place—'The King and the Prince, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles staying a morning there'—visiting chapel, hall, and looking into all the corners. The younger members of the Court were not quite so grave as their seniors. The 'young lords went into the buttery, and there found 'apple pies and cheese cakes, and came out with pieces in their 'hands, laughing, to the prince; and—"Sir, will your Highness 'taste?"' Charles, especially, admired the old poor widows' alms-houses, and their clean wainscoted well-rubbed rooms—'God's blessing upon the founders of it'—and turning to the Palsgrave, 'Time was you would have thought such a lodging 'not amiss.' The Palsgrave entirely assented. A nice speech accompanied the five gold pieces he then took out of his pocket, for the benefit of the poor widows,—'It is all I have, else they 'should have more,' [these he had won the night before of the Palsgrave, at cards, at Huntingdon, says the document,] 'tell 'them to pray for me.' After walking and talking, His Majesty finds the evening closing in. 'It grows late, the sun is

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'going down—we must away.' So 'their horses were brought 'to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men 'and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless 'and defend him from his enemies.' He took off his hat, 'Pray, 'pray, for my speedy return again,' he said, and then rode away.

Laud patronized Little Gidding, and showed great affection to young Nicolas Ferrar, who came up to Court with presents of the home-manufactured volumes of the Gidding press, and binding-shop. Annual compliments of this kind passed between Charles and the Ferrars: as soon as he had one book, he was so pleased with it, that he insisted on having another. The 'purple velvet, gilt,' the 'green velvet, gilt,' the 'great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound,' were highly appreciated; and 'glorious,' 'diamonds,' 'jewels,' 'precious stones,' 'crystals,' came thick from the royal mouth, as the ornature was inspected. He read the books, (one was 'A Harmony of the Gospels;' another of the 'Kings and Chro- 'nicles,') and made marginal notes. Young Nicolas came up to London on one of these occasions of a presentation, and went straight, as he had directions to do, to 'My Lord of Canter- 'bury.' Conducted into the Archbishop's presence, he 'knelt 'down, craved his blessing, and kissed his hand.'—'My lord 'embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some 'salutes,' had the book shown him, and was enchanted. Nicolas had to prepare himself for presentation to the King next day. Next day, Maundy Thursday, the Archbishop led his young *protégé* into a room where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. 'What, have you brought with 'you those rarities and jewels you told me of?'—'Yes, here is 'the young gentleman and his works.' The Archbishop led him by the hand up to the king; the box was opened, and the whole party were full of admiration. The book was the 'Gos- 'pel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight 'several languages;' all the undivided learning of young Ferrar himself. Charles was astonished, asked the youth's age, and resolved on the spot to send him to Oxford, at his own expense. 'But what a pity,' said Charles, when the youth had retired, 'was that impediment in his tongue!' Laud did not think so; for if the young gentleman had had the full use of his natural tongue, the chance was, he would not have gained so many written ones. Lord Holland recommended pebbles; Charles had tried pebbles himself, and found they did no good; he should learn to sing, and would find singing a good cure.—The same envoy brought a book for Prince Charles, too; the pretty pictures made a great sensation. 'Will you

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'not make me such another fine book?' said the little Duke of York—'Do.' Certainly his Grace 'should have one without fail.' 'But how long will it be before I have it?' 'Very soon.' 'Yes, but how long will that be?—tell the ladies at Gidding to be quick.' Young Ferrar was then introduced at the court table, and dined with 'divers young lords, the Duke of Buckingham, and others.'

The Archbishop, at parting, the next day, informed him of the king's good intentions, and filled his young mind with a grand object for his Oxford career. 'The king would have 'this work of the New Testament in twenty-four languages,' and Nicolas Ferrar was to be the editor of the grand polyglott, and to have all the help of the learning of the nation at his command. 'The youth, kneeling down, took the Archbishop by the 'hand, and kissed it. The Archbishop took him up in his arms, 'and laid his hand upon his cheek, and earnestly besought God 'Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him 'every day more and more for an instrument of his glory here upon 'earth, and a saint in heaven. God bless you! God bless you! 'I have told your father what is to be done for you after the 'holidays. God will provide for you better than your father 'can. God bless you, and keep you.' Young Ferrar was cut off before he fulfilled the Archbishop's predictions. A premature intellect had undermined his health, and he died not long after this scene.

We must return to our subject. Laud, now Archbishop and Premier, and, in the full swing of official magnificence, had no thought of the *otium cum dignitate* in his head. Thirty years of hard continuous work at Oxford and at Court, had cemented him; he was too old to change; he had cast his own mould, and it was a good hard one. The regions of damask, velvet, and crimson glow—the increased rich air of station—the 'violet blue and full-blown roses,' and soft, encircling pomp and cushioning fumes, embraced a very tough insensible material in him. The sterling, wiry mind went on working in its own hole, stuck to its objects, pushed for results, and saw, in the ramifications of office, simply channels of employment, and nothing more. The pure, unalloyed, practical view excluded the idle, self-important one. Laud was sixty-two when he was made Archbishop, and he was then in the very thick of the struggle, and had the world before him. Still further and further,—further from the Archbishop than from the President of St. John's, fled the inward consummation and the *præmium virtutis*, the elysium of the official mind, the blushing and the blossoming, the state when cares are pleasures and duties treats, and the happy conscience and the

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satisfied taste expand over their department of genial exertion and dignity; and the choice nest warms under the maternal wing, and the sunbeams glitter on the garden-plot. O happy, indescribable state of ministerial, parliamentary, judicial, magisterial, episcopal, archidiaconal, collegiate, parochial efflorescence; union of peace, plenty, and virtue, oil and perfume of the soul, development of life, and climax of man! and ill-fated person he who does not contrive to get admittance within your sacred enclosure, especially if he has been so presumptuous as to decline it! The wide ocean rages outside of you, clouds lower, and restless illimitableness distresses the eye. And triple brass for him, 'who can love to hear the winds roar, and calmly gaze on 'floating monsters, and a swollen sea, and those dreadful rocks, 'the Acroceraunia.'

Melancholy forebodings sounded in Laud's ear as he entered upon his archiepiscopal course, and a determination to go through with everything mingled with a kind of gloom and hopelessness as to how it would all end. 'My lord,' is his answer to Strafford's congratulations, 'I thank you heartily for your kind wishes 'to me, that God would send me many and many happy days 'where I am now to be: Amen. I can do little for myself, if I 'cannot say so. But truly, my lord, I look for neither: not for 'many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not 'for happy, for I have no hope to do the good I desire. And, 'besides, I doubt I shall never be able to hold my health there 'one year; for instead of all the jolting which I have had over 'the stones between London-house and Whitehall, which was 'almost daily, I shall now have no exercise, but slide over in a 'barge to the Court and Star Chamber. And in truth, my lord, 'I speak seriously; I have had a heaviness hanging over me 'ever since I was nominated to the place, and I can give myself 'no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that 'there is more expected from me than the craziness of these 'times will give me leave to do.'—'Methinks I see a cloud 'arising, and threatening the Church of England; God, of His 'mercy, dissipate it,' was the notice of his Diary years ago, as soon as the House of Commons war with Montague began. With the reader's permission we will go back an interval, and take him to the scene. The theological war had begun sometime before, upon the national field; and a series of collisions between Laud and the House of Commons ushered in the contest, which afterwards overwhelmed Church and State. It is curious to see the first stages of a great struggle.

Mr. Richard Montague was a fellow of Eton College, and Prebendary of Windsor; an able and a learned man. The

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acuteness, point, and clearness which his controversial writings show, give him, notwithstanding a too unchastised form in which he clothes them, an undoubted rank as a man of talent. Some Jesuits had found their way into his parish, with a tract against the English Church,—'A new Gag for an old Gospel.' Montague answered it by showing that the doctrines of the English Church were much higher than the assailants had given her credit for, and issued the 'Gagger.' The 'Gagger' came under the criticism of other eyes than those of Jesuits, and its statement of Church of England doctrines irritated the puritanical party, who saw in them simple unqualified popery: and Montague was threatened with an arraignment before a most formidable theological tribunal.

This tribunal was the House of Commons. We do not at this day regard the honourable house as much of a theological body, nor does it consider itself so. It was different then. The House of Commons was a Calvinistic body then—not Calvinists individually, perhaps one-tenth part of them, or caring enough about it—but a Calvinistic *body*. Bodies come to act under certain influences as bodies. Corporations, boards, commissions, parliaments, admit some active element into them which gradually rises, and gets itself looked up to, sets the standard, and lays down the law. Bodies subject themselves to a ruling spirit, which, even where it is not felt, is deferred to among its members, as a matter of course; and the aggregate, as such, takes that line, and seems to have a character and soul of its own independent of its individual parts. The House of Commons, as a body, adopted puritanism: in adopting puritanism, it adopted the popular, the vigorous, the ambitious religious principle of the day. The House of Commons represented the political element in the nation, and was then making its first approaches to that gigantic power to which it has since attained—that supremacy of earth and human will which has stamped the sad, though magnificent career of English politics. It represented the State pure with its natural instinctive antipathy to Church power, and it saw in puritanism the instrument for crushing it. With that sharpness of instinct with which a political movement catches at the convenient stepping-stone for its own objects, the House of Commons threw itself into the puritanical mould, and became Calvinistic on the same principle on which it is now latitudinarian. It gathered into it the strength, passion, and impulse of the nation, and became the centre and rallying-point of a new and intense world of feeling and power that had risen up. It became a regularly theological assembly. That 'lower depth' of hypocrisy, by which the

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powers of earth actually contrive to believe their own religious adoption, and fondle the base instrument, was attained to. It discussed doctrines, prosed, preached, and exhorted, and displayed all manner of unction. It was the Exeter-Hall of the present day, and the 'godly' M. P. threw up his eyes at the very mention of popery, and congratulated himself and the rest of the 'godly' honourable house, that they were not members of Antichrist. Sympathetic compliments passed between the 'godly' House and the 'godly' out of the House; and there were pious diplomatic connexions with nonconformist ministers. The House believed in predestination. The House was powerful on the subject of free grace. The House loved the pure Gospel. The House grieved for the hardness of the human heart, and the opposition of the natural man to truth. The House was severe on the worldliness of prelates. The House was a religious prig of the first order. Heylyn has his laugh, and facetiously attributes these pretensions to the impression which their session in the Divinity School at Oxford made on them:—'The Divinity School was prepared for the 'House of Commons, and a chair made for the speaker, in or 'near the place in which his Majesty's professor of divinity did 'usually read his public lecture, and moderate in all public dis-'putations. And this first put them into conceit that the deter-'mining of all points of controversy did belong to them. As 'Vibius Rufus, in the story, having married Tully's widow, 'and bought Cæsar's chair, conceived he was then in a way to gain 'the eloquence of the one and the power of the other. For after 'that we find no parliament without a committee of religion, 'and no committee of religion but what did think itself suffi-'ciently instructed to manage the greatest controversies of divi-'nity which were brought before them.'

Yates and Ward, two puritanical lecturers at Ipswich, sent information about Montague to the House. James was then on the throne. Montague, in alarm, appealed to the crown, and was protected; and published, in consequence of this appeal, his '*Appello Cæsarem*,' which repeated in a stronger form the statements of the first book.

The first parliament of Charles met, and immediately summoned the audacious offender. 'He was brought to the bar 'of the House, and the speaker declared to him the pleasure of 'the House.' They deferred the censure, but in the interim committed him to the 'sergeant's ward,' and made him find bail to the amount of two thousand pounds. Charles was very indignant at this stretch of power over one of his own chaplains: La udengaged Buckingham in the cause; and a formal

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letter from himself and two other bishops, Rochester and Oxford, laid down the Church law on the subject. They protested against the assumption of ecclesiastical power by parliament, and declared that convocation was the only theological tribunal to which the Church would or could submit. The letter, however, was very moderate, claimed some doctrines as necessary, and demanded a latitude for others. 'The opinions 'which troubled many men in the late book of Mr. Montague, 'were some of them such as were expressly the resolved doctrines 'of the Church of England: some of them such as were fit only 'for schools, and to be left at liberty for learned men, so that 'they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. 'They did not intend to make men subscribe the school opi-'nions; they only did not want to be intimidated themselves 'into abandoning the doctrines of the Church.' The Commons saw a stand made against them, and showed their teeth. When the next motion for supplies came on, they were so deep in spiritual subjects, that no answer could be got out of them on the sublunary one. Charles urged his 'pressing occasions, the 'necessities of the fleet, the eyes of the confederates that were 'fixed on him.' The House, in return, told him of the growth of popery, expressed their fears, and humbly offered their assistance in checking it.

Charles's second parliament opened with a sermon from Laud on unity. 'How may unity be preserved in Church and State? 'How? I will tell you. Would you keep the State in unity? 'Take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace 'of the State depends much upon it; for, divide Christ in the 'hearts of men, or divide the minds of men about their hopes 'of salvation in Christ, and tell me what unity there will be?' Other prey was in scent, however, now, and Montague, superseded by Buckingham, was 'kept cold' till the next parliament, when the attack was renewed with increased vigour. Charles was frightened, and thought it safest to end the matter by calling in the obnoxious book. The concession gave offence to the Church party, and was thought a 'bending of religion to 'policy.' But Laud made it up to Montague the next opportunity. The latter had a fellow-sufferer in the person of a Dr. Mainwaring, who had been actually brought to his knees before the mighty tribunal, and been imprisoned, fined, and suspended; his sermon burnt, and himself especially incapacitated from holding any further ecclesiastical preferment. Laud made Montague and Mainwaring, respectively, Bishops of Chichester and St. David's. And the two victims marched under the very face of the Lower House to their episcopal seat in the Lords.

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To come to the main scene of our history;—Laud, in complete and indisputed possession of the regale, now applied its full powers to effect an ecclesiastical reformation in the country, and wielded with unsparing energy the secular weapon in his hands.

The puritanical preachers in the Church now overran the ground like a host, and spread their doctrines with all the zeal and license of preaching friars of protestantism. There were more quiet intellectual specimens of them, of whom Baxter was the head, who half despised their brethren; but the mass was a vulgar disorderly one. They were the mendicant orders of the Reformation, with a strong mixture of the hedge-priest in their constitution; and were the genuine successors of the Lollards and Wickliffites of Archbishop Courtney's day. Their whole proceedings take us back to that prototype. The parochial pulpits did not supply them with a sufficient theatre, though they had their share of them: they instituted lectureships. Companies and corporations all over the country were persuaded to found lectureships, and give revenues for additional sermons on the Sunday or week-days, once, twice, or thrice in the week. Their ingenuity in multiplying these opportunities was prodigious. A lecture once instituted became, when they liked, 'a running lecture,' *i. e.* was not confined to one place, but ran from parish to parish. Special fasts were appointed by the authority of the lecturer, or curate, for this or that alleged reason, in neighbourhoods. These fasts were pure excuses for sermons, and were principally devoted to the castigation of the sins of prelates, and especially the Archbishop himself. The audience fasted by feasting their ears. Lectures and fasts were the sores and troubles of High Church bishops in their dioceses: they had to exert themselves to extinguish fasts as often as they sprung up, and prohibit the right of the public fasting. One would imagine that fasting was a great popular sin of the day. 'His 'lordship of Peterborough certifies that he hath suppressed a 'seditious lecture at Ripon, and divers monthly lectures, with a 'fast and a moderator (like that which they called prophesying 'in Queen Elizabeth's time), as also the Running Lecture, so 'called because the lecturer went from village to village, and 'at the end of the week proclaimed where they should hear him 'next, that his disciples might follow. They say this lecture 'was ordained to illuminate the dark corners of that diocese.' Their style of preaching was coarse to a degree that could hardly be credited now, and which absolutely prevents us from making quotations. Unscrupulous illustrations, any expression which came to hand, if it was only strong enough, any thing for effect, made their language about our Saviour amount sometimes to blasphemy, and miserably lowered the Bible doctrines. They

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preached in Genevan cloaks often, and did not even wear the gown. The class was an English shape of the Scotch Covenanters and Cameronians, forward, rude, and undisciplined, full of angry enthusiasm, and breathing in their spiritual declamations the spirit of war and the carnal knife—of the holster and pistols, and jack-boots. The watchword of the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' was in embryo in their discourses, and incontrollable confidence and self-will carried them along. They represented a grotesque religious mixture, which the world perhaps will never see again, in that particular mould and manifestation. Boundless types of the ridiculous, they contrived to unite a temporary intensity of life and power with their absurdities. They were real persons, realities, not shams, writes an admirer. They were realities, beyond a doubt, but in a sense which utterly excludes from the meaning of the word 'reality' the sublime, the great, or the interesting. The animal creation, for example, with all its ferocities and humours, is real: and men and mammalia are both real. But the reality of the one nature is human, of the other animal. The puritans had reality; but that they were ridiculous is a simple fact, of which the elemental perception of that principle in our nature is at once the test. They abounded and sprung up with a luxuriant and prolific impetus all over the Church now. Ordination was not limited then by its present rules. Men were ordained with or without cures. Gentlemen of any rank, who chose to afford one, had a chaplain, or person so called, in his house. 'All persons,' says Heylyn, 'were left at liberty to 'keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleased, with-'out any control. Nor were the chaplains better pleased than 'their masters were. For having lived upon hard commons, 'and perhaps under some smart discipline in their halls and 'colleges, they thought they had spent their studies to good 'purpose by finding ease and a full belly in these gentlemen's 'houses, from whom there was possibly some preferment also.' The unmanageable theological mass thus sprung up had found their way into schools, among other places; and their notions interfered with common education. And Laud complains that 'the precisian would read nothing but divinity to his pupils— 'no, not so much as the grammar rules; unless Mars and Bac-'chus, Apollo, Pol, and Œdipol were blotted out.'

The doctrine of the school was strong predestinarianism, and they stood upon the language of the seventeenth Article, as the proof that the Church spoke with them. The fact that the seventeenth Article comes almost word for word from St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, and that neither could well be Calvinists, could not reach congregations who knew nothing of the history of doctrinal language. The Calvinistic doctrine

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of predestination, with all its concomitant views of Original Sin, the Atonement, and Justification by Faith, was put forward as the teaching of the Reformed Church. There is something in the Calvinistic predestinarian, or fatalist view, which wonderfully harmonizes with a low, and fallen religion. It has been the favourite article of heretical bodies from the first. It benumbs the aspiring will, and reduces all Christians to a level; stops up the fountain-head of good works, excuses the aim at graces and perfections, and insinuates the flattering belief that the aim is even sinful, and not intended in God's scheme. It supplants humility, the very basis of the Christian character: by taking away the real reason for it, voluntary sin, it makes humility unnecessary and out of place. If a man could not help doing wrong, why be humbled for it? Proud nature knows that, refuses to appropriate its sin, and turns fatalist. 'I had rather,' says Augustine, speaking of himself, in his Manichean days, 'that Thy incommutable sub-'stance erred by necessity, than my own mutable one by will; 'and sin was derived by immutable law from heaven, that man 'might be free from it, and remain proud rottenness and flesh 'and blood.' Man tries to escape from the fact of voluntary sin, but the Church will not let him. She pursues him with the fact of his free-will, drives him into a corner, and points the sharp sword at his conscience. Free-will is the one sore point with sinful nature, which contains worlds, and is the starting point of a whole different religious system to that of natural man—the spiritual ethics of Catholicism.

Calvinism and Arminianism were the two names which the Puritans gave to the two sides on this question. The advocates of free will were called Arminians, though they disclaimed and in fact had nothing to do with Arminius himself. The name was given them by their opponents. Laud's school urged simply the Church doctrine of free-will against the Calvinistic view: and the controversy on the subject of free-will and predestination filled the Church, became the great doctrinal controversy of the day, and was carried on by sermons and books and pamphlets, and all the modes of agitation common in theological war. The Puritan was Calvinist, and the Churchman Arminian. There were exception to the division in many cases, such as Davenant and Usher, who held a certain modification of Calvinism in doctrine, while they were Churchmen in discipline. But the two sides, as a whole, divided on this subject.

Laud's object was a doctrinal clearance; the subjugation of the Calvinistic spirit in the Reformed Church of England. The restoration of Church ceremonial and external worship, was not so much his object as this doctrinal one. The Church was overrun

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with heresy—for we cannot call the puritanical movement of the 17th century by any other name; and he was bent on expelling it; on the view that nothing could be made of the Church till it was got rid of. He was a doctrinal reformer. Grievous experience had taught him the nature of the Calvinistic school; and he had suffered under the pressure. The two Abbots, and Vice-Chancellor Airay, and the theological tribunal, and the Oxford contests with the heads of the party, made their impression. He was now in power, and it was his turn to act.

Laud had no sooner gained his position in the Church, than two successive sets of Royal Instructions made their appearance; laying down stringent rules for curtailing the number of this class of preachers, and cramping their pulpit displays. The prolific source of the class was stopped up, and common gentlemen were forbidden private chaplains in their houses. The lecturer had the whole ecclesiastical weight tied to him from the time he went into the Church, to the time he came out. The Church service before the lecture, the surplice, the communion service from the altar in the morning, were all hung like weights upon his performance. 'If you preach, you must pray,' he was told. He found himself under a legal ceremonial burden. He rushed impetuously into the extempore prayer before the sermon, and the bidding prayer instantly filled up the gap. The sermon itself was brought into confinement, and barren was the model of the discourse to which the Puritan imagination was directed. The injunctions proceed: 'I. That no preacher under the degree and 'calling of a bishop, or dean of a cathedral or collegiate church '(and they upon the king's days only and set festivals), do take 'occasion, by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatever, 'to fall into any set discourse or common-place, otherwise than 'by opening the coherence, and division of his text.—II. That 'no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermon 'or collation hereafter in the afternoon, but upon some parts of 'the Catechism, or the Lord's Prayer.—III.' continues the document, with growing impetus and rising displeasure, as it approaches the great point—'That no preacher of what title what-'soever, under the degree of bishop or dean at the least, do from 'henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep 'points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the uni-'versality, efficacity, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's 'grace.' The animus of the document could have been given in two words—no sermons. Sermons were the unmanageable articles, the essential agents of mischief; and how to cut and pare them down, and put them into strait-waistcoats, and into the stocks, and take out their tongues, and make them say nothing, and mean nothing, and be nothing, was the question.

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The instructions of course created large disgust. Country gentlemen thought themselves insulted; it was rumoured that 'nothing less was aimed at than a total suppression of the Divine 'ordinance of preaching;' and, at the least, 'a dreadful dimi-'nution in the number of sermons was anticipated:' and 'as for 'spending the afternoon in teaching the Church Catechism,' the preacher felt much of the indescribable contempt for the task that Dugald Dalgetty had for bows and arrows. 'It was a work 'fitter for a pedagogue than a preaching minister, who was or-'dained to provide strong meats for men, and not such milk for 'babes.' It was a strange look-out, indeed, if he who had dived into the very arcana of predestinarianism, if the advanced Gospellist, was now to expound the Catechism. The execution of the injunctions led to fresh collisions. The preachers did expound the Catechism; they took a text out of it, and preached a full-length sermon. The bishop of the diocese had to keep watch.

The royal declaration about the Thirty-nine Articles, still appended to our Prayer Book, was the decisive step, however, taken with respect to the doctrinal question at issue. The meaning of the Articles was fought for; the declaration rescued them *vi et armis* from the Calvinistic sense, and said positively, they are not Calvinistic, and they shall not be Calvinistic; we forbid you drawing any inference of your own from them: you shall take the words—the words as they stand—as much of the words as you please—but not one iota of meaning shall you give them. It is no use, the royal document seems to say, disputing with you; you are too much for us with your indomitable tongues: suffice it to say, that it shall be so; we will have no commenting. 'We will that all further curious search be laid 'aside. No man hereafter shall draw the Articles aside any 'way. No man shall put his own sense or comment to be the 'meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal gram-'matical sense.' The declaration was perfectly understood by the Calvinists, and pronounced to come 'from the depths of 'Satan,' and to be 'a Jesuitical plan to subvert the Gospel.' Under pretence of stopping both sides, it tongue-tied them. Even Bishop Davenant had to be called to order for disobedience; and a strong Calvinistic sermon from him in the royal chapel, the Sunday after, in defiance of it, brought him before the High Commission. At the same time, the wording of the document was almost too impartial. The Calvinistic sense was destroyed, but all other senses were stopped at the same time too. No side being allowed to attach its own meaning to them, all meanings were taken away, and Calvinism was removed by a process which cleared the whole ground to achieve its removal; and henceforth a grammatical sense, without a theological mean-

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ing, was the subtle abstraction to which the significancy of the Articles was reduced, according to this declaration.

Such were the weapons of the day. There is something curious in a contest between two kinds of strength. The naturalist seeks for the spectacle in the animal world; the historical eye sees it in the annals of parties and movements. Puritanism felt the saliency and impetuosity of a new heretical principle; Laud the pertinacity of an old ecclesiastical one. He had not the young power of the age with him, and he must use what power he had. Puritanism came up, like the seed from the dragon's teeth, everywhere; Laud could simply put his foot on it. It turned, and doubled, and fled from him, in Protean fashion; and he followed it. It evaded one law, and another was made. He kept it under, while its prolific vitality threatened to burst the pressure every moment, and overwhelm him. Keep it under, check, block it, was all he could do; and that he did do without fail. Bold impetus found its match, and the coarse vigour and teeming animal life of heresy never made the coercer shrink or flag.

The contest of the two sides for Church Patronage was another form of the same combat. The matter was one of vital importance, and affected the prospective strength of each party strongly. The Puritans had their project—a great scheme, viz. for buying in lay impropriations. A common fund was raised for buying in such impropriations as were in lay hands, and a regular corporation formed. 'Twelve persons, clergymen, 'citizens, and lawyers—their names, Googe, Offspring, Sibbs, 'and Davenport, ministers; Eyre, Brown, White, and Sherland, 'lawyers; Gearing, Davis, Horwood, and Bridges, citizens; 'with Rowland Heylin, alderman of London, a thirteenth man, 'to give the casting vote,'—formed the committee of management. Emissaries were despatched through all parts of the country to collect money. Heylyn, our biographer, first discovered the real drift of the design, which one or two discourses of the nominees of the body sufficiently demonstrated. 'It 'then pleased the president of his college, being then vice-'chancellor, to appoint him to preach the Advent sermon at 'St. Mary's,' to which, it appears, there was a great concourse in those days. He took for his text—'But while men slept, the 'enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his 'way;' and an *exposé* of the plan followed. 'A general con-'sternation,' he says, 'showed itself in the looks of his 'auditors,'—the puritan portion of them. He was charged with having been set upon the task by 'a higher power;' and 'honest, well-meaning men thought it a pity to discourage such 'a pious work' as the feoffment. A puritan meeting was held

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that night, and came to the resolution of taking legal and all other proceedings against the preacher. Heylyn put his sermon and the whole affair in Laud's hands, 'who thereupon entered 'it in the memorandum at the end of his breviate, viz. "to over-'throw the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, 'going under the specious practice of buying in impropriations."' 'The feoffees came to their doom in the Exchequer' in the course of a few months.

Laud had his own schemes, in the meantime, going on for the same object. The same impropriations were in his eye, too; and, at the very time of this discovery, he was holding consultations with Charles about a method of getting back the lay patronage within the Church into the Church's hands again. All openings to patronage were watched. Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Coventry, the privy seal, had a dispute 'about the disposal of such benefices as belonged to 'the king in the minority of his wards.' Coventry claimed his share, Cottington would not let him have it. While the two are fighting, 'Laud ends the difference by taking all unto 'himself.' He urged upon his majesty 'that many deans had 'served as chaplains in his majesty's ships, who should have 'some reward given them for their services past. It was cold 'venturing upon such hot services without some hope of reward. 'He takes occasion, therefore, to inform his majesty, that till 'this controversy be decided, he might do well to take these 'livings unto his own disposal. Which proposition being ap-'proved, his majesty committed the said benefices unto *his* '(the Archbishop's) disposal.' The acquisition was gained without much ill will, for 'Cottington was not at all displeased 'at the designation—as being more willing that a third man 'should carry off the prize from both, than to be overtopped in 'his own jurisdiction. And the Archbishop, by this accession of 'power, as he increased the number of his dependants, so gained 'the opportunity of supplying the Church with regular con-'formable men; which served him for a counterbalance against 'the multitude of lecturers established in so many places, espe-'cially by the feoffees for impropriations.'

The higher preferments of the Church began now to fall into his hands, and he filled them up with his own men. Corbet, 'one of his fellow-sufferers in the University,' he raised to the see of Norwich; the younger Bancroft, to the see of Oxford; Neile, from Winchester to the Archbishopric of York; Juxon, to the clerkship of the closet; Lyndsell, to Peterborough; Wren, in course of time, to Hereford. A catena of such preferments was brought up against Laud at his trial.

We come to another great department of reform. A miserable

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neglect of the externals of worship, and an aspect of coldness, irreverence, and disorder, were now disgracing the celebration of the Church services, and deforming the fabrics. Churches, with their communion-tables drawn out towards the body of the Church, the chancels becoming rapidly shut up with pews, the decay of all ornament, and the positive dirt and defilement in them, were made into conventicles rather than churches. Laud took the work fairly in hand. Some cathedrals and churches, in different parts, where he had influence, had already begun a reform; and the cathedrals of Gloucester, St. Paul's, and Worcester under Mainwaring, and others, had revived in part their ancient splendour, and the forms and outward gestures of Catholic worship. Hangings, palls, fronts, and rich plate vessels, enriched the altar. The canons bowed towards the altar, and bowed at the name of Jesus. At St. Mary's Church, Oxford, the doctors and scholars began to do the same; and college chapels began to show the rising spirit.

Laud had a great taste for Church ceremonial, and his feeling was in the movement. The combination of the man of business and statesman, the practical character with the love of Church ritual, is striking. We draw aside the veil of political life, and find the Archbishop before his chapel-altar, consecrating his communion-plate. A person,—an informer afterwards against him,—happens to stray into the chapel at Lambeth one morning, and 'sees him bow and wear a cope, then consecrate the vessels, 'and use part of Solomon's dedication prayer.'—'No fault,' says Laud, at his trial, 'in any of these; these inanimate things are 'holy, in that they are deputed to the service of God:—there is 'an absolute holiness of God, and a relative holiness of the crea-'ture.' 'If there is no dedication of these things to God, there's 'neither thing nor place holy, and thus no sacrilege: no difference 'between churches and common houses, between "holy tables" 'and ordinary tables. But I would have no man deceive himself: 'sacrilege is a grievous thing. "Thou that abhorrest idols, dost 'thou commit sacrilege?"' The whole turn and expression of his mind, and his zeal on the subject, show more underneath these measures, than the cold ground of mere external decency and Church respectability. Certain forms of speaking which he and his school made use of, are indeed open to this interpretation. But it should be remembered, that the public and forensic ground is not necessarily the real ground in the individual himself. When Laud summoned non-conformists into his court for not attending to Church ceremonial, he would not argue with them on its beauty or sublimity; he would simply say, This is the rule of the Church, and you must obey it. Because however he makes use of an inferior forensic ground, we need not therefore tie

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him to it exclusively. It may perfectly co-exist with the higher one; and his language and acts show this higher ground decidedly.

The restoration of the ceremony of Church consecrations was one of Laud's revivals. The ceremony had stopped since the Reformation; and the regular view was, says Heylyn, 'that the 'continued series of divine duties in a place set apart for that 'purpose, doth sufficiently consecrate a place.' 'In Sidney 'College, Cambridge,' he adds, 'the old dormitory of the 'Franciscans (on the site of which friary the said college was 'built), was, after some years, trimmed and fitted, and without 'any formal consecration, converted into a house of prayer; 'though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, 'it could have been no better than a den of thieves.' 'The 'chapel of Emmanuel College, though built at the same time 'with the rest of the house, was never consecrated.' Laud's consecrations of St. Catherine Creed, and St. Giles's-in-the-fields, performed with high formality and pomp, revived the old idea which had lain dead, and made a sensation which gave a stimulus to the Church. She heard herself addressed in sublime tones which were new to her, and learned to apply high language to herself. 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.'

But Laud's whole movement about Church externals soon converged to a point, and gathered round the altar. 'The altar,' were his words, 'is the greatest place of God's residence 'upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus* '*meum*, This is my body; but in the other it is, at most, but '*Hoc est verbum meum*, This is my word.' Here the ceremonial question became a doctrinal one. The disposition of the communion-table in our churches, then removed from the east end, and brought without rails or skreen into an almost congregational position in the church, was an ocular contradiction to all high doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; a practical denial of the mystery of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice. It was a bar to all sound preaching on that head, to have the whole interior of a church giving the lie to the doctrine. The communion-table was used for all sorts of purposes. 'Churchwardens 'kept their accounts upon it; parishioners despatched parish 'business at it; schoolmasters taught the boys to write at it; 'boys had their hats, satchels and books upon it; men sat and 'leant irreverently against it at sermon time; glaziers knocked 'it full of nail-holes.' Laud applied his attentions to the holy table; made that his object, and directed his reforms to it. He wished to do one particular thing—to bring out fairly, and put in its proper position, the Lord's table; to raise it from a table

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into an altar. It was a great point to obtain, and quite worth setting to work about: he applied himself singly and vigorously to it. In gaining this he gained a centre, about which a hundred other things were collected.

His injunctions about the communion-table were very simple, and even moderate, and confined themselves to this one object. They enjoined placing the communion-table at the east end, close to the wall: rails were enjoined to separate it fairly from the congregation: it was to be three steps above the chancel floor, and pews in the chancel, that obstructed the sight of it from the body of the church, were to be pulled down. This was enough to vindicate the essential character of the holy table, and here the command stopped. Principle, and not ornament, was the object. In cathedrals and places where ornament could be got, and could be afforded, it was attended to. The scene of a magnificent church interior required it, in order to keep the altar on a par with the rest of the fabric. But in ordinary cases, the simple naked change of position was all aimed at; and for the rest he was content with necessary decency. We must confess we are literally unable to discover that exorbitance in Laud's line about church externals, that some have affected to find. His injunctions have a very moderate tone, aim at realities, and keep to the point.

An order in council, dated Whitehall, November 3, 1633, settled the question for him, in the case of St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's, in the city, where the change of position had been made. The decision made a noise at the time, and gave him the ground he wanted. An archiepiscopal visitation, commenced immediately after his elevation, enforced a set of instructions on the subject, and Brent, the vicar-general, made a progress through the provinces. He did not encounter more opposition than that of churchwardens here and there, till he came to the diocese of Lincoln.

Here the old enemy, Williams, was on the alert. As soon as ever the order of St. Gregory appeared, he turned the communion tables in his diocese, that happened to be at the east end, back again, raised a cry of 'more capacity to receive communicants, greater audibleness of the minister's voice, &c.' and received Laud with a regular organized opposition. He ingratiated himself forthwith, in a marked way, and with all the arts of humbug, of which he was master, with the nonconformist ministers —'insomuch that, meeting in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham with one Dr. Bret, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was supposed to incline that way, he embraced him in his episcopal arms, with these words of St. Augustine, '*Quamvis Episcopus major est presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor*

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'*est Hieronymo;* intimating thereby, to the great commendation 'of his modesty, among those of that faction, that Bret was as 'much greater than Williams, as the bishop was above a priest.' The vicar-general began with laying his suspension upon the bishop, and all his six archdeacons. Williams pleaded an exemption from the visitorial power, by virtue of certain Papal Bulls. The question was tried before council, and decided against him: and the vicar-general then went through the diocese. As soon as his back was turned, Williams began a counter visitation, and not daring to disobey the whole injunction, adopted the rails without the position, and railed the holy table round in the middle of the chancel.

Williams, disgraced at court, had retired to his diocese some years before; 'having given up the seal,' says Heylyn, 'but 'supposed to have taken the purse with him.' He lived in great style in his see, and nobody knew where his money came from. Laud soon found him, however, doing as much mischief in the country as he did at court. He set up as patron of the puritans, had before now come out in print as an antagonist on the communion-table question, and was a rising centre of Church disaffection in the country. 'He used all the wit and malice he could,' says Clarendon, 'to awake the people to a jealousy of these 'innovations.' It was simple pure political malice in him; about the question itself he did not care a straw. He actually had a highly ornamented altar in his own private chapel and cathedral. Laud tried hard and long unsuccessfully to oust him out of his see. Williams laid himself open, by some betrayal of council secrets to his puritan friends. He was instantly brought before the Star-chamber, but by delays and technicalities kept the court at bay for a period of ten years. Strafford, to oblige Laud, tried his hand at him, but found it easier to master Ireland than to get the upper hand of Williams. He was obliged to leave hold of him and go to his Irish government. In 1637 Williams at last received his sentence, was suspended, and put in prison. He supplicated hard for pardon, and offered to give up his bishopric altogether. He was offered an Irish one, as, under Strafford, a safe place to keep him in. The offer was declined. 'He did not like to go where he should fall into 'the hands of a man who once in seven months would find out 'some old statute or other for cutting off his head.' He continued in the Tower for three years, 'during which time he 'never went into the chapel of the Tower to attend divine 'service, or hear the sermon, or receive the sacrament.'

The great religious contest had, meantime, its offshoots. The Sabbatarian question was one. The Church had taken one view of the Sunday from the first ages; Puritanism had pro-

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mulgated another; the one made it a Church feast; the other a Judaical fast. A good deal was involved in the distinction. A whole Church halo gathers round the ecclesiastical Sunday; it appeals for the original choice of the day itself to the Church; it represents the Church system and round of fast and festival, and typifies the high chastised spiritual joy of Catholicism. Puritanism feels itself excluded, and rejects the ecclesiastical festival. There is a spirit in the Church Sunday that particularly harmonizes with Church feeling, and a spirit in the Puritan Sabbath that particularly harmonizes with Puritanism. The consecration of joy by Church sanctions, Church times and seasons, and the being under obligation, as it were, to the Church for your mirth, is a true part of Catholic feeling, and particularly not of Puritan.

The question came out now in the dress of the day. In 1618, King James, on his return from his Scotch progress, issued the first 'Book of Sports.' His motive was, his royal compassion for the melancholy dulness of the poor population on the Sunday. He lifted up his royal eyes, as he returned through Yorkshire and Lancashire, and saw every thing look dull on the Sunday. He thought the Church of England had a very forbidding aspect to the numerous Roman Catholics of those districts. The Church was injured, and the poor were deprived of their proper holiday. He issued a book of rules for Sunday amusements and festivities. The rules prescribed innocent merry games and exercises, and aimed, with a good spirit and intention, at providing the poor with proper recreation, while it, at the same time, prevented them from running into extravagance or brutality. They were to play, they were to go to church too. 'For his good people's lawful recreation, his Ma-'jesty's pleasure was, that, after the end of Divine service, his 'good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any 'lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; 'archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless 'recreation; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, 'morice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, or other 'sports, therewith used: so that the same be had in due and 'convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine 'service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes 'into the church, for the decorating of it according to their old 'custom. But withal, his Majesty doth here account still as 'prohibited all unlawful games, as bear and bull baitings, &c. &c. 'All offensive weapons are prohibited to be carried or used in 'the said times of recreation. And the present recreations 'are forbidden to any who, though conform in religion, are 'not present in the church at the service of God, before going

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'to the said recreations.' The attempt was a good one, and was likely to have considerable effect on the poor, in the way of attaching them to the church. The clergy argued, 'that 'they preserved the memorial of the dedication of the several 'churches, composed differences by mediation and meeting of 'friends, increased love and amity by feasts of charity, and 'the relief and comfort of the poor, by opening the rich men's 'houses.'

A great set was made at these games from high and low puritan quarters. Besides the ordinary attacks from the puritan press, judges, and magisterial and corporation benches, assumed a precisian look, and were shocked. Puritanism had a certain magnetic influence throughout these times over some opulent official classes in the country. The municipal authorities, and magistrates in high-backed chairs, exhibited the school in its decent, comfortable, and respectable form. The respectable puritan country gentleman saw from the windows of his mansion the poor people enjoying themselves, in their rough way, and saw them, very likely, sometimes go too far. The respectable puritan gentleman was annoyed; the Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire magistracy, were of opinion that these 'feast-days, church-ales, wakes, and revels,' did the people harm, and interfered with order and gravity, made a disagreeable noise, and disturbed their own respectable after-dinner repose. Chief Baron Walter and Baron Denham issued their orders at the Devonshire Assizes for the suppression of all 'revels, church-ales, clerk-ales,' and the like. The course of suppression went on, and puritan authorities were gradually putting down the Church feasts.

Chief Justice Richardson went down to the Somersetshire assizes with judges' orders to this effect in his pocket, which he issued, backed by the Grand Jury; and with them an injunction to all the clergy of the county to publish them in their churches, and see them put into effect. Laud now stepped in. He summoned Richardson to answer for 'an encroachment 'upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in 'holy orders the publishing of warrants and commands from the 'secular judges.' The king commanded Richardson to revoke the order. Richardson disobeyed, and re-issued it in a more peremptory form than before: complaints came up from the county; and the bishop, with seventy-two of his clergy, certified, 'under their signs manual, that on the feast-days, (wakes,) '(which commonly fell on the Sunday,) the service of God was 'more soberly performed, and the Church better frequented, 'both forenoon and afternoon, than upon any Sunday in the 'year; and that the people desired the continuance of them.'

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Richardson was cited again to the Council-table, and Laud gave him a lecture, which effectually silenced him. He came out of the Council-room in tears, and perfectly overwhelmed—'choked,' he declared, 'with a pair of lawn sleeves.' The London civic authorities displayed the same pompous scrupulosity; and Lord Mayors Dunbar and Raynton were the terror of the London inferior population on the Sunday. Self-complacent zeal is provocative of a set-down. An old apple-woman triumphed over their lordships: the civic officers had assaulted her upon Church ground, and shoved her out of St. Paul's church-yard. Laud rebuked the lord mayor for his pains, and told him to keep upon his own territory.

There was a class, it is not to be denied, that Laud rather liked setting down. Self-important official men were highly obnoxious to snubs from him. He had something of a relish for the process. When any one particularly catches it, it is a great chance if he is not a person of dignity; some gentleman who had probably never had his set-down before, and who, upon the ordinary equilibrium of nature, must be supposed to have rather wanted it. His spirit insensibly rose when one of these gentlemen made his appearance: and the 'big' man had his lesson, which a little man escaped. The Council-room exhibited a curious mixture often on this head. Some poor insignificant man or other has the whole room arguing with him, trying to persuade him out of his error, and treating him with really flattering attention. 'One Brabourn, a poor schoolmaster in 'the diocese of Norfolk,' is converted by the affability of the Council. He had written on the Sabbatarian side, and been audacious enough to dedicate his book to his Majesty: 'Bra-'bourn being therefore called into court, his error was so 'learnedly confuted by the bishops and other judicious divines 'then present, that he began to stagger in his opinion.' Their lordships, following up the argumentative victory, 'admonished 'him in a grave and fatherly way to submit himself to a con-'ference with such grave and learned men as should be appointed 'thereunto: to which he cheerfully consented, and found such 'benefit of that meeting, that, by God's blessing, he became a 'convert to the orthodoxal doctrine of the Church of England 'concerning the Sabbath, or Lord's-day.'

The fiscal and economical department of the Church came under Laud's eye, as well as the doctrinal and ceremonial. It wanted looking after not a little. 'He saw the Church was 'decaying,' says Heylin, 'both in power and patrimony: her 'patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several Bishops, in 'making havock of the woods to enrich themselves; and more 'often so in making up their grants and leases to the utmost

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'term, after they had been nominated to some other bishoprick, 'to the great wrong of their successors. Her power he found 'diminished, partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their 'dioceses unregarded, and living together about Westminster, 'to be in a more ready way for the next preferment.' It is not, we believe, saying anything needlessly severe of the class of Bishops that the Reformation had put into the English sees, that whether or not the doctrines of the Church may have been benefited by them, they certainly did not benefit her property. A great number were systematic depredators. The system went on regularly in Laud's time: the Bishops lived in London, and sucked the Church lands dry. Indulgent kindness to his own order was no failing of Laud's. While the bishops were living comfortably round their London focus, a sudden royal decree came out, worded in an extremely business-like style, exactly to the purpose: 'Charles Rex. I. That the 'Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several sees, there 'to keep residence; excepting those which are in necessary 'attendance at Court.' The document proceeded to other items in the way of business—no reflection intended. 'II. That 'none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath pur-'chased, nor in his town residence, if he hold any, but in one of 'his episcopal houses—*and that he waste not the woods thereof.*' And after going through a series of points which they were to attend to in their dioceses, it winds up with a recurrence to the subject of estates and woods:—'IX. That no Bishop shall, from 'the day of his nomination (to another see), presume to make 'any lease for three lives, or one-and-twenty years, or con-'current lease, or any other way renew any estate, or cut any 'wood or timber, but merely to receive the rents due, and then 'quit the place. For we think it hateful that any man's leaving 'his bishopric should almost undo his successor.' The effect of this order was to scatter the episcopal nucleus at Westminster forthwith, and send their reluctant and grumbling lordships down to diocesan exile. 'The poorer bishops,' says Heylyn, 'were as much troubled as the others, and thought it the worst 'kind of banishment to be confined unto the country; com-'plaining privately that now the court bishops had served 'their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries 'their poor brethren were exposed to.' The order respecting the woods and leases was no more popular with them, and they thought it very unfair 'that they could not make the best of 'their time, but were required to be good husbands for another 'man, who was to enjoy the place when they were to leave.'

The deans and chapters do not get off any better. Information comes to Laud (he is always receiving information of one

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sort or other), 'that the deans and prebends of such and such 'churches had enriched themselves, their wives, and children, 'by taking great fines, for turning leases of twenty-one years 'into leases for lives, leaving their successors destitute,' as well as depriving the Church of a hold over a numerous class of gentry and yeomanry, occupiers of the lands,—'All which his 'Majesty, taking into his princely consideration, caused letters 'under the royal signature to be sent to all the deans and 'chapters of this kingdom respectively, calling and command-'ing them, upon pain of his utmost displeasure, that they 'presumed not to let any lease belonging to their church into 'lives.' And 'whereas some deans of cathedrals are corpora-'tions of themselves, no dean is to presume from henceforth '(after his being translated), to renew any lease either unto 'lives or years: his Majesty having well observed, that at such 'times of remove many men care not what or how they let 'their estates, to the prejudice of the Church and their suc-'cessors.' The Royal experience is certainly not complimentary to the morals of the Church dignitaries of that period. Laud was a remorseless pursuer of jobbers,—church jobbers especially. It is part of the disinterested public man's nature and instinct, which was strong in him. He brought them out of their holes with remarkable *sang froid*, bishops and archbishops, deans, and canons, and all. The exceedingly small respect which these distinguished officials meet with under such circumstances, is almost entertaining. Practice soon becomes familiar, and England and Ireland was full of the game. In Ireland all attempt at appearances is given up under the pressing emergency, and the pursuit becomes a perfect halloo and field-day after these offenders. They are caught like so many animals. Strafford has to 'trounce' them, to chastise them, 'warm them' in his castle chamber—to 'give my Lord of Cashell a little of his Irish physic.' The only difficulty was what to do with them, what to make of them, after all. To drive them up and down, and shove them like cattle, what did it do after all? That was the material they were made of. The only practical aim was to tie their hands, and get the Church revenues away from them. 'Look you to the bishops,' is Laud's summary of ecclesiastical advice to his friend. Strafford, as President of the North, carried Laud's arrangements into effect in his northern domain. And 'make an example of that unworthy Dean' of York, is an incidental notice we come across.

Laud's care and consideration for the poorer clergy, in the matter of property, was as conspicuous as his severity to the upper. All taxes were laid with the greatest attention to the diminishing ratio of poverty. He instituted a new scale of

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taxation to effect this object. He relieved them in ship-money collections. At the Scotch war, when money was wanted urgently, no 'poor curates or stipendaries' were to be made to give. The London clergy were cheated out of the value of their dues: the charge was laid upon the rent, and the owners of houses laid only nominal rent, and had large fines instead; the clergy got nothing. 'Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in 'sheds and cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty 'shillings a whole year's tythe.' The clergy, by the alteration of religion, had lost the advantages of obits, mortuaries, obventions, and were miserably off. The Court of Exchequer, in James's reign, gave them relief for some time; but the city purse prevailed at last in litigation. Laud took the matter up, and constructed a fair valuation.

Schemes for the general advantage of the Church go on. In the Diary we have reference to what looks very like Charles's known intention of restoring Church land in the royal possession. 'March 20, Sunday. His majesty put his great conscience to 'me about all, which I afterwards answered. God bless him in it.'

The restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral was a favourite object. He stirred up all the available sources of money for it in the kingdom. A hundred pounds a year his own contribution—the effects of intestate persons, that portion of them which 'it was 'proper to give to pious uses'—voluntary contributions all over the country, among the clergy especially, raised a considerable sum soon. This was a hobby of Laud's, and he was insatiable in wanting money for it. He never cast eyes on merchant, tradesman, or any substantial man, but he thought he ought to give something to St. Paul's. Every pocket was looked at, and the fertility of his mind was unwearied in catching every opening where money peeped. His hobby got him, in fact, into scrapes, which came up against him at his trial; and he paid for his perpetual Argus-eyed vigilance. A brewer at Lambeth is the complainant now. Laud was walking in his garden with Attorney-General Noy, when a great cloud of smoke from a neighbouring chimney almost suffocated them both. Noy said he should have the nuisance removed. Laud said he would not interfere with an honest man's trade, and did not mind the smoke. However, Noy, in returning home, calls on the man, and threatens him. The man comes to Laud: a bright thought strikes the latter, that this is an opportunity for getting something for St. Paul's. The man is told that his chimney is undoubtedly a nuisance, and that he ought to give St. Paul's 20*l.* in atonement for it. The man offers 10*l.*; Laud refuses to bargain, and sends him off; but the chimney was left to its fate, and fell under a blast from Attorney-General Noy.

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But we must expand Laud's ecclesiastical domain, and see him in Ireland and Scotland. The work was going on under him in both these countries, at the same time that it was in England.

Laud, at the commencement of his career found three distinct churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland, differing from each other in articles and liturgy; all in confusion, and each going on in a way of its own. The Irish Church maintained the Lambeth Articles, and was Calvinized at the very centre. The Scotch Church was a complete chaos and unformed body, simply retaining the Episcopacy, without any other external marks of a Church. It had no liturgy, and the bishops were little more than moderators of Presbyterian Synods and General Assemblies. It was miserably poor, and a slight attempt in the Episcopal College to recover a modicum of the old tythes, had brought down upon them the enmity of a whole turbulent and rapacious nobility. Three weak, disordered, disunited Churches, made up the ecclesiastical system of the kingdom.

Laud's was a centralizing, consolidating mind. He did not philosophize on the subject of Church unity, or enter upon the field of Church metaphysics. He was a practical man, and had his work before him. He used the instrument of unity which the state of things provided for him, and aimed at the production of an efficient unity upon the Anglican domain. He wanted uniformity of worship—some good common basis for the whole ecclesiastical affairs of the country to go upon. He had the centralizing powers of the Crown in his hands: he brought the Churches together, and made a whole of them.

He was most fortunate in Strafford to carry out his plans in Ireland. He and Strafford had taken to each other wonderfully, and were friends together against the world, if it was necessary. They thoroughly understood and trusted each other; and the political friendship had grown into the deepest mutual affection. Strafford did what he was wanted to do in Ireland with his own peculiar despatch. Convocation was summoned in course of time, and told to give up the Lambeth Articles, and take the English ones. They remonstrated strongly; but the Viceroy's spirit was too much for them. The Articles were carried, the Canons were carried. Scholars were sent over from England, and the University of Dublin was made to receive a nucleus of Church theology, for indoctrinating afresh the Irish Church. And Laud, as Chancellor of Dublin, had also his own personal position and influence in the country.

He was less fortunate in his agent for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair had been made what he was entirely by Laud.

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who raised him from being a simple Scotch laird to an earldom, and the place of Lord Treasurer of Scotland. He pitched on him, in one of his journeys to Scotland, as his confidant and manager for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair owed every thing to Laud, and was under every tie of personal gratitude to him that one man could be to another. But acute eyes are deceived occasionally. Laud was wrong in his man. Lord Traquair played false. He sustained the Scotch character of that day, undermined his patron, and 'communicated his secret instructions to the opposite party.' Laud depended on him for knowing the proper times at which to introduce particular changes; and he recommended purposely wrong ones, and delayed the Church manifestations till the opposite side had quite marshalled their strength to meet them.

The whole business of the Scotch Church was an unfortunate one from the first, and had a fate accompanying it; and yet there was no want of caution and forethought in the management of it. The ecclesiastical movement was made to proceed as cautiously and gradually as could be. Laud's first journey into Scotland with James produced no immediate step, and simply gave the Scotch the fact of the English Liturgy performed, for the occasion, in the royal chapel at Holyrood. An interval of some years followed, and another royal progress, for Charles's Scotch coronation, left behind it as its fruit, the regular performance of the Liturgy in Holyrood Chapel; but only in Holyrood as yet. That fact was left to make its impression on the Scotch mind, and gradually accustom them to the idea. A book of canons came next. And it was twenty years after Laud's first Scotch visit, when the real experiment of a Liturgy and Ritual was at last tried upon the nation.

A higher school of doctrine, and a centre of Church feeling, was meantime forming in the episcopal body there. The old bishopric of Edinburgh was revived, and was given to Forbes, a man of deep learning and ascetic life. The Scotch episcopacy rose in tone, and began to wish for a higher ritual, in some parts, than the English book offered; especially a new communion service, to embody the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Laud did not encourage them at all; whether from real caution, or whether he only adopted a manner, we can hardly say. He used to say, however, he had not encouraged them, that they had acted independently, and so on. 'If you really wish for it, and are in earnest among 'yourselves, have it,' he seems to have said; 'I cannot go 'farther in my position than recommend the English book: you 'are Scotch bishops, and have a right to your own book.' A committee of Scotch bishops, Spottiswoode, Ross, and Forbes, sat in Edinburgh, arranging the Scotch book. Laud took the deepest interest in the new Communion Service, and superin-

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tended the sheets through the press. And 'inasmuch as no 'reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at 'once in any Church,' one of the newly-imposed canons left an opening for further alterations, and pronounced that it should be 'lawful for the Kirk of Scotland at any time, to make remon- 'strances to his Majesty,' &c. The canon, and some words he said about it, figured against him afterwards. 'Because this 'canon holds the door open to more innovation,' says the accuser at his trial, 'he writes to the prelate of Ross, his prime agent in 'all this work, of his great gladness that this "canon did stand 'behind a curtain;" and his great desire that this canon might 'be printed freely, as one that was to be most useful.'—'Vain 'accusation,' answers Laud; 'I expressly brought in the royal 'authority; I forbad all innovation of private men, lay or cleric. 'I said the canon stood behind a curtain, and I said true: it 'would not be thoroughly understood by every man.'

It is evident that the Scotch Bishops took hints easily, and followed up Laud's line just in the way a man likes his own line to be followed—as a spontaneous self-suggested one. He had an influence over them which he had not over the English Bishops generally. They gathered round him when he appeared in Scotland; and popular jealousy called them his tools, and said they anticipated his wishes before he expressed them.

Scotland and Ireland were thus growing into system and solidity under his hand, in doctrine and discipline, and external resources. A tremendous open struggle with the Irish aristocracy, ended in the addition of thirty thousand a-year to the Irish Church. The more suitable method of bargaining was resorted to with the Scotch nobles; and the abbey lands of Arbroath, Kelso, and others, restored by the Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Roxburgh to the Church, procured these noblemen some court favours in exchange.

Laud had confused and rough materials to work upon, and he did a great deal to work them up in the way he did. He did consolidate as he professed to do; and the effect of that consolidation, in spite of intervening storms which have encroached on it, remains in part to this day. The consolidation survives, however, its original spirit. He could not perpetuate a friendly monarchy: the protean power assumed another aspect, and the English Church became secular and latitudinarian under that very power which Laud elevated in order to make her Catholic.

For his own day, however—he did not go into futurity—for his own day, he provided the English Church with what it never had before, and has never had since—an efficient government. The secret of his efficiency was, that he governed the Church himself, and allowed no other Bishop in the country at all to

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interfere with him. There is a plausible colour in the charge of his enemies, that he made himself the English Pope: at least he certainly rather roughly used the absolute theory of diocesan independence. He exercised over the Episcopacy of the three kingdoms the most consummate dictatorship, and it never occurs to him to let a Bishop have his own way in his diocese. It seems at first sight natural that an Archbishop of Dublin should look after the churches in his own city; but Laud takes them off his hands. He is at home in every diocese in the three kingdoms. With the deepest reverence for the office, the man—the concrete Bishop—never once seems to have come before his imagination in any other aspect, than as a person who was to be told to do things, and to be made to do them if necessary. For the Episcopacy of the day, with the exception, almost solely, of his own appointments, he entertains a very respectable quantum of contempt. He orders them about; drills them like common soldiers. 'Right foot, left foot, very well: here are his Majesty's orders for you, which you will be pleased immediately to execute. I have had nothing to do with making them myself—nothing at all. I assume no power whatever over you; but I know his Majesty is very determined on these points. Your Lordships have been idling about London lately; you must go down to your dioceses all of you immediately. And when you are there, I will send my Vicar-General to look after you.' The belief that Bishops wanted looking after quite as much as other people, is very deep in him, and from the centre of the Regale he forms them into one body round him. Annual statements go up from each diocese to head-quarters, and are inspected in business-like way. Whatever may be thought of it, the fact cannot be denied that this is a government.

The theory of the day with respect to Church government came in—forced uniformity,—puritans, recusants, all brought into the system; no fragments allowed, and all made one tight whole. The lawfulness of using force for religious purposes was a long-standing theory in the world, which had not then disappeared; and all sides made use of the secular arm, when they could get it, as a matter of course. The law, however, under a Laud and Charles, shows certainly a slight bias in its balance, and is a good deal more stringent with the Puritans than the Roman Catholics. The fines on the Recusants grew lighter and lighter throughout Charles's reign, till at last an easy composition set them almost free. And a most strange and marked departure from the severities of Elizabeth's, and even of James's reign, took place.

A word or two on Laud's use of the Regale, which has

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been going on all this time. We have said he used it as an engine for the good of the Church, to raise her, and not to secularise her. This is simply a question of fact, to be determined by historical reference. A man's motive and spirit, and object in a particular line, is simply an individual internal fact about that person, to be determined by evidence, as all other facts are. No extent whatever of general objectionableness in the principle of the Regale can decide this particular fact against Laud: no *à priori* view as to the Regale itself, can decide Laud's motive in adopting it. If persons, after a candid examination of the facts of history, come to the conclusion that Laud used the Regale for the purpose of depressing and lowering the Church's sacerdotal ground, that is quite a fair line of argument, though we do not think any candid mind whatever, of any side or party, could come to that decision. But the fact cannot be predetermined upon general grounds. Laud stretched the Regale to the full, and made it do everything; he stopped short of nothing that he thought he could do by it,—this is one fact. The *animus*, ecclesiastical or secularizing, is another fact. We do not think that the English Regale, but Parliament, was the secularizing state element in the nation in Laud's day. Where does the political worldly power and animus of the nation reside now? Where has it resided since the revolution of 1688 but in parliament?—the parliament was rising rapidly to this position then. Every nation has the secularizing state element, the anti-Church principle—the *world* residing in it in some part or other of it: but it is a question of fact for the historical eye to determine, in what particular part of a nation, at a particular period, that animus does reside. We believe that the Plantagenets *were* the genuine representatives of the national power and pride in *their* day, and that therefore the state element resided in the English Regale then. The swing of Henry VIII.'s monarchy was simple nationalism, and nothing else: the nation delighted in it. The state element in Prussia and Russia evidently resides now in the Prussian and Russian monarchy, because those monarchies are the focuses respectively of the national power in those countries. But if anything is clear in English history, the fact is clear that parliament was this growing national power in the Stuart times, and that that power had left the monarchy then and passed into the mass. And the modern English monarchy is simply the reflexion of parliament, and shares its spirit.

A Churchman has one rule on this subject. Wherever that public carnal power of the world-pure resides, whether in king or people, the few or the many, with it the Church wrestles. There is our antagonist. Where royalty is against the Church, and the people for her, the churchman sides with the people; and

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where the people are against the Church, and royalty for her, the churchman sides with the king. There is no unfairness or slipperiness here, for the line is a plain open one. Show us the 'world,' anywhere, and we are bound to withstand it: wherever it is, at top or at bottom, in earth or sky, concentrated in one, or diffused in a mass, that 'power of the air' is what we fight against. The Church is our home. If any power loves the Church, we love it; if not, we do not.

Nothing can show more closely that Laud's school was not exalting the Regale as such, than the marked anti-regale line in which it issued at last. The Nonjuring school, who wrote vehemently against the Regale, were legitimate successors of the Laudian one. The truth was, that under William III., the regale was against them; and under Charles I., with them. That made the difference, and a very great difference it is—what is called in ordinary affairs, all the difference. We must look historically upon these things, to be able to judge.

To return to our history. The effects of Laud's ecclesiastical administration were soon seen. One of the most prominent was the rise of the Clergy. 'The Clergy were much debased,' he said; 'but it had heretofore been otherwise; and he hoped to see it so again.' Laud exalted his order, and the elevation of the Clergy—the priesthood—to power, came more and more out, like a favourite idea, as his career advanced. He left behind him, on returning from Charles's Scotch coronation, Archbishop Spottiswoode, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Bishop of Ross, privy councillor. A greater step was the appointment of Juxon to the office of Lord High Treasurer. The staff was put into his hands with great pomp and circumstance, and he was conducted in state from London House to Westminster, the Archbishop riding by his side, and a cavalcade of noblemen and gentlemen following. 'March 6, Sunday,' says the Diary, 'William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High 'Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry 'VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the 'Church may have honour, and the King and State service 'and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not 'hold themselves up, under God, I can do no more.' The passage is characteristic, because his mind is so obviously going back, unconsciously, to the medieval period of the Church for its image, and congratulating itself on the partial, evanescent restoration of it, which now passes like a dream before him; and does not so much inspirit him as a reality, as soothe him as a picture. He 'can do no more;' the Church may fall, after all, but its image gratifies him. The ceremonial of Charles's coronation was made to express the same idea. The

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priesthood encircled the king. The Church delivered the crown into the prince's hands; she addressed him, as she crowned him: 'Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you 'have been heir by the succession of your fathers, being now 'delivered unto you by the authority of God, and by the hands 'of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And as you 'see the Clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; 'that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the 'kingly throne, to be the mediator between the Clergy and the 'laity, that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King 'of kings and Lord of lords.'

The form of alliance which makes the Church succumb to the State, is Erastian; the form which makes it guide the State is not. Laud put power into the hands of the clergy, as being clergy. This is the very opposite of Erastianism. The modern German Church and State idea brings the Church into the world by secularizing her; absorbs her into the State first, and when she has become the State, lets her act. It is a perfectly different, distinct, opposite idea, which gives power to the priesthood, as such, and recognizes the sacerdotal element *per se* in its combination with the political.

Laud's partiality for his order was generous. The temptation in the higher ranks of Clergy is generally just the reverse—to think more of the laity than of their own brethren, and identify themselves with the influential secular world. Mere sacerdotal rank is despised, because it is not earthly rank, and is used only as a stepping-stone to it. Laud's predecessor was a remarkable contrast to him here, and exhibited all that leaning to secular rank, which has so characterized the puritanical religious school. Abbot, '*non amavit gentem nostram*,' says Heylyn: 'he favoured the laity above the Clergy in all cases which were brought before him; he forsook the birds of his own feather, to fly with others.' A country gentleman had only to make his complaint against a clergyman, and Abbot was all ear to him. He abandoned the old archiepiscopal hospitalities at Canterbury to Church tenants and poor, which all his predecessors had kept up, and feasted the Kentish gentry at Lambeth instead; and 'Westminster Hall, St. Paul's Church, and the Royal Exchange,' (the rendezvous of the day) were visited by his servants, with tickets of invitation in their hands, to catch the men of quality they saw about. Laud gave himself small concern on this head. 'He did court persons too little,' says Clarendon. People complained that he went to the other extreme, and that 'out of a dislike to that popularity which was too much affected 'by his predecessor, he was carried on so far as to fail in many

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'necessary civilities to the nobility and gentry, by which he 'might have obliged them, and indeed himself.' A 'reserved and unplausible humour' was attributed to him; and one of the Kentish gentlemen, whom Abbot had feasted, and he had not, was observed to 'throw the first dirt at him' in parliament, when his troubles came. He made nobles and gentry frown, the Clergy look up: and great men were alarmed, and annoyed, as 'they did observe the inferior Clergy took more upon 'them than they were wont, and did not live towards their 'neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that 'civility and condescension they used to do; which disposed 'them likewise to withdrawing their countenance and good 'neighbourhood from them.'

The rise of an ecclesiastical discipline began to be felt. It made its appearance under a parti-coloured secular garb, but still the ecclesiastical *animus* was seen underneath, and hated as such. The High Commission Court, with all its lay lords and privy councillors, worked by the Archiepiscopal head, showed an *animus*. It attacked the immoralities of the nobles with boldness; and the fault charged upon law, that it catches the small offenders, and lets the great ones through, was not seen there. 'He intended the discipline of the Church,' says Clarendon, 'should be felt as well as spoken of; and that it should 'be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressor, as 'well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner 'offenders; and therefore called for and cherished the disco-'very of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, 'thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their 'power and will to chastise. Persons of honour and great qua-'lity at the Court, and of the country, were every day cited 'into the High Commission Court upon the fame of their incon-'tinence or other scandal in their lives, and were there prose-'cuted to their shame and punishment,' and complained of what they called 'the insolent triumph upon their degree and 'quality, and levelling them with the common people.' Laud was working a dangerous weapon for himself, and the resentment of an offended nobility retaliated fearfully upon him at his trial. 'They never forgot' these acts, and 'watched for revenge.' English, Irish, Scotch nobles—he had come into contact with them all. The Church sentence and rebuke, the Church lands got back, the Church an obstacle and sore point in some way, were remembered. The strength of the nobles, and the pride which accompanies strength, had been growing apace, as the royalty was declining. 'The grandees of the Puritan faction,' says Heylyn, 'after the first heats were over in Queen Elizabeth's 'time, carried on their work for thirty years together like moles

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'underground, not casting up any earth before them till they 'had made so strong a party in the House of Commons, that they could do anything.' And a still larger class, 'who loved 'the established government of the Church, and the exercise 'of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, 'and did not dislike the order and decency which they saw 'mended, yet liked not any novelties, and entertained jealousies' (how descriptive of the conservatives of the day) were sore about the whole movement. It is the national character over again. How aptly does the whole of Clarendon's account—the more so from his own sympathies with the class he mentions—apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to our present movements. The instinctive, vague, antagonistic sensation, which the English mind feels on the first symptoms of the Church moving, and showing life, seems to be hereditary in us. The greater honour to him who did not shrink from encountering it. It should ever be remembered, as a piece of historical justice to Laud, that his was a contest with the great of this world; that the honourer and cherisher of his poor clerical brethren, brought the high noble before the bar, rebuked his vices, or made him refund his spoils, and fought the Church battles with him.

A new theological race of Clergy had sprung up under Laud's administration. The tone of the clerical body was altered; and a theological school, which was a mere handful when he commenced life at Oxford, had spread over the country in all directions. Oxford itself, from being a focus of Calvinism, had come round, and hardly knew its new reflexion in the theology of Jeremy Taylor and Hammond. A puritan remnant remained, and perambulated their old haunts, but they felt their occupation of the place gone, and saw another standard on the ascendant, a new *genius loci* penetrating the air. The crowds of Clergy whom the rebellion and directory threw out of their places, show the strong growth that had been going on in the Church at large, and the change of Church of England theology that a few years had brought about. Laud was popular with the inferior Clergy, though not much so with his brethren on the bench. He stood up for their rights, watched their interests, saw that they were not ill-used; was courteous to them, when they came personally across him; would take great pains, by private talking and arguing, to convert any of them from puritanical tendencies. The bias of his mind was toward the inferior Clergy,—the direct open puritan of course excepted. It is the natural tendency of a centre toward the mass; and the mass returns the compliment. The mass gathers round its centre, and rejoices in a good strong hold in the middle of it, in feeling something beyond the adjacent boundary and

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local defence. Laud was an immoveable personal centre of the Churchmanship in the nation. They knew they could trust him; that they could lean upon him, and that he would not give way. His was an absolute pertinacious real substance, formed and hardened in a perpetual life of action and responsibility, risk and trial. Whatever there was of him was solid stone; a mind, by undergoing a certain ordeal, mineralizes, and turns into hard transparent metal, into a crystal steel occupant of the bodily frame. There he stood in the middle, and concentrated singly the hardness of the mass. The Clergy were proud of him, and took their cue from him; and called him high-sounding names, and addresses and eulogiums adopted the '*Sanctitas tua*,' and the '*Summus Pontifex*,' and the '*Arcangelus*,' and '*Quo rectior non stat regula*.'—'The meanest title of them,' he says, 'far too much applied to my person and unworthiness.' —'High language for such an unworthy person;'—'absolute hyperbole,' but well meant, only a way of expressing 'that I deserved well of them;'—'effusions from a luxuriant pen that ran upon these phrases.'

Laud was not inattentive to public opinion. With all his use of power, he made use of the press as well; argued in print; and answered what came out on the Puritan side. Heylyn's 'Antidotum Lincolniense' answered Williams's attack on the Communion table question. The Scotch Liturgy was followed immediately by an 'Apology:' Bishop Hall wrote his 'Divine Right of Episcopacy' to counteract the rising Scotch Presbyterian influence before the Invasion. The state of the religious press in general, apart from the peculiar points of controversy, was attended to, and the rise of Socinian principles in the books of the day had created his alarm. Hales, of Eton, wrote a latitudinarian treatise, in which he carried out the right of private judgment to its full development, and, in short, quite forestalled the liberal theory of the present day. Laud sent for him, and they argued together the whole morning. The hour for dinner broke off the discussion. Heylyn tells us it had a great effect upon Hales, who told him (Heylyn) that his opinions had been much changed by it. Mr. Hallam does not believe Heylyn here. We can only say that Heylyn asserts it as a fact, and that there is no reason why it should not be true. The School of Hoadley and the eighteenth century had its seed in the English Church even now, which favouring circumstances afterwards brought out. And even direct Socinian books had, in the confusion of religious war, crept in to a formidable extent. Laud weeded the press of them.

We have attempted something of an outline of Laud's career. He acted boldly, and he paid for it; he had his endurance taxed considerably. The attacks which poured in upon him

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from all sides throughout were, in multitudinous vehemence, equal to what any public man in this world ever experienced. The fact that Prynne's ears were cut off by an order of Star Chamber, is considered by many to have been an ample internal satisfaction to him for his whole personal experience from this quarter. Without defending cutting off ears, and the punishments of the day, it is only fair to say that Prynne was not punished as an assailant of Laud, but as a simple criminal. His abuse of the Royal Majesty and the King's ministers was a simple crime then, just as stealing was, and he was punished for it.

The Puritans had an unrivalled command of vituperative phraseology and fertility in calling names, which found a full vent in this channel. Libels sprang up out of the ground, as thick as snakes in Oriental herbage. They found their way to Laud's closet, study, dining-room, bedroom. His very office of Press-censorship brought them under his eyes, and the writers had the satisfaction of knowing, that if even their production was stopped, Laud had seen it, and had had his own suspended effigy brought to his own windows. And, indeed, these portraitures were no pleasing objects even of closet-inspection. Laud's library-table concentrated under his eye, in camera-obscura reflection, the bitterness and hostilities of a whole excited world without. The titles of Prynne's 'Quench-Coal,' and 'News from Ipswich,' Bastwick's 'Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium,' 'The Hystric-Mastix,' and one or two others, have just survived out of a vast ephemeral ocean of pamphlets. A grotesque irony, and an unmeasured hyperbole, alternate; fierce grins and dreadful foulness; 'Arch-piety, Arch-charity, 'Arch-wolf,' Arch agent for the devil, Beelzebub himself be-'come Archbishop, the devil's most triumphant arch to adorn 'his victories,'—is a specimen of the more witty and polished style of vituperation. These pamphlets stuck at nothing, raked up stories, abused him for his birth, or ridiculed his size; or called him dirt, or filth, or poison; were simple nonsense and trash, except for the animus of dreadful enmity which all this grotesqueness expressed. Odd people and monomaniacs became the strays and waifs of the popular feeling, and took a fancy for attacking Laud. 'One Boyer, a felon just 'broke out of prison, grossly abused him to his face, accusing 'him of high treason.'—'One Greene, a poor decayed printer '(for whom Laud had got a pension of five pounds a year from 'the Company of Stationers), adventured into the Court of St. 'James's with a great sword by his side, desperately swearing 'that if the King would not do him justice with the Archbishop, 'he would take another course with him.' One Lady Davies 'scatters a prophecy against him.' This lady 'had the reputa-

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'tion of a "cunning woman" among the common people, and 'she prophesies of the Archbishop, that he should live but 'two days after the fifth of November. She is brought before 'the High Commission. The woman had grown so mad, that 'she fancied the spirit of the prophet Daniel had been infused 'into her body. And this she grounded on an anagram which 'she made on her name, viz.—*Eleanor Davies,—Reveal, O Daniel.* 'Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this 'spirit, but all would not do, till Lamb, the Dean of Arches, 'shot her through and through with an arrow borrowed from 'her own quiver. For while the bishops and divines were 'reasoning the point with her out of holy Scripture, he took a 'pen in his hand, and hit upon this excellent anagram, viz. '*Dame Eleanor Davies,—Never so mad a ladie.* "Madam," 'said he, "I see you build much on anagrams, and I have found 'out one which I hope will fit you." He read it aloud, which 'brought the grave Court to such laughter, and the woman 'to such confusion, that she grew either wiser, or was less re-'garded afterwards.' A wild, furious world of enemies, had much more formidable ones above them; and violence and vulgarity had their main sting in the black looks of great men enjoying the scene. After all, it is not pleasant to be really hated by any man; it is not pleasant to be abused. A vulgar fellow abuses you in the streets; he may be as vulgar as the dirt; still there is the fact—you are abused; and the words physically touch you, as it were, and there is defilement.

Laud's was a peculiarly sensitive mind, acutely realizing this metaphysical dirt and foulness, and feeling that it swallowed something nasty in the process of abuse. No quantity of experience familiarized him to it. A crowd of faces, and eyes staring, mouths railing at him, as if he were some monster, are pictured in his mind. He has a dislike to be stared at. He 'stays at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the 'people.' The sensation of 'being gazed at,' as if a gaze was a sort of tangible nuisance inflicted, and a low intrusion, comes out unconsciously often; reminding one almost of the feeling of children against being looked at. And 'being railed at,'—'jeered' (he dreams of courtiers jeering him), was a sort of reality in the same way; a material plastering, as it were, of so much offensive substance upon him. He 'endures' a mob's railing, by the pure power of mental prayer at the time, as if it were a regular sustained passive contact with literal external evil. We mean, that he could not bear these demonstrations of hatred: *i. e.* could bear it, but never without deeply feeling them.

Laud had that particular framework of mind which domiciliates and harbours all hostile phenomena without. A curious

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mixture of innocence and self-complacency makes some persons never see when they are treated ill. The fact glances off from them without making any impression, and does not gain an entrance into their imperturbable easy good-nature. Another class of mind is a magazine of hostile matter, a military depôt. A shadowy archetype of war resides within them, and readily admits the phenomena from without—a word, a look, a sign, a gesture of another; and they are the theatre of a perpetual invisible strife; and metaphysical forces and strategies, ambuscades, surprises, retreats, the arrow from a corner, and a *terra incognita* of foes, compose the dark background of the interior mental scene. The mind carries on a perpetual unconscious reference to some protean enemy, here or there, or everywhere: it talks to itself of enemies, prays against them; longs for deliverance from its enemies. There is a religious form of this habit of mind. The Psalms are full of the mention of the enemy. 'The ungodly bend the bow, and make ready their arrows 'within the quiver, that they may privily shoot at him who is true 'of heart.' The 'soul is among lions:' 'the enemy persecutes 'her, lays snares for her, speaks evil of her: she goeth heavily, and 'would flee as a bird unto the hill, while the enemy oppresseth 'her.'

Laud's devotions are peculiarly indicative of this state of mind. Their characteristic tone almost makes them unfit for ordinary use; the individual so pervades them. He is labouring under a pressure, engaged in a hard unpromising struggle, surrounded by enemies and persons who wish him evil, with the snare and the pit open for him, and he prays against them. All sides think themselves in the right, and yet there is a quietness and depth in the Church's confidence in the rightness of her side, which her opponents want. The most perfect tranquil assurance that he is fighting against the enemies of God, appears in Laud's devotions; and a career of simple religious sincerity, doing what it thinks its mere duty and work, is their substratum. He expresses his weariness and his longings in the prayer of St. Augustine: 'Long time, O Lord, have I struggled against heresies, 'and am almost wearied. Come, Lord Jesus, mightiest Warrior, 'Prince of the host of the Lord, Conqueror of the devil and the 'world: take arms and shield, and rise up and help me.'—'*Tempore adverso*'—'*Auxilium*'—'Deliverance'—appear at the margin of the prayers. 'Deal with me, O God, according 'to Thy name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am 'helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me.'—'Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my 'feet out of the net.'—'I deal with the thing that is lawful and 'right, O give me not over unto mine oppressors:'—'let the

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'proud do me no wrong.'—'I have heard the blasphemy of the 'multitude, and fear is on every side.'—'Thou hast fed me with 'the bread of tears, and given me plenteousness of tears to drink.' 'I am become a very strife unto my neighbours, and mine 'enemies laugh me to scorn.'—'Gracious Father, the life of man 'is a warfare upon earth—be present with me in the services of 'my calling. That which I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee 'prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee 'master: that which I do not fear, I beseech Thee unmask and 'frustrate.—Especially, O Lord, bless and preserve me at this 'time from M. N. that I may glorify Thee for this deliverance 'also.' A religious pleasure which a mind has, that feels itself to be genuine and transparent, in the appeal to the heart within —the communion with the φίλῃ ψυχῇ, and turning to her for society, love, and repose; the confidence and clear air within, appear in Laud.

We must go back again to Laud as a Statesman. Side by side with the ecclesiastical administration, a host of other duties devolved upon him in the State department.

The University of Oxford lay half-way between the two. He was no nominal Chancellor there; it got a real head to look after it, when it chose him. An interval of twenty years found Laud in a rather curiously different position there, to what he started with; and the once hit at and preached at fellow of St. John's, was ruling the University with a high hand, from his library at Lambeth. 'I pray,' is his first letter to the Vice-Chancellor after his appointment, 'call the Heads of Colleges 'and Halls together, together with the Proctors, and with my 'love remembered to them all, let them know I am welcomed 'unto my Chancellorship with many complaints from very great 'men.' The 'outward and visible form of the University,' he hears, 'is utterly decayed, so that strangers that come, have 'hardly any mark by which they know it is a University.' He proceeds immediately to the revival of proper academical 'For-'malities,' in the 'Schools, Convocation, Congregation houses, 'Latin sermons.'—'Put the tables of statute observance on 'St. Mary's doors,' he concludes, 'and proceed to the execution of 'them.' Letter after letter gave his directions about the discipline of the place, down to the minutest details. 'And I pray 'you,' he writes, 'see that none of the youth be suffered to go in 'boots and spurs, or to wear their hair indecently long, or with 'a lock in the present fashion, or with slashed doublets, or in 'any light or garish colours. And if noblemen will have their 'sons court it too soon, the fault shall be theirs, not mine.' He will allow no 'riding school, or suffer the scholars to fall into 'the old humour of going up and down in boots and spurs, and

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'then having this excuse ready, that they are going to the 'riding-house.'—'And for Mr. Crofts, and his great horses, he 'may carry them back, if he pleases, as he brought them.'— 'I pray give Mr. Crofts thanks fairly for his good intentions, 'but he must not stay.' 'And farther, I would have you speak 'with the Principal of Brasenose, that he would command their 'cellar to be better looked to—(he is writing about having more 'orderly disputations)—that no strong and unruly argument be 'drawn from that topic place.' Academical Disputations, times of Morning and Evening College prayer, the revival of the Holy Communion at the beginning of term, instructions as to Church-reverence, succeed one another. The Procuratorial cycle was his remedy for the disorders then attending the public election of the Proctors; and the Laudian statute book, together with alterations, laboriously abridged and arranged, bears witness to the chaotic mass to which a period of neglect had reduced the University statutes.

The commission of the Treasury, in 1635, brought a wholly new and complicated department of state-business upon him. An interval of some time had released him in some measure from political business, and allowed him to devote himself more exclusively to the Church; but the discovery of frauds in the Treasury, again brought him into the thick of it. He determined to see that department put to rights. He, Coventry, Cottington, and the great state officers, constituted the commission. His brother statesmen were not at all obliged to him for his public spirit and threatened reforms, and thwarted him with considerable malice. 'His old friend Windebank forsook him in the matter,' says the Diary, 'and joined with the Lord Cottington; which put him to 'the exercise of a great deal of patience.'—'For your Spaniard, '[to Strafford] and the gravity which he learnt there, while he 'went to buy pigeons, hath tempted my old friend the Secretary 'from me, and is become his man. So I have need to look to 'myself.' Cottington (the Spaniard) was no friend of Laud's at any time; and Clarendon gives a story of his taking in Laud on one occasion, by a story of the king, a great lover of the sport, going to turn some royal farms into a hunting chase. It was a lie of Cottington's, and Laud gave the King a warm lecture upon his extravagance for nothing, except that his majesty was amused at the mistake. Cottington seems to have intended something more serious. Laud had a whole set of half-enemies about him at court, and his and Strafford's alliance was an object of fear and jealousy to the myrmidons of that sphere.

Laud, at sixty-two, set to work thoroughly to get up treasury business. An anecdote illustrates his official sway. The great battle in the financial department then was between the public

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service and private men, the interests of a class of farmers and monopolists, and the interests of the royal exchequer; and the mercantile world suffered grievously by these jobs.

'There was a merchant of the greatest reputation (Daniel 'Harvey), who having a country house within the distance of a 'few miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole busi- 'ness of trade more exactly than most men, was always very 'welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many 'questions about such matters. Upon an accidental discourse 'between them, what encouragement merchants ought to receive, 'who brought a great trade into the kingdom, Mr. Harvey 'mentioned the discouragements they had received in the late 'times by the rigour of the Earl of Portland, in matters that 'related nothing to the king's service, but to the profit of private 'men.'—A long story follows:—'Lord Portland, the treasurer, 'compelled the merchants to land their fine goods, silks and 'linens, at Customhouse Quay; whereas they had always 'been free to ship or unship such goods at what wharf they 'would chuse for their convenience.' But the Customhouse Quay belonged to private wharfingers, who had secured Lord Portland's interest; and the great constraint and loss of time to the trade of the country gave way to a job. The Archbishop heard the story 'with great indignation.' A general petition of the trade, and the assistance of 'Mr. Hyde,' afterwards Lord Clarendon, rectified the abuse.

'The Archbishop,' says Clarendon, 'laid down one principle 'for himself, which he believed would much advance the King's 'service—that the King's duties being provided for, and cheer- 'fully paid, the merchants should receive all the countenance and 'protection from the King that they could expect. He was 'careful that what accrued of burden to the subject should 'redound to the benefit of the Crown, and not enrich projectors 'at the charge of the people. This vigilance and inclination in 'the Archbishop opened the door to the admission of any 'merchants or others to him, who gave him information of this 'kind; and who being ready to pay any thing to the King, 'desired only protection from private oppressors.'

Laud carried on the commission of the treasury for a year, and got acquainted with all the holes and corners of the office; 'the mysteries and secrets of it, the honest advantages which 'the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value 'of seven thousand pounds a year, and upwards), as I' (we quote Heylyn), 'have heard from his own mouth, without defraud- 'ing the King or abusing the subject.' 'He had observed 'that divers treasurers, of late years, had raised themselves 'from very mean and private fortunes, to the titles and estates

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'of earls;' and he determined to have a treasurer who would 'not play such a game—a man 'who had no family to raise, 'no wife and children to provide for.' Bishop Juxon did not disappoint his patron; and the honourable testimony of an enemy, Lord Falkland, declared in parliament, 'that in an 'unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation 'and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, 'either of the crozier or the staff.' He conducted the business of the treasurership with great ability, and gave universal satisfaction.

The appointment of Strafford to Ireland brought a whole flood of public business upon him from that quarter. Strafford's scheming prolific mind made him its medium and advocate at head quarters, and he had to get up the whole multitudinous arrangements of the Irish administration, in order to put them in shape and favourable aspect before Charles and the government at home. In the midst of enemies, Irish and English, court treacheries and coolnesses, Strafford depended solely upon Laud, and no one other support. If Laud had failed him, he must have gone. They were mutually necessary for each others' plans; and while Strafford worked hard for Laud in Ireland, Laud worked hard for Strafford at home; and with the financial department in England upon him, threw himself into the whole sea of Irish finance as well, and entered into all Strafford's new plans of revenue, customs, colonizations, fisheries, abolitions of farms, jobs, monopolies, linen-manufactories, articles for taxation, patents and patentees, coinage, money-circulation, subsidies, parliamentary management, military security, viceroy ceremonial and etiquette, and the world of questions which issued out of Strafford's creative administration. A curious mixture of Church and State, with all their respective ramifications, deaneries, bishoprics, stalls, tithes, commendams, pluralities, alienations, frauds, restoration of church spoils, legal prosecution of the spoilers, buying in impropriations, convocation, articles, canons, Calvinism, University education, the Provost and the Primate, and their disputes, Bramhall, Lesly, Bedel, Usher—with tobacco and tallow, and Cottington and Court, &c. &c. meets our eye. 'I am a-weary,' he says, at the beginning of a letter; and 'I am 'a-weary,' he says, at the end of a letter. 'I am heartily 'a-weary,'—'and I was never so busy as I am at this present.' And 'now I have done with your long letters;' and 'let me not 'have your long letters again just now.'

Sympathy, cheerfulness, and affection, however, appear in every letter; quiet advice occasionally, as from an older, though not so brilliant a head; numerous hits and nicnames; sly raillery sometimes upon his correspondent himself. Strafford's high

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spirit, sensitiveness, enthusiastic aspirings, internal disgusts, he quite enters into, and tries to calm. 'All able, and all hearty, and 'all running one way, and none caring for any ends so that the 'king be served.'—Strafford: 'By your lordship's leave, a branch 'of Plato's commonwealth, which flourishes at this day nowhere 'but in Utopia.'—Laud. A side hit at Strafford's oratorical propensities, and dashing way of doing things.—'Every body 'liked your carriage and discourse to the council, but thought it 'too long, and that too much strength was put into it. *But you 'see what it is to be an able speaker.*' A hint given about Strafford's prosecutions, that they were doing him harm. 'Some per-'sons whisper against your proceedings in Ireland as being over-'full of personal prosecutions, and instance Lord Wilmot, Lord 'St. Alban's, &c. I know that you have a great deal more 'resolution in you than to decline any service for the barking of 'discontented persons; and yet, my lord, if you could find a 'way to do all these services and decline these storms, it would 'be excellent well thought on. I pray your lordship to pardon 'me this freedom, which I brought with me into your friendship.' Soothings of his court disappointments and sense of Charles's neglect come in. 'You know the workings of a court,' and 'these things cannot be helped,' and 'a king is prevented by circumstances from appreciating his good servants as he ought;' and 'to reward aright is not in every governor's skill and good 'fortune.'

Entire weariness of business has a burst occasionally, and a good hearty laugh in the middle of a letter—the subject, Strafford's gout, on which he strings a good-natured hit at his friend's imperious tendencies. 'I see you conceal your infir-'mities, for your brother tells me you have the gout, but there's 'not a word of it in your letter. This 'tis to write with your 'fingers, and not with your toes: had you been to write with 'these, I should have heard some complaints, or discovered it 'by your manner of writing. I promise you, you can make 'haste that can get the gout so soon; I thought you had been 'contented to stay till you had been nearer three-score first; ''tis no such lovely companion, and I know you would be glad 'to be rid of it. Well now, there's work for Dr. Williams; 'and I know if he had not been so near you, you would have 'sent to me for my counsel, who have more skill in these things 'than you are aware of. And though he be there, I'll venture 'to prescribe for you. Take heed of applying any medicine to 'it that may beat it back, but draw it out into public as much 'as you can; and while you have so good an advantage, follow 'it; use your power in both houses, make an act of parliament 'against it; that if ever it comes to lay hold of you again,

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'especially when you are busy in the king's service, it shall 'incur your high displeasure, and be expelled the castle, so soon 'as ever you are rid of it, and not return again, under pain of 'being endured there against your will. Indeed, I much marvel 'how it durst venture upon you in parliament time, and verily 'think, it would hardly have been so bold, had it not had the 'suffrages of some mutineers in the house.'

In going through Laud's whole career, we are struck not with its vigour after all, as with its magnitude and comprehensiveness. Some characters strike immediately: others progressively. *Crescit eundo* applies remarkably to some men: the circle widens, the space unfolds within them. A narrow opening conducts into the interior, and a want of room is felt at first; a moving boundary of dusk and twilight walls you in, and seems to threaten a standstill every minute. The scene enlarges with exploring, avenues thicken, and paths diverge; a forest tract insensibly appears. The cathedral area and dimensions disappoint the eye at first, but the ground expands with stepping, and the idea of size and vastness comes gradually as an impression produced upon the internal sense, and intellectual shadow upon the mind. Physical force acts either by quick blow, or slow pressure. Power, greatness, talent, either concentrate themselves in particular strokes, or cover the ground by steady advance, and uniform expansion. Laud's was a large mind. We mean that largeness, capacity, dimension, was its particular characteristic, as distinguished from other kinds of greatness. Scripture talks about 'largeness of heart, even as the sand which is on the sea 'shore.' His accessibleness, affability, openness, and all those features of the genuine public character, and presence of mind, attention always ready, ear alive and willing to be engaged by any new comer, and absorbing quietly the visitor and his information, the man and his facts together; his powers of *ab extra* sympathy, his comprehensive friendships and alliances; varied tastes, love of learning, wide liberal patronage, and the whole fertile and diversified industry of his mind, brought to bear on the one object of the Church—all this ground grows upon one. Church and Court, and all their ramifications—Scotch Church, Irish Church, discipline, doctrine, Strafford, the Universities, the Treasurership, grow upon one. An idea of extent comes upon one—an idea which we are afraid has suggested itself to our readers already,—and one mind's arch seems to cover a good space. The variety of the scene mingles indeed with a sort of haze and gloom below, with underground toil and pressure, and the secret chamber, and the private meeting, and mysterious cells and corners. Shades come over the scene, and the air waves with dreamy hues, and the purple and the gold, the court splendour

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and episcopal throne, gleam through rolling vapour and subtle intersection; and we are in an intricate complex interior, a labyrinth and subterranean domain of mind.

Homer has devoted one of his poems to a description of the union of the political character with feeling and nature. Accomplished statesmanship, art, and penetration; subtlety, fertility, experience, mark pre-eminently the hero of the Odyssey. He knows human nature, human ways, and is conversant with courts and cities;—Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω· men and minds are his sphere; he is acquainted with man; has traversed the human world, and come into genuine contact with the race. He shows its results in a temper of courtesy, moderation, endurance; he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer more. Simplest heart and affectionateness unité with political talent; and the sweetness of home and kindred follows the subtle practical mind over the earth, overpowering it with purest longings and devotion. The image of flourishing, peaceful Ithaca is always before his mind, and crowns the journey's end; he feeds on past reminiscences, and lives on the hope of seeing the past once more present. The Odyssean type is peculiarly illustrative of Laud's mind;—human life, the world, mankind its sphere;—men and minds, minds and men, man *en masse*, and man the individual; his formidable numbers, and his still more formidable units; the subject-matter of his labour, endurance, management, experience, skill. Solid experience, ethical skill,—whoever really possesses it,—most sobering intoning moulding to the mind; fruit of self-discipline, height of mental accomplishment and art, which is all but virtue! His long journey through courts and cities, pursued a bright image of the Church,—a visionary Ithaca, which fled further and further from him as he seemed to approach it, till a black cloud stood at last in its place, and disclosed a scaffold.

Laud was a genuine priest—the priest in the political atmosphere. That love of his order—that partiality for priestly celibacy show the priest. Some over free speeches of his on the point of celibacy got him into a scrape, and people were getting alarmed, when he suddenly displayed himself in a very marked way, at the marriage of one of his chaplains, and quieted suspicion. We see a corner of that priestly mixture of subtlety and humility in him; that mode of managing which is popularly accused of being imperious and underhand at the same time. We describe it by what the superficial popular accuser calls it, for the sake of convenience, without pausing to say what it really is—which would take us too much time.

There is an observable tendency in him perpetually to disclaim his own influence, and throw the originating character

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upon others. He acts under a shield, and has an influence in motion about him, which he set moving in the first instance, but just does not do the thing itself. And a peculiar subtlety of mind, enables to say in the case of things that he certainly exceedingly wished to be done, and certainly had a great deal to do with, that somehow or other, he did not do them. The Regale, and the High Court of Commission, are his great Ajacian shield in the first instance, and although it was perfectly well known that he did everything that was done there, he keeps up the form of an amusing ostentatious humility throughout, in a jealous reference of everything to the Board; of whose perfect independence, and mere voluntary motion, he tolerates no suspicion. He is even exceedingly concerned at some of their acts, on particular occasions—especially so, in the case of his great opponent the Lord Keeper Williams. Five several times does he go down on his knees to the king, to beg for leniency to the Lord Keeper; but his majesty is resolute, inexorable to entreaty: the Lord Keeper goes to the wall. It is a singular fact, that a certain shade of intricacy and subtlety does hover around a particular class of characters; and that most unquestionably high and disinterested men exhibit themselves in a colour, which to the mass must inevitably have the look of simple deceit. We hit against the corners of a casuistical world, and catch a puzzling glimpse of a very shadowy intersected interior. An internal distinction enables Laud to be first the rigorous prosecutor and then the compassionate intercessor; and separates what his evidence does, from what he himself does against Williams. The evidence is indeed too strong for the intercession; but he cannot help certain facts telling. He lets the trial and the case have their own full swing; but he stands outside of it, and has his own attitude for himself. A man with a good substratum of power finds that other persons do things for him, and sees his own wishes carried out in advance, and operates as a kind of invisible spring to a circle of action around him. The High Commission Court was in the unconscious habit of obedience to Laud, while Laud was modestly declining even the exercise of his own vote at times, whenever he might be considered a personally interested party. Laud had nothing to do with the Scotch Liturgy; and he had nothing to do with theological books that came out. The Scotch Bishops did one thing; his chaplains did another; the High Commission another; the king another. He only does nothing at all; and sees all the world in motion, he himself unaccountably quiescent. His examination at his trial is a perfect specimen of this species of casuistry: it proceeds on the theory, that he has a right to say what the opposite side cannot legally prove against him; that he

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has a right to the advantages of a position, to say—that is true as far as you are concerned, you have no right to question me further than the bare outside goes: I give you the outside; and take it, and make what you can out of it.

What mixes oddly, however, with this cautious, subtle habit of mind, is the impatience and irritableness which is charged to him. We do not believe all that is said of him here, but he does seem never to have got over a natural defect he had in the shape of an excessive and morbid sensitiveness. He could often calm it, and often not; and perpetually struggled with it. A hard experience never endowed him with absolute political temper and coolness, and a bad voice, and some defect of manner, did him injustice on this head. Nature does not allow some people to express themselves truly, but refracts what they do through some angular or rough medium. We are referring here principally to Clarendon's account of Laud.

A word about Clarendon. We can trust Clarendon's description of one of the regular class of statesmen and men of the world; he draws it exactly; but he does not appreciate higher characters, and makes mistakes. He sets down Laud as a precipitate, headstrong person, when the truth simply is, that he does not enter into ends and objects he was contending for, and thinks that unimportant which Laud thought important. The charge of precipitancy over and over again, indeed, is simply a criticism on ends, and not on means, and only expresses a difference as to first principles between the critic and the person he judges. Strafford, in the same way, he obviously does not in the least understand, and is as unfair to him as possible, simply from not understanding him. With all deference to Clarendon's greatness in his own department of mind, he has much narrowness and pedantry.

Clarendon patronizes Laud rather amusingly. He admires the 'splendour of his piety,' and feels grateful for his patronage and the business he got him as a lawyer in early life. We hear how Mr. Hyde 'first came to be known to the Archbishop, who ever 'afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him on all 'occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came as 'counsel in any causes depending at the council-board, insomuch 'that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate these advan-'tages) was used with more countenance by all the judges in 'Westminster-Hall, and the eminent practisers, than was 'usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in 'practice, of which he had as much as he desired.' The young lawyer, in return for the Archbishop's patronage, gives him the benefit of his good advice, and a lecture. 'The greatest want 'the Archbishop had was of a true friend, who would seasonably

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'tell him of his infirmities.' Mr. Hyde supplies that deficiency.

Mr. Hyde's free expostulation with the Archbishop.—'He found the Archbishop early walking in the garden, who received him, according to his custom, very graciously, and continuing his walk, asked him, "What good news from the country?" To which he answered, there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many people spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss. He replied that he was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give over serving the king and the Church to please the people. Mr. Hyde told him he thought he need not lessen his zeal for either, and that it grieved him to find persons of the best conditions, and who loved both king and Church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them when they had occasion to resort to him: and then named two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the council-board; that all the lords present used them with great courtesy, and that he alone spake sharply to them; and one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth, to present service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him; that after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that "he had no time for compliments," which put the other much out of countenance. And that this kind of behaviour was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality.

'He (Laud) heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident show of trouble, that "he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well; that by an imperfection of nature, which he said often troubled him, he might deliver the resolution of the council in such a tone and with a sharpness of voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing.—That he did well remember that one of them, (who was a person of honour) came afterwards to him, at a time when he was shut up about an affair of importance which required his full thoughts, but that as soon as he heard of the others being without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received him very kindly as he thought; and supposing that he came about business, asked what his business was, and the other answering that he had no business, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had indeed said, that he had no time for com

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'pliments, but he did not think he went out of the room in that 'manner."

'He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely 'on the subject,' who said, 'He observed that the gentlemen had 'too much reason for the report they made; and he did not 'wonder they had been much troubled with his carriage toward 'them; that he did exceedingly wish, that he would more 'reserve his passion; and that he would treat persons of honour 'and quality and interest in their country with more courtesy 'and condescension. He said, smiling, that he could only under-'take for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his 'tongue, he could not undertake that he should not sometimes 'speak more hastily and sharply than he should do (which often-'times he was sorry and reprehended himself for), and in a tone 'which might be liable to misinterpretation, with them who were 'not well acquainted with him.—After this free discourse, 'Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, 'and treated with more familiarity: upon which he always con-'cluded that, if the Archbishop had had any true friend, who 'could in proper seasons have dealt frankly with him, he would 'not only have received it very well, but have profited by it.'

Mr. Hyde is obviously a very sagacious adviser, and Mr. Hyde is very well satisfied with the impression which his lecture makes on the Archbishop,—an impression, however, we will venture to say, which would not have been produced quite to the extent to which it was, if the Archbishop had not fixed his eye on Mr. Hyde as a person who might be made considerable use of some day, and felt that one avenue to Mr. Hyde's affections, was, to listen patiently to an edifying prose from him. The young barrister judicially lecturing the Archbishop, and the Archbishop's acquiescence in the censure; the mixture of genuine humility and eye cast downwards, with the side glance of the statesman, is a characteristic scene.

Large, subtle, knotty mind; that from your deep corner wielded a court, and caught its great men, one after another, and made them know and feel you individually, through an outward unkind mould of nature, and turned them to your purpose! The man of the world with the sensitiveness of a child; the courtly animus struggling through physical defects of manner; caution, fire; acuteness, simplicity; Laud's character is a whole, though a complex one.

We are approaching the end of Laud's career. The rejection of the Liturgy in Scotland, and the whole scene accompanying it,—a raging crowd, a Bishop assaulted in the very church, and obliged to escape for his life; a conspiracy of nobles, and the Solemn League and Covenant erected by scheming heads upon

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the passions of the mob, had a fatal appearance. The watchword raised, the nucleus formed, hundreds flocked in. A resentful nobility, whose pride Laud had offended, joined them in England, and secret communications were established between the two countries. Nobles, gentry, and great men of all kinds; the Democrats and the Conservatives of the day, both of them—all who disliked the Church, and Church power, chimed in openly and secretly, either with their opposition or their half support; preachers assumed fresh impetus; pulpits were rostrums, congregations mobs; and a whole world was in motion against Laud, Strafford, and the Church-Cabinet.

There is something remarkable in the way in which Laud's animation seems to grow, as he gets older. A reverse process to the usual one tamed his spirit in the first part of his life, and raised it in the latter: and we are surprised, when we come to the Strafford correspondence, and see the fire that there is in him. 'Haughty and fiery,' according to Whitlock; nice sweet lady's man, according to good Mrs. Maxwell, in whose husband's house he lodged before his trial; a striking mixture of both features compose the old man. The year 1640, which ushered in the Scotch rebellion, and concluded with his own imprisonment in the Tower, found him as active and as ubiquitous as in any year of his life. As one of the *triumviri* with Strafford and Hamilton, which had the Scotch war committed to them, he had business and anxiety enough in that quarter. Not one fragment of his other business gives way, not one sign of remissness or flagging, not a faltering step, or a failing look appear. He is all alive, and acts with the full vigour and spirit of his whole career, till his career itself stops; till he comes to a dead wall, and is locked up in the house of the Black Rod. From the cabinet of Scotch business, proceed letters to the University of Oxford, about putting down the Westminster Supper, and a scolding letter to the Vice-Chancellor, for not 'suppressing 'taverns and ale-houses.' Mr. Bagshawe, of the Middle Temple, who gives authority to the courts in Westminster over the 'Courts Christian,' has a summary stop given to his lectures, and 'away goes Bagshawe out of town, accompanied with forty 'or fifty horse, who seemed to be of the same faction and affec-'tions.' Convocation meets in the very thick of the storm, and continues its meeting after the dissolution of Parliament; and the isolated ecclesiastical body daring to show its ecclesiastical unparliamentary existence, draws the whole jealousy of the nation upon it; and the House sits with the Middlesex trainbands to guard it from the fury of the mob. Canons pass, and a series of discussions go on. Bishop Hall's Episcopacy, written for the Scotch emergency, comes under his review, and he sug-

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gests the line and ground to take. All his departments and activities go on.

Laud was not deficient in the prophetic instinct. He had known long ago which way things were going; and the cloud which he saw gathering over the English Church at Bishop Montague's trial, had never left his eye. A singular presentiment of his own fate appears even years before, in one of those strange and vague movements of his mind in the Diary; where it occurs to him that he is always coming into contact with St. John Baptist's day. 'Of no ill omen, I hope. While I was 'intent at prayer, I know not how, it came strongly into my 'mind.' The close of his course comes now ushered in with dreams, and he dreams that he sees his father, and asks his father how long he should stay; and that his father made this answer, that he should stay till he had him along with him. He comes into his study, and sees his picture 'fallen on the floor, 'and lying flat on its face.' Melancholy, and activity under it; the power of ever acting before a blank and ambiguity, of throwing himself into the process as such, and filling space, are characteristic of Laud. A man's career is an existence in itself, a solid portion cut out of the world of human mind and will: it lives apart from what results of it, and has a realm of its own, which no fate can interfere with, in all the space between its beginning and its end.

Parliament met on the 3d of November, 1640. 'A letter 'was wrote to the Archbishop, advertising that the Parliament 'of Henry VIII., which destroyed the privileges of the clergy, 'and dissolved the abbeys and religious houses, was begun on the '3d of November, and therefore that, for good luck's sake, he 'would move the king to respite the first sitting of it for a day 'or two longer.' However, it met on the unlucky day. On the 18th of December, Hollis, after a vehement debate on the Canons of the late Convocation, which were declared to be 'against 'the King's prerogative, and the fundamental laws of the realm,' impeached him in the name of the Commons of England of treason. He was committed to the charge of Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, and remained ten weeks in his house; Mrs. Maxwell charmed with him, and 'talking of him to her 'gossips.' From Maxwell's he was removed to the Tower, amidst a 'railing rabble,' who accompanied him to the very gates.

Mobs had been rife lately, and springing up at a moment's warning; they had attacked Lambeth, had torn up the seats of the High Commission Court at St. Paul's. Laud was now under the special surveillance of a mixed mob of Brownists, Anabaptists, and 'London apprentices,' who invariably accompanied him

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to and from the Tower, saw him enter Westminster Hall for his day's trial, and saw him safe in the Tower gates again; and an impertinent, staring, multitudinous eye seemed always upon him: a specimen of an unwelcome, incongenial companionship, which almost reminds one of some of the poet's punishments in the infernal regions—those curious inflictions which are made expressly to fit the individuals themselves. The Danaidæ had their buckets, and Sisyphus his large stone, and Laud his mob.

Libels and ballads against him were sung up and down the streets, with pictures of him in a cage, and 'fastened to a post by a chain.' They enlivened taverns and alehouses; and the 'drunkards made songs upon me,' he says; 'God of His mercy forgive the misguided people.'

The Tower had its own internal persecutors; and preachers in the chapel soothed his misfortunes with the special application of the text to him, '*Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord.*' One Mr. Joslyn preached, 'with a vehemence becoming Bedlam: 'the women and the boys stood up in the church to see how I 'would bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience.' Puritan ministers came to call on him and ask him 'whether he had 'repented;' Mr. Wells, a New England minister, boisterously demanding of him whether he had not repented of once upon a time suspending him (Mr. Wells) in particular. 'I knew him not till 'he told me he was suspended by me, when I was Bishop of 'London, and he then a minister in Essex. I told him if he 'were suspended it was doubtless according to law. Then upon 'a little further speech, I recalled the man to my remembrance, 'and what care I took at London then to recall him from some 'of his turbulent ways, but all in vain; and now he inferred, out 'of the good words I then gave him, that I suspended him 'against my conscience.'

The death of Strafford deprived him of his greatest friend—the only person who had fully sympathized and acted with him. Laud felt the blow, and knew he stood entirely alone in the world, when he was gone. Hopelessness and separation, and certainty of never coming together again, are a different thing from a friend's death, after all. Laud was perfectly unmanned by Strafford's death. They were not allowed to see one another in the Tower; but Strafford sent to the Lieutenant, the night before his execution, to ask for leave that once. It was refused. 'Then ask the Archbishop,' he said, 'to lend me his prayers 'this night, and give me his blessing when I go abroad to-'morrow, and be at his window, that by my last farewell I may 'give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours. Laud replied, that he could promise the first, but could not

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answer for the second; 'he feared his weakness and passion 'would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure.' He made the attempt, however, and did come up to his window the next morning, where Strafford stood waiting for him on his way to execution; but could not do more than just lift up his hands in the attitude of blessing, and fainted. The heroic character of Strafford, with all the cautions, and softeners, and bits of humour with which Laud attacks him on it in his letters, was deeply loved; and his fondness for it shows itself in his very hits and laughs at it. He gave up all hope for himself from this time, and expected his end as a matter of time, 'adding, 'that he hoped, by God's assistance, and his own innocency, that 'when he came to his own execution, which he daily longed for, 'the world would perceive that he had been more sensible of 'Lord Strafford's loss than he was of his own.' A characteristic sensitiveness makes him half find fault with himself for his emotions, and for the appearance 'of effeminacy and unbecoming 'weakness' there was in 'sinking down in that manner.'

The Great Rebellion was now set in; both sides were in arms; and Laud heard, from his confinement in the midst of the enemy's camp, the distant news of engagements in the North. Under the new sway of Parliament, he saw one rapid ending of all he had done. Parliament was in possession of head-quarters in the metropolis, and was changing things fast. He saw, one by one, every piece of ecclesiastical reform displaced again, Calvinism and Presbyterianism triumphant, and the work of a life apparently come to nothing. He could only sit patiently in his prison, and hear of one act of subversion after another. The House of Commons managed the Church: Williams, in full sunshine again, went about with a train of Bishops, flattered and flattering, and the oracle of Parliament: and a committee of twelve met in his lodgings, and planned alterations in the Liturgy. Mobs shouting 'No Bishops! No Bishops!' paraded the streets. Parliament echoed the cry, and passed a bill, depriving the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords. 'That struck proud Canterbury to the heart,' somebody said. The churches and cathedrals suffered miserable profanation from the Puritan troops. Westminster Abbey was assaulted by a London crowd, and had to be stoutly defended by the 'scholars;' and the hatred of the Church, which his administration had for years with difficulty kept under, broke loose everywhere, and made up for its past confinement.

In 1643 a motley mixture of lords, commons, and ministers, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent, sat under the name of the Westminster Assembly; and from within the Abbey walls, where they held their sitting, issued the Directory. A

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bargain was struck with the Scotch Covenanters (whose assistance to stem the Royal successes in the North became necessary), through the medium of Gillespie, Henderson, and other leading ministers. The Covenanting interest got, in return for its aid, a representation in the Assembly, with a prospect of a share of the bishopries and Church spoil; and a confederacy of Scotch and English, and a compact for the religious uniformity of both countries, were cemented with the pledge that Laud should be brought to trial.

A long, tedious, and exhausting ordeal was now to be undergone, before he could be allowed to die. He entered on it with a vigour and spirit equal to that of any period of his administration; and the mind accustomed to energy was literally unable to do anything feebly. His acuteness simulates the full power of hope: and an inherent habit of self-supporting action, and independence of expectation, bears him along. A theory of what he should do for the sake of the look to the world at large, and a sensitive fear of seeming to give way, and discredit his cause, comes in; the feeling which enters into the expression we just quoted of his after Strafford's death, which enters much into his prayers:—the nervousness of a religious mind, as if it were wrong to be weak before the enemy, and allow him a too easy triumph and exaltation,—'lest he be too proud.'

The trial began in November, 1643, and went on to the October of the next year; and it brought the whole of a long public life, and an administration in Church and State, under review, from the proceedings in High Commission and Star-chamber, down to the most casual words which dropped from him.

The tribunal assumed a theological character, and questioned him about his language respecting the altar, the priesthood, the consecrated elements; about his alterations in churches, church ceremonies, pictures, images, crucifixes, painted windows; the books he had on his table; the pictures he had on his walls; his private conversations; expressions let fall about the Church; his hopes and fears; his theological friends; his disposal of patronage, and names whom he had given bishoprics, and deaneries, and king-chaplainships to.

One article is remarkable, which charges him with designs upon the power of the Crown, and wishing to deprive the Crown of its great prerogative of Church control. The court shows its *animus:* it has no objection to Crown prerogative, if it will only ally itself with them; the Church is what it dislikes, and what it fears. For the powers of the Crown, as of State against Church, they are ready to stand up: they will retain, with scrupulous jealousy, every prerogative of it that goes in that direction: they are loyal men then, and can talk of desire

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to support the Crown, and established power, and dislike of innovation. 'He hath traitorously assumed to himself,' says Article VI., 'a papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical 'and temporal matters, over his Majesty's subjects in the realm 'of England, to the disinherison of the Crown, dishonour of his 'Majesty, and derogation of supreme authority in ecclesiastical 'matters. And the said Archbishop claims the King's eccle- 'siastical jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopal and Archi- 'episcopal office in this kingdom, and doth deny the same to 'be derived from the Crown of England; which he hath ac- 'cordingly exercised to the high contempt of his royal Majesty, 'and to the destruction of divers of the King's liege people in 'their persons and estates.' The innovation of Bishops sending out their citations in their own names, and not in the King's, is pitched upon in this view. A jealousy for Crown, as a theoretical State power, and a hatred of the practical line it had taken, put them into the hypocritical position of actually elevating Charles's royal prerogative above what he wanted it to be himself. You *shall* have power against the Church, they say: we shall not let you give it up. It is not your own, but the national power delegated to you for that very object. Use it as the nation wants you, throw yourself into the national secular animus, and you may be as great as you please. We do not object to your royalty as such; but if it is made an engine for bringing the Church down upon us, we turn republicans.

The examination then went into the very smallest matters of mere business that Laud had transacted in his public offices. A man in office is certain to do a number of things every day that displease some person or other: to please one, is to displease another: and if at any given time the doors were thrown open for all the grumblers, and the call given for all who had memories to rub them up, and recollect what grievances they had ever suffered from, or thought they owed to, him, the chance is there would be a largish muster. Goldsmiths come and complain of having been removed from their scattered residences to Lombard-street and Cheapside. Soap-boilers think they were hardly used on one or two occasions in the case of King's proclamations. The 'Tonnage and Poundage' business comes up. Ship money, 'coat and conduct money,' come up again; the monarchy was in a strait in these days to get money. You pulled my house down, says one man; you refused me compensation, says another; you made me pay taxes, and you made me pay tithes, are urged from two other quarters; you called me Sirrah, once, says a gentleman. Laud explains. The house belonged to St. Paul's Chapter, and was pulled down in the improvements there. The compensation was an absurd claim.

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The tithes were the lawful property of the Church; the taxes of the king. With respect to the 'Sirrah,' he really cannot remember either that he did or did not call Mr. Vassal, 'Sirrah;' he only knows that his constant habit is to call gentlemen of Mr. Vassal's dignity, 'Sir.'

It is marvellous into what pettiness of detail the trial goes. Everything is fished up from the bottom, and collected from every corner; and everything is treason; and Laud was put into the humiliating position of having to stand up, and forensically guard every little thing he had ever done—to say, this is not judicial evidence, as a legal court you cannot listen to such stories as these; only bring them to the test of legal evidence, and they disappear. He did this with wonderful acuteness. The minute particles vanished one after another as they encountered the touchstone, and left a legally clear air. 'And 'what if they are true?' went side-by-side with this process. 'What do they come to? What am I charged with? Be it 'so, that I was very angry with one Samuel Sherman, of Ded-'ham, in Essex: that I should say Dedham was a maritime 'town; and that when the sum demanded of him was named, 'I should say, "a proper sum." Here is no proof but Sherman, 'and he in his own cause, and his censure was laid upon him by 'the Council table, and not by me. But let it be ever so true,— 'here is no treason, but against Dedham, or Sherman, that I 'can discover.'

The examination went deeper still. Every corner of Lambeth was searched for papers—his library seized and examined; and Prynne, with a parliamentary warrant in his hand, prowled about the archiepiscopal rooms. Laud was alone all the while, and in the position of a man undergoing a painful operation: a diary is part of a man's self: his was in Prynne's hands, undergoing keen inspections, with marginal comments and interpretations, and interpolations in the text, at will, with the view of a good forensic exhibition. He did not know what unpleasant disclosure of his most private thoughts might be every moment made. It was just the very species of pain—that feeling of 'shame,' which he was so singularly alive to. Prynne pursued him to the Tower, to his prison, to his bedroom. Prynne, with a lighted candle in his hand, appeared in the dead of the night in his bedroom, when he was in bed; and Laud awoke, and saw him picking his pockets of papers. He carried off his book of devotions away with him: Laud in vain telling him that there was nothing for Parliament to see there, but only the addresses of his soul to God. He was laid bare, and all brought into the full vulgar light of a civil court. 'My being in this place,' is his final address to the Court, 'recalls to my memory that which

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'I long since read in Seneca—to have to defend oneself in a 'court, even if one is acquitted, is a torment,—it is not a grief 'only, it is no less than a torment:—My Lords, it is no less 'than a torment for me to appear in this place.'

'Wit and eloquence,'—we are quoting Prynne's admission,—'the good orator, the subtle disputant,'—a 'full, gallant, and 'pithy defence, which spake as much as it was possible for the 'wit of man to invent,' showed Laud's resources under this mental pain. Bit by bit the whole mass of evidence against him crumbled away, and left the Court powerless in point of law. Strafford's precedent had been nullified by a special insulating act, confining it to the sole and single case of Strafford himself. A second single precedent, and one positively for the last time, had now to be instituted: and a new special bill of attainder was passed for Laud.

'On the 6th of January,* six Peers, and it was strange to find 'so many in the English peerage, to wit, Philip Earl of Pem-'broke, Henry Earl of Kent, William Earl of Salisbury, Oliver 'Earl of Bolingbroke, Dudley Lord North, and William Lord 'Gray of Wark, all of them Presbyterians, condemned the Arch-'bishop to be *hung* on the 10th of January next. On the same 'day with this unrighteous sentence, Parliament abolished the 'Book of Common Prayer.

'The manner of his death troubled the good Archbishop not a 'little; and with a deeply Christian magnanimity and largeness 'of heart, whatever some poor, unworthy minds have thought 'or said about it, he was not above petitioning his enemies, 'that, considering he was a bishop in the Church, he might 'die by beheading rather than by the gibbet. Which request 'the Commons at first violently refused, but did afterwards 'assent unto.

'The passing of the ordinance being signified to him by the 'then lieutenant of the Tower, he heard it with so even and 'so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live, 'nor afraid to die. The time between the sentence and execu-'tion he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; 'having obtained, though not without some difficulty, his 'chaplain Dr. Sterne, who afterwards sat in the chair of York, 'to attend upon him. His chaplains, Drs. Heywood and Martin, 'he much wished might be with him. But it seems it was too 'much for him to ask. So instead, two violent Presbyterians, 'Marshall and Palmer, were ordered by Parliament to give him 'religious consolations: which consolations his grace quietly 'declined. Indeed, little preparation was needed to receive that 'blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected.

* We quote the account at the end of the Autobiography.

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'For so well was he studied in the art of dying, especially in the 'last and strictest part of his imprisonment, that by continual 'fastings, watchings, prayers, and such like acts of Christian 'humiliation, his flesh was rarefied into spirit, and the whole 'man fitted for eternal glories.

'On the evening of the 9th, Sheriff Chambers, of London, 'brought the warrant for his execution. In preparation to 'so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also 'the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr. Holdsworth, 'fellow-prisoner in that place for a year and a half; though 'all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt 'them. This evening before his passover, the night before the 'dismal combat betwixt him and death, after he had refreshed 'his spirits with a moderate supper, he betook himself unto his 'rest, and slept very soundly till the time came, in which his 'servants were appointed to attend his rising. A most assured 'sign of a soul prepared.

'The 10th of January came, on which the Archbishop com- 'pleted his life of seventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four 'days. His death was the more remarkable, in falling on St. 'William's day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the 'English calendar, with that which William, Archbishop of 'Bourges, had obtained in the French: who (being as great a 'zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the 'Albigenses, as Laud was thought to be against those of the 'Puritan faction, and the Scottish Covenanters), hath ever since 'been honoured as a Saint and Confessor in the Gallican Church.

'In the morning he was early at his prayers; at which he 'continued till Pennington, Lieutenant of the Tower, and other 'public officers, came to conduct him to the scaffold; which he 'ascended with so brave a courage, such a cheerful countenance, 'as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, than be made 'a sacrifice; and came not there to die, but to be translated. 'And though some rude and uncivil people reviled him, as he 'passed along, with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go 'to the grave in peace, yet it never discomposed his thoughts, 'nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in 'the school of Christ, that, "when he was reviled, he reviled not 'again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed 'his cause to Him that judgeth righteously."

'And, as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he covet 'the applause of the people; and therefore rather chose to read 'what he had to speak, than to affect the ostentation either of 'memory or wit in that dreadful agony: whether with greater 'magnanimity than prudence can hardly be said. And here 'it followeth from the copy, presented very solemnly by

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'Dr. Sterne to his sorrowing master, the good King Charles, at 'Oxford.

'*The Archbishop's Speech upon the Scaffold.*

'Good People,

'This is an uncomfortable time to preach; yet I shall begin 'with a text of Scripture, Hebrews xii. 2. "Let us run with 'patience the race which is set before us: looking unto Jesus, 'the Author and Finisher of our faith, Who, for the joy that 'was set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, 'and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."

'I have been long in my race; and how I have looked unto 'Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my faith, He best knows. 'I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the 'Cross, a death of shame. But the shame must be despised, 'or no coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised the 'shame for me, and God forbid that I should not despise the 'shame for Him.

'I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red sea, and my 'feet are upon the very brink of it: an argument, I hope, that 'God is bringing me into the Land of Promise; for that was 'the way through which He led His people.

'But before they came to it, He instituted a passover for 'them. A lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs. 'I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs, as well as the 'lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lord's passover. I 'shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that 'gathered them; but look up only to Him who instituted that, 'and governs these: for men can have no more power over me 'than what is given them from above.

'I am not in love with this passage through the Red sea, for 'I have the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood plentifully 'in me. And I have prayed with my Saviour, *Ut transiret 'calix iste,* that this cup of red wine might pass from me. But 'if not, God's will, not mine, be done. And I shall most 'willingly drink of this cup as deep as He pleases, and enter 'into this sea, yea, and pass through it, in the way that He 'shall lead me. . . . . .

'And as for this people, they are at this day miserably mis-'led: God of His mercy open their eyes, that they may see the 'right way. For at this day the blind lead the blind; and if 'they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

'And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the 'first man, that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament, yet 'some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by 'this means: for Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head

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'by the Danes; Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and 'his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his head 'danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of 'Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many 'examples great and good; and they teach me patience. For I 'hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye, than the 'colour that is put upon it here.

'And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of 'these great men in their several generations; but also that my 'charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews against 'St. Paul; for he was accused for the law and the temple, *i. e.* 'religion; and like that of St. Stephen, for breaking the ordi-'nances which Moses gave, *i. e.* law and religion, the holy place 'and the law.

'But you will say, Do I then compare myself with the inte-'grity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No: far be that from me. 'I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and 'servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now.'

And after disclaiming ever having had an intention of introducing arbitrary power into the constitution, or the Papacy into the Church, and declaring that he had belonged, in heart and soul, always to the Church of England, and never looked beyond her, and simply aimed at her improvement and restoration, 'I do therefore,' he ends, 'here, in the presence of God 'and His holy angels, take it upon my death, that I never 'endeavoured the subversion either of law or religion. And 'I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my inno-'cency in this, and from all treasons whatsoever.

'But I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of 'those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly 'desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man. 'And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.'

'O eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in 'mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies. Look 'upon me, but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of 'Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, 'not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ; that so the 'punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since 'Thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I most humbly 'beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, 'proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for Thine 'honour, the King's happiness, and this Church's preservation. 'And my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all 'the sin (human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto) 'which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I come 'now to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But other-

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'wise, my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all, 'and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn 'down this present judgment upon me. And when Thou hast 'given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in Thine 'own eyes. Amen.'

After saying the Lord's prayer, he 'rose, and gave his papers 'to Dr. Stern, his chaplain, who went with him to his Martyrdom, 'saying, "Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your 'fellow-chaplains, that they may see how I went out of the world; 'and God's blessing and mercy be upon you and them." Then 'turning to a person named Hinde, whom he perceived busy 'writing the words of his address, he said, "Friend, I beseech you 'hear me. I cannot say I have spoken every word as it is in my 'paper, but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well 'as I could, but I beseech you, let me have no wrong done 'me:" intimating that he ought not to publish an imperfect copy. '"Sir," replied Hinde, "you shall not. If I do so, let it fall 'upon my own head. I pray God have mercy upon your soul." '"I thank you," he answered; "I did not speak with any 'jealousy as if you would do so, but only, as a poor man going out 'of the world, it is not possible for me to keep to the words of my 'paper, and a phrase might do me wrong."'

An intense, indescribable weariness of life, appears in all Laud's last days, and deepens as the end approaches. He is absorbed in it. A long-sustained period of hopeless mental exertion, left him fixed and riveted on the one idea of an end, as if he were under some dominant constraining emotion.

'He now applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven 'of his rest. But finding the way full of people, who had 'placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he 'said, "I thought there would have been an empty scaffold, that 'I might have had room to die. I beseech you, let me have an 'end of this misery, for I have endured it long." Hereupon 'room was made for him to die. While he was preparing him-'self for the axe, he said, "I will put off my doublet, and God's 'will be done. I am willing to go out of the world; no man 'can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be 'gone."

'But there were broad chinks between the boards of the 'scaffold: and he saw that some people were got under the very 'place where the block was seated. So he desired either that 'the people might be removed, or dust brought to fill up the 'crevices, lest, said he, "my innocent blood should fall upon the 'heads of the people."

'The holy Martyr was now ready for death, and very calmly 'waiting for his crown. It was like a scene out of primitive

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'times. His face was fresh and ruddy, and of a cheerful coun-
'tenance. But there stood, to look on and rail, one Sir John
'Clotworthy, an Irishman, and follower of the Earl of Warwick.
'He was a violent and wrong-headed man, an enthusiast, and
'very furious as a demagogue. Being irritated that the re-
'vilings of the people moved not the strong quiet of the holy
'Martyr, or sharpened him into any show of passion, "he would
'needs put in and try what he could do with his sponge and
'vinegar." So he propounded questions to him, not as if to
'learn, but rudely and out of ill-nature, and to expose him to
'his associates. "What," asked he, "is the comfortablest
'saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth?" To
'which the holy Martyr with very much meekness answered,
'"*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*'" "That is a good
'desire," said the other, "but there must be a foundation for
'that divine assurance." "No man can express it," replied the
'Martyr, "it is to be found within." The busy man still pur-
'sued him, and said, "It is founded upon a word, nevertheless,
'and that word should be known." "That word," said the
'Martyr, "is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone."
'But he saw that this was but an indecent interruption, and
'that there would be no end to the trouble, and so he turned
'away from him to the executioner, as the gentler and discreeter
'person: and, putting some money into his hand, without the
'least distemper or change of countenance, he said, "Here,
'honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thine office upon me in
'mercy." Then did he go upon his keees; and the executioner
'said that he should give a sign for the blow to come; to which
'he answered, "I will, but first let me fit myself."

He then knelt down for his last open prayer—short, but so expressive of his state of mind. A world of enemies had been long wishing him away; self-defence had been hitherto a duty; but now that they had fairly their own way, and got their ends, he was satisfied, ready to relieve them of his presence. He did not want to stay. Life is weariness; death is rest.

'"Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass
'through the shadow of death, before I can come to see Thee.
'But it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little
'darkness upon nature; but Thou by Thy merits and passion
'hast broken through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my
'soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with
'peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that
'there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst
'them for Jesus Christ His sake, if it be Thy will."

'Then he bowed his head upon the block, "down, as upon a
'bed," and prayed silently awhile. No man heard what it was

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'he prayed in that last prayer. After that he said out loud, '"Lord, receive my soul;" which was the sign to the execu-'tioner; and at one blow he was beheaded.'

Laud's is an instance of a great career founded upon a dream; a great practical, powerful, political mind, that pursued a visionary object. The high feudal idea of Church greatness, which led him through his course, was an impracticable, unreal one, in the great revolution of society which had taken place. When the Church has once lost her hold upon the mass, and fallen from her power, she must be restored from below and not from above. She has to begin from the bottom again, and must be raised by the slow advance and gradual inoculation of the mass. She must rise again by a popular movement, and by influences and efforts upon the open area and level. Laud's movement was not a popular one; and we know not whether it could have been made so. The age was set one way, and he took perhaps the only engine that there was for him. But to erect a high mediæval prelacy and priestly power upon such a puritanized basis as the Church then presented, was, in strict *ordo naturæ*, beginning at the wrong end. We are criticising the movement, and not the man. The man is dependent on his age, and must take what weapon comes to hand. It was better doing something than nothing; using an awkward and inaccurate instrument than none at all. Great men upon their historical stage—it is not, we hope, a morbid sentiment to utter—are objects of compassion. The worldly machinery and the state of things that they are in, force them upon incongruities, and allow them only some one crooked weapon, some one angular posture, some one effective elbow thrust. Their own minds even become appropriated and naturalized by the sphere they work in, and see that one mode of acting only and no other. It remains for some clearer day to determine what minds really are in themselves, and what is the genuine intrinsic man apart from hodiernal influences and moulding. Such a question would only take us wandering now into the shadowy region of moral metaphysics.

Let us not be misunderstood, however. Laud's career was not unpractical, because its aim was visionary; not ineffective, because it did not hit its own favourite mark. It had most important practical effects upon the English Church. The mediæval philosophy made real physical discoveries in its dreams, and the searcher after the philosopher's stone was a real scientific man and chemist through that ideal medium. Laud's immediate acts and aims were most practical; and a great practical rise in the English Church was the effect of his career. He stopped her just in time, as she was rapidly going down hill,

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and he saved all the Catholicism which the reign of Genevan influence had left her. There is no mistaking the tendencies of that period. That we have our Prayer-book, our altar, even our Episcopacy itself, we may, humanly speaking, thank Laud. The holy table in all our churches, altarwise at the east end, is a visible memorial of Laud which none can escape. It was not so before his time: it is not necessarily so by the actual rubric of our Church at this moment. That our Articles have not a Genevan sense tied to them, and are not an intolerable burden to the Church, is owing to Laud. He rescued them from the fast tightening Calvinistic grasp, and left them, by his prefixed 'Declaration,' open. Laud saved the English Church. That any one of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church, is owing, so far as we can see, to Laud. He saw the good element that was in her, elicited, fostered, and nurtured it; brought the incipient Church school to size and shape, and left it spreading over the Church, and setting the standard. Let us be historically just. Let the dead have their due. Let us acknowledge facts; and allow their true stamp and authorship to remain upon them. The English Church, in her Catholic aspect, is a memorial of Laud.

There is a reproach, however, in the shape of praise, from which we are anxious to rescue him—the praise of a class who know next to nothing about him, and simply regard him as the patron of Church opulence and comfort, of easy posts of dignity, and the Establishment system. It is too obvious a thing to say, that this class would very soon have found him a disagreeable master. A small experience of the actual man would have modified their commendation. The dead cannot help themselves here: and persons who have not one single sympathy with Laud's self-devotion, deep priestly feeling, love of Church doctrine or discipline, and who, if they had lived in that day, would not have stirred a finger to save the Church from sinking into a presbyterian establishment, can now safely eulogize him and smoothly thank him for the official powers which they enjoy from him, and which they employ against that very Catholic spirit in the Church which they were originally instituted to defend. However, we observe this sort of praise dying away, as parties get to understand themselves and each other better; and should anything which we have said tend at all to hasten its departure, we shall feel it no subject of regret.

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NOTICES.

The Chimes. A Goblin Story of some Bells that rang an Old Year out and a New Year in. By CHARLES DICKENS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1845.

IN a sense it seems superfluous to criticize what everybody reads, because all readers claim to themselves, by virtue of their profession, to be adequate critics of what they read. Still, although from what we have to say of Mr. Dickens's Christmas story, few, perhaps, will read, or none, it may be, neglect it, we feel bound to give an opinion, simply because of this writer's unexampled popularity. What so many read, must have its office of good or of evil. It is a strange privilege, or trial, be it only for a single hour, to have any—still more awful to have much—influence on men's souls. To religious minds, therefore, the popular literature of the day is a very grave subject: its claims we are bound to recognise.

With the avowed object of the present story we cannot but sympathize: viz. the claims of the poor on the merciful sympathies of their fellows. To have always held this moral purpose is one, perhaps the great secret, of this writer's success. In "The Chimes," we find the inborn claims of the poor man; his beautiful side; his surprising cheerfulness under sorrows, and, what shows Dickens's keen observation of nature, the real cause of his apparent sulkiness and unimpressibility, well sketched off. It is a true lesson, that often the poor man most wants, and most desires, to be let alone. We think "Boz" decidedly unfair to some with whom we own affinities, if he imagines that *their* earnestness for the poor is confined to the cricket-playing; but bating this, we scorn the growing picturesque view of the poor: we are beginning to treat them as we do torn thatch, ruined groves, and blasted trees, as "nice bits" in a landscape, as telling contrasts, as subjects for sickly sentimentalities. How far district-visiting in carriages (we have seen it ourselves), maypole-dancing during a lull in the opera season, and soup-kitchens when the frost stops the hunting, may have given *some* occasion to Mr. Dickens's most bitter sarcasms, we are not called upon to say: we all know that there is something in it. Anyhow, nothing is more improper than the constant pestering and badgering of the poor, which is getting into vogue—the constant "See what a poor wretch you are, and see what a good, kind gentleman, or lady, I am." For showing up this *sham* (by-the-bye, Boz has taken to Carlyle, though he does not own it), we thank "The Chimes." And when we can get any book with a

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circulation of twenty thousand, which will, as the present does, cut clean through the detestable school of economists, Malthus, and the "coarser kind of food" gentry, the preventive-check heathen, and the "natural effluxes" people, we will welcome it as heartily as we do the present. We hardly know whether it was worth Dickens's purpose to show up an individual, the most contemptible of his most contemptible class, such as Sir Peter Laurie, the worthy who "puts down" everything—Puseyism and poverty, because they touch his pocket,—suicide and sorrows, because they disturb the city's propriety and peace. But let this pass: the work is done, and never mind who does it. Alderman Cute is settled, once and for ever.

And with all this, shall we say that we find a great blank somewhere? It is not that "The Chimes" is not a religious story; we shall be, perhaps, not altogether misunderstood, if we say we should have been sorry if it had been: but it is because it is,—and the remark holds with the whole Pickwick school,—a *moral* story, ostensibly, avowedly, ambitiously *moral*, and nothing more. Not a scrap or spark of religion in it: nothing more than morals: the realm of fact, not of grace; the kingdom of the individual will, not of the Spirit and strength of God. For religious stories we have the most sovereign contempt; but such loathing is, we trust, quite compatible with affection, sole affection, for that spirit in fiction which veils the only realities of the soul. And here is the chief defect of Dickens: he seems to be always on the very point of getting hold of the truth—of the right thing—and yet as invariably he misses it, and clutches the shadow,—a very good counterfeit always, but still only the semblance of that which constantly eludes him. He wants, because he knows that the soul wants, unseen influences and mysterious powers, and he embodies a mixed mockery of German diablerie, and fairies, and Socinianism, because, even while he was not called upon to picture it, he has never realized the Catholic doctrine of the angels; and it is quite wonderful, though significant, how this machinery—to speak according to the card—would have helped him. He pictures, and most touchingly, a sweet woman in deep poverty, struggling against every temptation and misery; and she is strong in the strength of *duty*, but, as it seems, without a thought of the cross of Christ. He draws a good, cheerful, plodding, warm-hearted son of privation, whose best and highest hope of consolation does not range higher than a credulity in, and a half-crazed affection for —certain chimes. And this is the great failure of the present book: it is just this, that such people could not, as a fact, apart from right, have been what Dickens draws them, without some better and truer ground-work.

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As a *literary* work we cannot speak highly of "The Chimes;" the clumsy and threadbare trick of a dream is managed with more than its ordinary maladroitness. The pathetic passages are among the most turgid, (witness p. 92,) and absurd which this very clever writer has perpetrated; and remembering his many and various grotesque attempts at fine writing, this is saying not a little. But, above all this, there is scarcely a striking feature which we have not fallen in with before:—the influence of the chimes, and the leading idea of the story, is taken from Schiller's Song of the Bell; the mysterious affection and attraction between the Bells and Toby Veck may be traced to Quasimodo, in Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris;" a good deal of the diction is a palpable borrowing from Carlyle, and, which it most resembles, the higher portions of Punch; the false, yet catching, attempt to combine personal degradation and sin with high moral refinement,—we allude to the fate of Lilian,—from the wicked "Mysteries of Paris;" the goblin spirits of the greater bells from Reztsch; and the multitudinous, swarming, trooping mass of sprites from sources, Irish, German, and others, which will be at once apparent. Boz repeats himself in Will Fern: we have seen it somewhere, but we cannot recall where, in his own works.

Neither can we speak highly of the illustrations; such a monstrous *mélange* of kicking, sprawling, nudities, we never witnessed as Maclise's frontispiece. This artist can paint, but he cannot draw. It caricatures depth, and mysticism, and allusion, whereas it is simply meaningless; indeed it could not well, as an illustration of the tale, be otherwise. Dickens, in the Bell Spirits, seems to have got hold of a thought which proved too high and spiritual for him; he has broken down under it. The world of spirits is with Mr. Dickens—we ask his pardon—very much indeed of the cast which we used to witness in the last scene of a pantomime: the tin-foil, wires, and tinsel, are too palpable a vast deal; and to talk nonsense is not the language of the spiritual world.

The best part of the book is its lighter portion, and especially the character of Toby Veck; quite a projection, and a single, well-defined image this, though Pickwick and Mrs. Gamp are infinitely better. And Mr. Filer, Alderman Cute, and Sir Joseph Bowley, we recommend heartily. Here is a portrait which the shallowest newspaper reader must recognise:—

"Everybody knew Alderman Cute was a justice.

"'You are going to be married, you say,' pursued the Alderman. 'Very unbecoming and indelicate in one of your sex. But now mind, that after you are married, you'll quarrel with your husband, and come to be a distressed wife. You may think not: but you will, because I tell you so. Now I give you fair warning, that I have made up my mind to put distressed wives down. So don't be brought before me. You'll have children—

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boys. These boys will grow up bad, of course, and run wild in the streets without shoes or stockings. Mind, my young friend! I'll convict 'em summarily, every one, for I am determined to put boys without shoes and stockings down. Perhaps your husband will die young (most likely) and leave you with a baby. Then you'll be turned out of doors, and wander up and down the streets. Now don't wander near me, my dear, for I am resolved to put all wandering mothers down. All young mothers, of all sorts and kinds, it's my determination to put down. Don't think to plead illness with me; or babies, as an excuse with me: for all sick persons and young children (I hope you know the Church service, but I'm afraid not) I am determined to put down. And if you attempt, desperately and ungratefully and impiously and fraudulently attempt to drown yourself or hang yourself, I'll have no pity on you, for I have made up my mind to put all suicide down. If there is one thing,' said the Alderman, with his self-satisfied smile, 'on which I can be said to have made up my mind more than on another, it is to put suicide down. So don't try it on. That's the phrase, isn't it? Ha! ha! now we understand each other.' "—Pp. 43, 44.

We inquire—and it is quite in the *Rigby* spirit which missed the Coroner's Inquest on *Ellen Middleton*—how it was that the young couple who, on New Year's Eve, agreed to be married, and were married, on New Year's Day, contrived to dispense with the three weeks' publication of banns?

Dialogus de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ et de regimine ecclesiastico. Auctore C. F. Weber. Nerolingæ: Sumptibus C. H. Beck. 1843.

As an illustration of the way in which the proposed Evangelical Pruss-Anglican Episcopate is viewed in Germany, the amusing pamphlet which we have named will not be out of place. We notice it in this place because it seems hardly to unite with the gravity of a previous article on this subject; and yet as popular ballads have not been without their influence on the fortunes of empires, so these small squibs are other than unimportant signs of the tempers even of religious bodies.

Mr. Weber, of Nordlingen, casts his wit, which is of the ponderous post-waggon order, into the form of a dialogue, after the pattern of Erasmus, or our neglected friend Cordery. The interlocutors are "Germanicus" and "Britannicus." The Teuton courteously salutes his friend as "Collegam meum Britannicum, ecclesiæ Frondensis vicarium." The Clergy List gives no hint of this leafy vicarage, so we are left to conjecture the sylvan bowers of our travelling brother: his habitat cannot be more shady than his arguments. Sundry witticisms are bandied in a rollicking style: the "Frondensis vicarius" is fresh from London,—London

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"famosissimus, ne dicam et fumosissimus:" facetious allusions are made to Green's balloon, rail-roads, steam-boats, the Chinese war, a mission to the Æthiopians, Mars, Vulcan, and Minerva; and we are bound to confess that the exordium has a pleasant mixture of the Times newspaper and the *Propria quæ maribus.*

The ecclesiastical news-bag is then opened: "Prick up your ears," says Britannicus:—

"Arrige aures: Londinum mox erit arx et metropolis totius corporis NOSTRI Evangelici!"—P. 5.

And then he announces the Jerusalem Bishopric. Germanicus receives this with the characteristic national phlegm, while he wickedly chronicles the *vescova* and *vescovini*:—

"Equidem Alexandrum *quendam*, ex Judæorum secta proselytum, *cum uxore ac liberis* Hierosolyma missum, ibique *conatum* esse, Jacobi sedem apostolicam restitutere,—fama percepi."—*Ibid.*

The "conditions" of union Germanicus obstinately deems not—

"Societas, sed deditio novæ ecclesiæ est nominanda."—P. 6.

After a tedious discussion on unity, visible and mystical, Germanicus smells a rat:—

"Heus, amice optime, num te quoque Britannica ista Puseyistarum factio levitatis suæ viro infecit et in casses suos pellexit," &c.—P. 7.

Britannicus pours out a volley in the shape of a maxim:—

"Equidem ecclesiam sine libertate præfero libertati sine ecclesiâ,"

which gives occasion to a sly hit at Chevalier Bunsen:—

"*G.* Sententiam conciliarii *cujusdam*, qui regi nostro est ex intimis, secutus esse videris."—P. 8.

The pair of friends then get on the royal supremacy—we beg to disclaim the "Puseyism" of our dramatic representative—and in this discussion the German has decidedly the best of it:—

"*G.* Gratias agamus Deo, quod tale beneficium a nobis avertit."—P. 10.

"Mittamus hæc et transeamus," to the question whether the German Protestant Churches shall not unite with the Anglican. *G.* "How does the Church of England look?" *B.* "Oh beautiful."

"*G.* Sunt, qui dicant, eam Papismum aliquantulum olere.

"*B.* Parum refert; res ipsa spectanda est. Mihi ex quadringentis octoginta tribus ædibus sacris Londini paucas tantum cathedrales, Sancti Pauli et occidentalem, quam vocant Westminster, intueri licebat; at quantum ibi splendoris, quanta majestas! Quas si spectaveris tapetibus pretiosis stratas, picturis et monumentis pulcherrimis ornatas, hieme

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suaviter calefactas, in *auditorum* commoditatem mollibus sellis instructas, ingentibus candelabris lumine artificioso, quod vocant *gas-light* illuminatas!"—P. 13.

We say nothing of the romance about tapestry and pictures; but even Sir Cloudesley Shovel, stoves, cushions, and Bude-lights, fail to impress the imperturbable Prussian, who replies, with a grim pleasantry which is too good to be lost,—

"Utinam ne luce suâ artificiosâ lumen æternum præcludant, teretibusque illis sedibus *auditores* obdormiant!"—*Ibid.*

After sundry hints about formalism, written sermons, "*crambe recocta*," thin congregations, &c., Britannicus waxes eloquent and dignified on episcopal authority, in a passage which we pledge our editorial reputation to have extracted literally:—

"*B.* Utinam ejusmodi obsequium et necessitas protestantibus Germanicis injungi posset! Sed ad hæc efficienda clerus noster (?) omni caret potestate et jurisdictione, qua fruuntur clerici episcopales; hi *laterum instar* murum inseparabilem adversus perniciem irrumpentem formant, et sibi ipsis acclamant: *Britons, be bricks*; i.e. *Britanni, lateres estote!*"—P. 16.

This beats the celebrated undergraduate translation of the Ethics, τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου, "a regular brick and no mistake," by a long chalk. The riches of the Anglican Church are illustrated by the following inconvenient anecdote:—

"Paucis abhinc annis tres mortui sunt episcopi, qui DCC millia librarum hæredibus suis reliquerunt et nuperrime (?) decessit episcopus Walliensis, inter egenos et pauperes habitus, qui C millia librarum *ovibus suis emunxerat.*"—P. 17.

Apart, however, from this fun, there is some important matter for thought in what follows:—

"*B.* Cum autem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ xxxix articuli confessioni nostræ Augustanæ *omnino sint conformes*, nullum equidem unionis impedimentum video.

"*G.* Cave, carissime, ne vento loquaris, nebulamque pro Junone amplectaris; prius enim mula pepererit, quam ecclesiæ protestantes unius fidei vinculo inter se coarctentur. Publica illa fidei confessio, quæ ad componenda religionis dissidia jubente Carolo V. imperatore festinanter conscripta et ab ducibus Germanæ protestantibus exhibita est, *nunquam et neutiquam reconciliationem partium inter se ipsas maxime dissidentium efficiet.*"—P. 19.

After a dropping fire on the blessings of unity, Germanicus replies:—

"Sane, si societas atque fœdus non conjunctum est cum *christianæ libertatis et veritatis jacturâ:* cum autem ex relatione tuâ appareat, *neque rituum, neque disciplinæ, neque doctrinæ* ratione quidquam

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melioris notæ ex Anglicanâ ecclesiâ in Germanicas confœderatione illâ introduci, SOLITARIAM NOSTRAM CONDITIONEM RETINENDAM esse censeo."—P. 21.

A conclusion to which we sorrowfully, yet profitably, assent.

[*Note.*—Perhaps this is a place not altogether unsuitable to say something of our relations towards the King of Prussia. In a former article much has been said in vindication of his right-mindedness in the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric; but we would add a word, to prevent a possible misconception which has been suggested. Every step which the King has taken has been in confidence of the good faith of the English Church; a confidence which has been grievously misplaced. To obtain the Episcopate was no unworthy object for a Christian king; our ecclesiastical and canonical relations he could only understand upon our own interpretation of them; but when he had devoted his money to one purpose, and we have applied it to another, who has most reason to complain? The King of Prussia applied to the Church of England, through two of its principal representatives; his share of the Bishopric endowment has been handed over to the Bethnal-green Society; and, if the King of Prussia is thus committed to the acts of a body, whose faith is as unsound as its responsibility is questionable—who is most to blame? One of Mr. Palmer's (of Magdalene) dedications will explain our feeling: "To His Majesty King Frederick William, &c. who has done us no wrong, but, on the contrary, deserves the respect and esteem of all members of our Church, for the zeal which he has shown, according to his knowledge, for the spread of Christianity, and for the healing of those divisions which are a disgrace to the Christian name, &c."]

Mr. Turner's "Class Singing Book" (Parker, Strand), a second part of which has now appeared, we intended to have noticed in our last number. This gentleman, as some of our readers may be aware, had been pursuing a steady course of usefulness in the musical department of education long before the Hullah meteor crossed his path; and were we prophets, we should predict—but we shall content ourselves for the present with a hearty recommendation of his publications as by no means superseded or thrown in the shade by any others which have appeared.

We are glad to see a volume of Sermons from Mr. Bowdler (Sharp), for Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany.

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"An Apology for the Greek Church," by Edward Masson, (edited by J. S. Howson, M.A.) (Hatchard), takes a more liberal tone to the Greek Church than most Protestant writers do: it does not think, *e. g.* that bowing before pictures is *ipso facto* idolatry. It sees the doctrine of justification by faith in the Greek creed. It objects to proselytizing from it.

"Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain." (Pickering.) The writer does not master that twilight of retiring heathenism, and dawning Christianity, and the entrance of new ideas into the savage mind, which characterises such an age as he takes up. The story wants interest, and has an antiquarian tone about it.

"Lays concerning the Early Church," by John Fuller Russell, B.C.L. (Burns.) A new field for sacred poetry. Mr. Russell's are decidedly pleasing verses. Has not the title, "Lays," rather a fabulous association about it, which Mr. Russell would be the last to wish to convey?

Mr. Gleig's "Sermons for the Seasons of Advent, Christmas, and the Epiphany" (Nickisson), are written with his accustomed ease and flow.

"An Exhortation addressed to the Church of St. George's, Ramsgate, in behalf of the National Schools," by an English Priest; is to be recommended.

"Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners" (Burns) supplies, in a practical shape at least, one step towards advancement in the religious life; actual forms for self-examination, and a sketch of the several acts of devotion. If recents events have had none other effect, the turn which they have given to the cultivation of the inner walk will be an unspeakable good.

"Shepperton Manor," a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrewes, by the Rev. J.M. Neale, B.A. (Cleaver.) "Shepperton Manor" contains a good deal of information upon the theology of the English Church. The story, we need not say, is only a web on which he hangs it. We rather question the plan, simply as a matter of effect, of making all the *dramatis personæ*, young ladies included, talk in the style of our old law and divinity books. Mr. Neale aims too uniformly at the conversational style of two centuries back. The reader would readily have pardoned a chronological anticipation, for the greater naturalness and flow which our modern style would, of course, have to him. Scott varies his conversational style according to his characters; and when he wants to produce either a grotesque or picturesque effect, uses the antiquated one; in other cases he makes his characters talk as we do. Mr. Neale hits off Bishop Andrewes's style very cleverly; but the imitation hardly adds to the dignity of the representation. Nor do we think it follows at all, that, because Bishop Andrewes preached in a particular style, that therefore he talked in the same style. He should hardly have been made to quote the Vulgate so much to all persons—young ladies included. Young ladies in those days certainly knew Latin more than they do now; but the effect on the modern ear is grotesque. Mr. Neale will excuse these minor criticisms, which touch only the surface

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of his book. We need not say that there is much talent in this and every book of Mr. Neale's. We are always glad to see his name, and feel sure that his tone and spirit must do good.

Mr. Pindar's "Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer" (Duncan) will be read with interest.

"Poems by the Rev. Richard Tomlins, M.A.," have not much to recommend them, except their harmless and unobjectionable tone.

Mr. (Charles) Wordsworth's "Catechetical Questions," (Rivingtons,) are a very accurate and full preparation for Confirmation. There is the spirit of old divinity and ecclesiastical devotion in their exactness and detail.

We rank in parallel columns, though addressed to different classes, the complete volumes of the "Churchman's Companion," by Mr. Arnold, (Rivingtons), and the "Magazine for the Young," (Burns). Both are equally to be recommended.

A new edition of "Middleton's Free Enquiry," (Boone), with a frontispiece, the Oxford "Martyrs' Memorial," is certainly a sign of the times. This edition, of course, intended as an answer to the "Lives of the Saints," aims at extensive circulation, and puts on its title-page "price 1*s.* or 9*s.* per dozen!" With respect to Middleton himself, it is not necessary to say more than that he was a simple advocate of unbelief. We were hardly prepared to see so open an alliance with him as we do here; to have it proclaimed that the theology of Conyers Middleton was the theology of the Reformation. There is a painful satisfaction, however, in seeing parties developing; the way is made clearer, and we know where we are. We catch a glimpse now of the ultimate destination of that school which calls itself *par excellence* the School of the Reformation.

It is unfortunate for Mr. Jeremy Taylor that such is his name; for to possess it must provoke comparisons which, to the very highest among us, cannot be other than invidious. With such an abatement, this gentleman's "Anglican Church Vindicated," (Ollivier), is, on the whole, a satisfactory reply to d'Aubigné's "Geneva and Oxford." Satisfactory, that is, rather in the object than in the execution; for we seem to find Mr. Taylor's views on justification not a little clouded. The work seems to have been written for a review, and the style is anything but clear.

"An Address to the Members of St. Jude's Congregation, Glasgow, by the Rev. C. P. Miles, Presbyter of the Church of England," (Glasgow, Bryce), is only another, and, if possible, debased, repetition of the Drummond and Dunbar Schism. In its results this matter is deserving, as it has elicited, a tolerably energetic Pastoral, addressed to the same congregation, from Bishop Russell, (Glasgow, Maclehose), in an Appendix to which will be found a valuable disavowal of the Scotch schismatics by the Bishop of London. We are glad to find that Mr. Robert Montgomery has taken the right side on this question.

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"The Wars of Jehovah in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, in Nine Books" (Baisler), by Thomas Hawkins, Esq. Here we see language in her power. She was weak in Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton. "Half her strength she put not forth" till Mr. Hawkins elicited it. In nomenclature, especially, the mixture of the terrible and sublime is portentous:—

> "As Delos Neptune, when he smote it with
> His trident hard consolidating; forth
> Innumerable hippogryphons rushed,
> Gorgons, chimæras with begilded horns,
> And harpy birds or beasts—Philoctetes
> Ne'er saw in his lone island half the like.
> Creatures with scraggy skulls and jaunty jambs,
> Speechless to see, envenomed giant gins
> Scabbed Scolopendriums—semivitals big
> Alligatorians.
> Enchased were some with lineaments misturned,
> Ten-tusked and hydra-headed: winged vults,
> Blue, black, or red-winged, vult-like gryphons worked
> The air with mania gladness: starting eyes
> And lolling tongues had some: the incubi,
> Like mounts of flesh, whilst some came serpenting
> With never-ending involutions, wide
> Of nostril, and blood-red their shaggy jaws,
> Ravening and bloated, virulent and wrathful."

Mr. Hawkins gives an index of the "images and proper names used in this Epic Poem," at the end. Under A, we have Acarynthimos, Adrastus, Admetus, Abysm, Abhorrence, Ahithophel, Agayuthimos, Agaphine, Aphonotine, Aphasac, Atropos, Atoncryntal.—A slip out of B runs, Beelzebub, Berenice, Bithymin, Birman, Biscayan, Blanc-Mont, Black-Sea, Blasphemy, Blank, Blackness, Blast. The poem is 14,000 lines long, and never flags an instant.

Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, for 1844, "On the Means of Grace" (Oxford, Parker), have appeared. This writer's theology is so well known, that we did not look for more than a technical exposition of the ordinary *Via Media* doctrines. Our expectations have not been disappointed; though the reading displayed in the composition seems somewhat meagre. It is not to be wondered at, that in a scheme necessarily confined by a strict reference to our actual state, public censure and personal discipline, as means towards regaining lost gifts, or expanding privileges in the baptized, occupy a position so distant and ill-defined in the present inquiry. Such we feel convinced that Dr. Jelf will admit was not the case in the early Church; to say nothing of other ages.

Mr. Murray, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has published a well-meant little book of verses, called "An Alphabet of Emblems," (Rivingtons).

Charges by the Primate, the Bishops of Chester, and Gloucester and Bristol, (Rivingtons) have appeared. These documents will become useful illustrations of present phenomena.

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Of a temper inconceivably opposite to that almost "denominational" as well as national one displayed in Dr. Jelf's volume is that of his brother canon. Dr. Pusey's collection of devotional works, of which we have to acknowledge a most subduing volume in Avrillon's "Guide to Advent," (Burns), will not allow us to despair of our Church,—of which the respected editor has taken occasion to speak so dutifully,—when such are of us, and such works meet with so much success. That they should meet with criticism,—and such criticism!—is not so much disheartening as significant.

With the later numbers of the "Lives of the English Saints" (Toovey) we are by no means satisfied. A variety of harassing subjects are introduced, often gratuitously, and generally in a way which seems to us hard, and, we are compelled to say it, offensive. As legends, which some only claim to be, we are not insensible of their use; and their historical value is generally curious and instructive. But had the series continued under the projected editorship with which it commenced, we feel convinced that both the tone and incidents would have been profitably modified. When we allude, more particularly, to the life of St. Wilfrid, we can afford, without misapprehension, to think that even the obvious purpose is defeated by such a mode of treating it.

Mr. Merle d'Aubigné has fired another shot, which has been translated under the misleading title, "Luther and Calvin, or the True Spirit of the Reformed Church," (Blackie, Glasgow); a singularly misappropriate one, as its whole gist is to show that there is no "Reformed *Church*." The original is sufficiently significant, "La Luthéranisme et La Réforme, ou leur diversité essentielle à leur unité." And, since the Swiss preacher has adopted the convenient fallacy of personification, we have a right to inquire what the Auto-Lutheranism is? If Luther's Lutheranism, then what becomes of the old Lutheran anathema, "Rather a Papist than a Calvinist, rather a Mahomedan than a Reformed?" If Lutheranism such as it is, it were useless to spend much time in talking about the diversity between it and *la Réforme*. Anyhow, the notion of contradictory opposition being essential to unity shows that words are not the signs of ideas in Geneva. By unity, Mr. d'Aubigné means the negation of unity, at least in faith. We hope that this writer is not right in making us symbolize with what he calls "Reform," by reason of the Thirty-nine Articles.

The very heaviest book we ever were oppressed with,—and that is saying not a little,—is Southey's "Life of Dr. Bell," (Murray). Even the late Laureate's elastic spirit was bowed down by it, and we do not think that his son, to whom we owe the completion of the work, can claim to have inherited more than the hereditary portion of his father's literary powers. To be tedious, prolix, and ill-arranged are faults with which we are not disposed to quarrel, when we find that the abridged narrations drawn up by Dr. Bell's amanuensis for Southey's use, would, if printed, amount to fourteen large octavo volumes; and that this amanuensis has been incessantly employed since Dr. Bell's death in arranging this "vast and most formidable mass of materials" even into the abridged form of which the present compressed work, of three huge octavos, is the

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result. For the production of this ponderous lump of biographical nothings, Dr. Bell, it is understood, left considerable pecuniary supplies. And what is the result? Dr. Bell has thought proper to enshrine, in the immortality of type, a reputation as contemptible as we ever met with. This man began life with nothing; he quitted it possessed of nearly 150,000*l.*, which he screwed out of various ecclesiastical preferments: 120,000*l.* he left to the foundation of an institution in Scotland, for the furtherance of the educational system known under his name, and the rest to various ostentatious purposes. With these noble means, he bequeathed an annuity of 100*l.* a-year to an unhappy sister, while, throughout his life, he doled out to his nearest relations the princely sums of 5*l.* and 10*l.* per annum apiece. He was married to a respectable wife, and separated from her; he was presented to noble Church preferments, and all but prosecuted for misappropriation of the revenues of Sherburn Hospital; and his sole claim to distinction was the invention of the monitorial or Madras system, of which it is questionable whether, morally, it has not done more to ruin true Christian education than any popular delusion of the day. Mean, selfish, covetous, quarrelsome, and vain, without natural affection and without charity, — this is the temper which Dr. Bell was so desirous that the world should be acquainted with. It is a sad picture of the past generation, when such a man as this was one of the Church's popular idols. The only quotable things are two or three wonderfully good letters in the second volume, from Mr. Sikes, of Guilsborough, caused by some ignorant nonsense which Dr. Bell had uttered about the Church in Scotland.

Two, and each successful, volumes of the "Juvenile Englishman's Library," (Rugeley, Walters), Mr. Paget's capital series, have appeared. "Tales of the Village Children, Second Part," by the editor, in which "Merry Andrew" is a most affecting tale, and Mr. J. M. Neale's "Triumphs of the Cross," one, we think, of his best attempts.

The "Canticles in the Prayer Book, with the Gregorian Tones," (Oxford, Parker), is a cheap and useful little manual,—the best, indeed, of the kind we have seen. It establishes the right method of Gregorian chanting; while, as far as it goes, it gives the tones in their correct form. We doubt not that ere long the old, simple mode of chanting the Psalter will become common in our churches. While we have such mistaken publications as those of Mr. Hullah's Psalter widely disseminated among us, it is high time that we had something better to fall back upon; and we are glad, therefore, to hear that the editors of the present little work are about to supply the desideratum.

Among the holiday books suitable for presents at this season, Mr. Burns takes the lead by his various illustrated publications. Beginning at the beginning, the "Nursery Rhymes" are first in dignity and place: the engravings are chiefly by one of our best artists, whose powers we have more than once respectfully acknowledged. It is quite a lordly book. Some future "Appeal" by an antiquarian purist is probably in store: but since the traditional legends have not been enshrined in a received text, the present alterations may be venial while they are conceived in a proper

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spirit. Mr. Bellenden Ker and Mr. Halliwell must preserve the ancient forms: but the present edition is the real "blessing to mothers." Some inaccuracies which have been pointed out show that the Rhapsodist, like his Scian master, has been occasionally nodding. In the song of the "Five Fingers," the juvenile authorities assure us, and our own experience confirms their experimental criticism, that it is the "ringman" who "can't dance alone." We detect another grievous innovation: on the authority of the Arundines Cami we pronounce that the bush into which the wondrous man of Thessaly jumped was not "a quickset hedge," as the present editor, No. 140, with temerity more than Bentleian, corrects the passage, but a "gooseberry-bush." The original is, of course, the noble Aristophanic *ἀκανθοχηνοκοκκόβατον*. Acutissimi et reverendissimi viri, Samuelis Butler, *τοῦ μακαρίτου*, cujus tot præclaræ exstant lectiones, textum recepimus, quo nihil certius nobis videtur. Perperam Burnsius, infeliciter et audacter necnon imperite et mendose, "quickset hedge:" nuperi editoris emendatio sibilis excipi digna est, et longe insulsissimam eam judicamus. Quis vir emunctæ naris est, cui non arridet, Thessaliensem istum sapientissimum gulæ causâ in grossulariam se avidum conjecisse? [E schedis Brunckianis.]

Intended for another class of readers is a republication of Massinger's noble play, "The Virgin Martyr." (Burns.) Mr. Pickersgill's drawings have been so admirably cut on wood, that not a few experienced persons have mistaken the material of the engraving. They are certainly the very best which we have seen. Great praise must be awarded to the artist, who has displayed wonderful freedom of pencil; though, considering the subject, the outline is rather too delicate, soft, and flowing. A little more abruptness and severity—straight lines, and heavier masses, would have suited the solemnity of the tale of martyrdom: at least, so we think. In such a case we seek an austere rather than a romantic feeling. The standing figure of Dorothea is certainly deficient in dignity, because in height.

Mr. Owen Jones's edition of the "Sermon on the Mount" (Longman), as a Christmas book, we cannot better characterise than rubrication and illumination gone mad. Never was such a display of ambitious ignorance in the way of ornamental illustration. This process of colour-painting on stone promises to become a nuisance: being cheap, ambitious, and incorrect. The same may be said for "Prayers for Children," (Smith).

"The Mother's Primer" (Longman), by Mrs. Felix Summerly—is this unnecessary psuedonym to go on for ever?—is much better. The coloured inks are odd rather than correct; but the frontispiece is very pretty.

The article from our last number on the "Poor in Scotland" has been reprinted, with additions, under the sanction of its author's name.

"The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery;" a Fifth of November Sermon by Mr. Close. (Hatchard.) A flagrant falsehood in the way of title; and since, in the execution of his subject, Mr. Close (p. 11) so appositely cites Scripture, "I speak as a fool," we care not to disturb his self-convicted judgment. Were not the whole thing too contemptible for criticism

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we would ask the more respectable of Mr. Close's party what they think of the decency of reading, commenting upon, and abusing, whole pages of—the Ecclesiologist!—in the house of God, even though the occasion were the squib and cracker celebration of Guy Fawkes? What if any of us were to fire off sermons against the Parker Society, or the "Record," by name? Nothing can more forcibly illustrate Mr. Close's theory of Churches, than the use he puts them to. This is truly the "lunatic asylum" view at work. On this great Protestant festival of St. William of Orange, we wonder why Roman-candles and Catharine-wheels are not prohibited; both have a Popish twang, and the latter, being both Popish and architectural, must, we should say, be especially distasteful to the incumbent of Cheltenham.

While the Cambridge Camden Society is before us, we may mention Mr. Paley's "Church Restorers," (Van Voorst.) We have so often, and so strongly, deprecated the religious tale in all its forms, that we can only say that the present work does not call upon us to reverse our judgment. It has all the faults of its class; some of them even exaggerated, such as the introduction of miracles. And practically it will convey a very unreal impression by representing church restoration as an easy task, which none who have tried it find. The unrighteous opposition to the Camden Society itself, in the matter of St. Sepulchre's, might have taught Mr. Paley to have been less profuse in his rose-colour. It is not with the subject, so much as with the form, that we quarrel. The information is very valuable.

From the same publisher and author is announced "A Manual of Gothic Mouldings," and here Mr. Paley's technical lore is quite at home. In this volume we understand that Mr. Paley has produced a standard work, which will meet with all the success it deserves. It is to be recommended without hesitation.

"A Christian Kalendar," by a lay member of the Cambridge Camden Society, with brief notes (Walters), is, we presume, the publication to which a recent letter, on the part of the president, repudiating its connexion with the society, alludes. We think the president right. It is quite true that in fact the announcement of such membership means nothing; but it seeks to convey an impression, and often one with which neither member nor society would be satisfied.

"Eothen," (Ollivier), a smart-looking volume on Eastern travel, is the most offensive book which we have met with for some time. It is lively, just as a monkey is—and pictorial after the teaboard fashion. It is a compound of Voltaire, Smollett, Mrs. Trollope, and a Byronized cynicism, which defies classification. There are some semi-erotic passages about the Blessed Virgin Mary which are worse than disgusting. Travel in the Holy Land is an awful probation: the present author has sunk under it, and we regret to find that he has had the benefit of Eton and other Christian training.

Very different in tone and purpose is "The Holy Land," (Seeley,) a compilation historical and topographical, which we should have recom-

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mended unconditionally, were it not for certain flippancies of the "lively Stephens" (p. 173), and the "enlightened Robinson" with regard to the sacred sites of Jerusalem, which are as distressing as they are silly. The references should have been made.

Mr. Robert Montgomery probably neither expects nor wishes us to review "The Three Parties," &c., being an extract from the "Gospel before the Age." (Mitchell.) This trisection of the theological angle is no wonderful discovery; seeing that in most moral questions there are those who say that black is black—those who say that black is white—and those who say, "Can't we split the difference?"—*i. e.* the whitey-brown school.

We should like to call especial attention to what ought to have more than a local reputation, Mr. Formby's "Extracts from a Sermon, preached at Ruardeane, relative to a proposed dismemberment of the Parish." (Hough, Coleford.) It is surprising how little notice has been attracted by these forced divisions of parishes, contrary to the will of incumbents and people. We owe Mr. Formby some thanks for making a stout protest against a ruling and popular error; indeed, this is not his first appeal for forgotten, but ancient, principles. Mr. Formby's present distress is attributable not a little to the silence which, in worse days, accompanied the Church Commission's most miserable line-and-compass work with our ancient and Catholic dioceses. The sermon dwells strongly on the divine sanction of *institution* to a cure: and seems to hint that if aliens from our communion, while they admit our orders, deny our mission or jurisdiction, we surrender their whole argument, if we permit an interfering priest to seize upon a portion of our flocks, without, or against, our consent. Surely it becomes all the Clergy to be as strenuous in defence of their divine overseership as of their unbroken succession; but somehow we have come to think that the former can be interfered with by the gentlemen in Great George-street just as Acts of Parliament please. Even the favourite scheme of dividing parishes may have its latent errors, as witness some at least of those who take it up. Church Reform is a pretty thing in the abstract: but a little Canon Law, and deference to ancient ecclesiastical *principles*, would not hurt those who in Church Reform only find a means for the creation of new benefices. Has any one reckoned how many pieces of preferment the recent Church Extension Act has given to the government of Sir Robert Peel?

In some degree connected with this subject, may be recommended, Mr. Turnbull's "Parochial Disorganization," (J. W. Parker), which, with reference to a particular parish, records a state of things sufficiently perplexing.

That excellent collection, "The Churches in Yorkshire" (Leeds, Green), has finished one volume, and commenced another under the superintendence of Mr. Poole. Patrington seems a beautiful church. The lithographs are rather too pictorial for studies in the way of example—measured outlines are the only thing to rely upon.

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The "Life of Isaac Milner" (Seeley) is only an abridgement—and few biographies so much required compression—of a larger work, which has been freely and fully noticed in a former number.

"Tractarianism not of God," by Charles B. Tayler, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Chester. (Longman.) Mr. Tayler says, "I know of no one whose natural heart was more inclined than my own to approve the doctrines of the Tractarian party, or whose natural taste was more disposed to be captivated by the seducing appeals to the imagination which they put forth." He adds, "I do not say that all is error in Tractarianism, but error is so intermingled with truth, that an utter confusion is produced as to all clear and scriptural doctrine. The system is like the web of a fabric in which the worthless materials have been so commonly interwoven with pure gold," &c. &c.—"*Tractarianism not of God.* I write these words with deep sorrow of heart, for I think of the many gentle and amiable spirits who are to be found in the ranks of the Tractarian."—Mr. Tayler must allow us to return the compliment. There is a real pleasure in having such an amiable opponent as Mr. Tayler: as Shakspeare expresses it,—"I pray chide a year together."

Without committing ourselves to every word of Mrs. Toogood's "Religious Lessons for Children," (Rivingtons), we can safely say that it is among the very best of a good class. We recommend it without hesitation.

A new (the sixth) volume of "Plain Sermons," by the authors of the "Tracts for the Times," has appeared. It requires no recommendation.

Besides the sermons already noticed, we desire to mention with great satisfaction, one by Mr. Macmullen, preached at the Exeter School Meeting. (Hannaford.) "The New Birth," by Mr. Henry Robinson, of Dudcote, is sound, but not remarkable (Parker and Rivingtons). Various discourses by Mr. Garbett (Hatchard), preached at all sorts of places, and for all sorts of purposes, are very much the contrary, *i. e.* remarkable and unsound. Other valuable volumes have just arrived. Dr. Moberley's "School Sermons," (Rivingtons); Dr. Wordsworth's "Discourses on Public Education," (Rivingtons), delivered at Harrow,—it must have required some courage to preach about Aristophanes in church,— which, for obvious reasons, we class together, since the good work of reforming public schools goes on most hopefully. Mr. R. W. Evans's "Parochial Sermons." (Rivingtons.) Among single sermons, we have received Dr. Hook's "Take heed what ye hear;" Mr. Samuel Wilberforce's "Consecration Sermon," preached at Farnham, and elsewhere, (Burns); and of importance equal to any, Mr. Cheyne's "Holiness the true Reforming Power of the Church," (Aberdeen, Brown), which has, and most deservedly, reached its second edition.

[A pressure of important matter has obliged us,—though our number extends several sheets beyond the average quantity,—to omit a variety of notices which are in type.]

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THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1845.

ART. I.—1. *Smythe's Historic Fancies.* London: Colburn. 1844.

2. *Smythe's Lectures on History.* 5 vols. London: Pickering. 1842-43.

3. *Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons.* London: Longman.

4. *Maitland's Dark Ages.* London: Rivingtons. 1844.

5. *Arnold's History of Rome.* London: Fellowes.

THAT a great change has recently taken place, not only in the methods whereby Historical Investigation is pursued, but in the amount of interest generally felt in such investigation, seems abundantly certain. And there are few signs of the times which to us look more hopeful than this reviving taste for History, even as few intellectual conditions could have been worse than that out of which our men of thought seem emerging,—a disquisitive habit that is content to exercise itself on the topics of the day, and neither looks backwards nor forwards, ignorant of the past, and reckless of the future. The intellectual processes of those who are under this habit are of little more intrinsic gravity, and pursued with scarcely more earnestness, than a game at chess; they bestow their powers in spinning afresh the webs which, unknown to them, have been put together, and then cast aside as worthless, time after time, since men began to think; the formation of opinion is too obviously a mere gymnastic exercise of their own minds, for the opinion arrived at to be the object of firm faith; when the hour of trial arrives it will not abide the test; the manufacture of nothing more than dialectical skill will be found of too flimsy a texture to abide the collision of rude Fact—rough hard-pressing Reality—and distinct wants, wishes, hopes, and fears. And in some foresight of this, your unhistorical man of discussion and logic is very sarcastic when he encounters earnest convictions, far looking faith, and genial enthusiasm. The use of one's

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faculties is, in his eyes, but a game, and why should a man throw himself, soul and body, into a game? Some of us have happily played at this game till we have got thoroughly tired of it; tired of *play* altogether, and anxious to use what faculties we may have to some purpose. We have begun to feel, that as the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, so faith is of more consequence than good arguments; that facts concern us more than propositions; and that each of two realities is infinitely more precious than the very subtlest distinction that ever was laid down between them.*

While Literature was in this condition,—in respect of Poetry, a mere matter of *taste*, and in respect of Prose containing only such barren disquisition as we have been referring to,—men with an eye and a craving for facts betook themselves to the material sciences, where at least they came in contact with some sort of reality. But there are many people of intellectual stirrings and capacities, who cannot go heart and soul into those sciences, who cannot be energetically affected except by living interests, and who demand *the Human* as an indispensable element in all their pursuits. And never could Chemistry, Geology, and the like, really suit the female mind, though ladies some years ago tried hard to make them do so; never, for want of that element to which we have just referred, could such pursuits be a link between ourselves and our children, or between the different classes of society; nor, bounded and specific as with all its value each of them must be admitted to be, could they cast any strong light on ourselves, our relationships, and our duties; or mingle generally with the course of our lives or the main current of our feelings.

Now a change from all this in the direction of History, seems to us a change in the right direction. History is the only secular knowledge which has universal claims upon the attention of the upper classes. Take the ordinary intercourse of society: the chemist or the geologist neither can count nor has the least right to insist on finding chance companions able or willing to exchange thoughts with him on his especial topic, to which indeed only certain infrequent movements of conversation can conduct them. But how complete a bar to all but the most ordinary talk, is the company's ignorance of the great outline and salient

* We trust that we shall not be understood as sneering at logic, a science of which we strongly feel the importance: but pursuing it as a *science* is one thing, and continually practising it as an art is another; and it is quite natural that the very persons who have most done the latter, who have spent their whole intellectual leisure and strength in mere exercise of dialectical skill, should have a very inadequate appreciation, as in fact they generally have had, of the dignity and value of the study as a science. Still less wonderful, perhaps, is it that their logic should have been anything but severe or accurate.

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points of history! What subject of human interest can we hope to illustrate in such case? Whether we are talking of political movements and their probable consequences,—or the condition of the people,—or the merits and demerits of laws,—or of poetry, or the fine arts, or of religion, we are incessantly constrained to bring out our meaning concerning that which is, by references to that which has been. In all these subjects there is no comfort in conversation, no free movement of thought, with people to whom the Past is a blank, and in whose presence one cannot make that passing reference to a generally known historical event, which presumes the hearer's acquaintance with it, and which can be serviceable as an illustration only when thus familiarly glanced at.

History, therefore, even in reference only to secular considerations, ought, in its grand outline, to be the universal knowledge,—the common property of educated people,—the *circulating medium* of thought. As a *liberal* education used to be held incomplete without Travelling, so should it be without History; the one affording enlargement to the mind in respect of Space, the other in respect of Time. And as Time and Space in all things play into each other's hands, so Travelling, among its other advantages, greatly awakens a taste for History; and, on the other hand, such a taste previously acquired much enhances the relish, and increases the benefit, of travel.* In the sequel we shall occasionally look at these two as akin, illustrate the one by means of the other, and find, if we mistake not, that they are attended by corresponding difficulties, which require to be encountered by corresponding methods. We need scarcely, however, say that History is of far greater necessity than Travel; the mind's enlargement in respect of Space, which is procured by the latter, being procurable to some extent in other ways; while there is no substitute for History which can furnish the corresponding enlargement, in respect of Time.

Let us now look at the case in a prudential and moral point of view. To act wisely we must look to the Past, because, as Lord Bacon observes, the experience of no life is enough for the guidance of that life. Further; events, trials, and duties do not exist as independent wholes; they have relation to other events, trials, and duties which have gone before them, and help to interpret them, to which therefore we must refer, if we wish to understand them. If a man's position be only private and domestic, which can scarcely be said of any Englishman's, then

* And hence we suspect that Dr. Arnold was but an illustration of a general rule, in uniting a passion for History with a passion for Geography. Whether our phrenological friends generally find the organs of Eventuality and Locality in the same scull, we know not.

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family traditions and recollections will be needful for him in order that his Present may be made living and clear; and that by discerning their relations, he may interpret the facts amid which he is placed. If he have any measure of public duty (and all educated men in England have some measure) he must have recourse to History in the ordinary sense of the term for the corresponding purpose.

Lastly, let us take Religion. The Bible is a history; the great history of the human race in its highest relation. Without therefore an historical habit of mind, it becomes in no small measure a dead letter. It is true, indeed, that the Bible is the great storehouse of Ideas, whereas History is the record of Facts which are only phenomena; but it is also true that without phenomena we should never in our present condition apprehend *noumena*, or reach Ideas except by the way of Facts. To suppose that because God's manifestations in the world of Fact are but relative to us, what of old was styled *œconomical*, we can therefore dispense with that world, is one of the lying utterances of the Gnostic spirit. That the Fact revealed to us under the conditions of Time and Space is no adequate representation of the Truth free from those conditions, and as seen by the Supreme Reason "in the depths of real being," is the plain dictate of Philosophy; but no less plain is it that our best apprehension of the Fact is our nearest approximation to the Truth; and that if we choose to dispense with an Historical Revelation, because it enables us to know but in part, we must content ourselves with not really knowing at all.

In order to use God's Revelation, then, we must take it as we have it, and the form wherein we have it is, that of History. The Bible is the grand universal History, the History of the world, of mankind. Many of what we call its Doctrines are historical events; as, for example, we speak of the doctrine of the Atonement, but we can realize it only as the Fact that Christ died on the Cross for our sins. And even those *Truths* of the proper θεολογία, which in themselves are above and beyond the region of History and Phenomenon, have been manifested and evolved in the march of occurrences, and are brought out in connexion with the facts of a History. And this being so, it is obvious that an unhistorical temper and habit must be ill adapted to the scope and drift of the Bible, and that he in whom we find them will scarcely read the sacred Scriptures so as to feel their power and catch their life. How incomprehensible is the Gospel, except as the transfiguring and glorifying fulfilment of the Jewish Polity! How can the genius of that polity be understood by him who has not carefully traced its history; and how is that to be done by the man who has no eye for political or

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biographical facts; no power of arresting and scrutinizing recorded events; no habit of seeing the meaning of a nation's impulses and its fortunes; no Imagination cultivated in the direction of the Past, of by-gone men, by-gone fashions and feelings, by-gone actions and conditions of Thought and Desire?

We pass over for the present the importance of Church History.

While we thus would encourage the Historical temper, we are as far as possible from recommending any dreamy confusion between Past and Present; any fastidious turning away from the rough opaque reality, the stern homely round of life set before us in the latter; any of what is termed *living in the Past.* We feel very sure that the man over whom present wants, present duties, and present facts have no vigorous influence, is the very worst qualified man for truly apprehending by-gone wants, duties, and facts. Such an one wants that hearty Truthfulness which is the first and chief condition, no less of profitable reading, than of successful investigation, of History. To him a Fact can never stand out in its own form and colours, but looms fallaciously through the haze of his prejudices, whims, and passions.

Such, then, being the importance of History, it becomes a grave question, how the study is to be successfully pursued. And here be it understood, that we are not speaking of the writer, but the ordinary reader, of history. That to the former is assigned a task of no ordinary difficulty is obvious enough; that, in the last age, such difficulty was very inadequately apprehended, and the historical writers very far from really acquainted with the facts of which they professed to treat, is almost equally obvious; that great improvements have been made in our time, and a considerable approximation to a higher and better method of historical investigation arrived at, is an opinion which may perhaps be safely embraced; while, at the same time, we shall hardly err in saying that we have not yet got beyond such an approximation, if we are to take the following as a standard, to which the future historian can possibly attain.

'History is another study which is assuming considerable importance at the present time; and that under two distinct aspects. The first may be called critical, and is both absolutely necessary, and I suppose principally important, as preparing the way for the other. I allude to the study which concerns itself with discovering the real circumstances of past ages, detecting the meaning of small things, and dragging to light the forgotten elements of a gone-by state of society, from scattered evidences which the writers themselves who have recorded them did not understand; distinguishing truth from fable, plain fact from allegorical "myth" and the like; and thus preparing the materials by which the philosophical mind may test and verify

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theoretical deductions. High and rare powers of mind have been, beyond doubt, devoted to these inquiries. Niebuhr, judging from what is said of him by competent persons, is the great model and example of an historian of the kind; though he seems considered to have occasionally taken a higher range also. These writers are brought into direct contact with the Old Testament, and have started many difficulties on the right mode of understanding its historical narratives. But an ideal Church would have interpreters ready at hand, both to solve their difficulties, and to avail themselves of the science itself, as might advantageously be done, for the purpose of illustrating and clearing up many parts of our earlier sacred books. A much higher science of history, however, is in gradual progress of formation, which has a far nearer connexion both with poetry and with philosophy. It aims at "realizing a true and living picture of times past, clothed in their circumstances and peculiarities,"—at probing to the bottom, in regard to those times, not the intellectual life of intellectual men, not the social life of the people, but their internal life; their thoughts and feelings in regard to themselves and their destinations; the habitual temper of their mind; the causes of their highest joys and sorrows, hopes and fears. Nay, more than this: it regards the whole of the events which have befallen the human race, and the states through which it has passed, as a series of phenomena, produced by causes, and susceptible of explanation. All history is conceived as a progressive chain of causes and effects; or (by an apter metaphor) as a gradually unfolding web, in which every fresh part that comes to view is a prolongation of the part previously unrolled, whether we can trace the separate threads from the one to the other, or not." It makes its chief aim "to find on what principles, derived from the nature of man and the system of the universe, each state of society and of the human mind produced that which came after it;" and to discover how far any order of production can be traced sufficiently definite, to show what future states of society may be expected to emanate from the circumstances which exist at present. To regard, indeed, the successive changes of society as connected, in some degree at least, by an ascertainable order of advance, appears at first sight contradictory to the deep and sure knowledge which all Christians possess, of God's particular providence towards individuals, and generally of His ceaseless intervention, for His moral purposes, in the affairs of the world; and the same apparent inconsistency exists in the case of physical science, as at present studied. That there is no real inconsistency, I fully believe; and in an ideal Church, there would exist a recognised theory, explaining fully the principles on which, and the degree in which, the Christian can apply himself to the processes of experimental philosophy, with the hope of a true result.'—*Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 38, 39.

But this, as we have said, is not our present concern; our less ambitious aim is to point out a few of the difficulties which beset the ordinary reader, and the methods by which they are to

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be overcome: in a word, we wish to give a few hints to the teacher conducting an average education, and anxious to communicate to his pupil such historical knowledge as should be in the possession of every man and woman in the upper classes.

His aim must be twofold: first, to impress the learner with by-gone *facts*, as far as may be, in their real character; and, next, to give him such a theory of those facts—such a principle of unity to uphold and bind them as may be fairly arrived at.

I. The first, we need scarcely say, is attended with difficulties which our ordinary teacher and learner must encounter in common with the authors of whom they avail themselves; with, however, this comparative disadvantage, that, instead of, like many things, becoming fainter at second hand, they are greatly strengthened by arriving at that stage. Whatever mist may dim the investigator's view of the past, and whatever fallacies may distort it, are, of course, equally interposed between the reader and the fact; but the reader's mind throws its own clouds, too, across the prospect, and engenders meteors of its own; so that the lie becomes doubled. How difficult it must be really to master a by-gone, even when not very distant, fact, will be apparent on the slightest consideration of the difficulty involved in getting real hold of a contemporaneous and present one. How differently that is viewed and reported by different persons; nay, how differently—as, for example, in the case of censuring or excusing the action of another—it is viewed by ourselves at different times! The artistic and plastic power of the imagination, moreover, will blend facts into a picture of its own composing, and coloured with its own associations; and this is done first by the writer and then by the reader. Add to this, that a fact, however distinct and real, must always have far more of a relative than an intrinsic character; it is not to be understood except it be viewed in particular connexions. Johnson's contempt for the average intelligence of the mass of the Athenian population, on the ground that not nine men out of ten among them could read, is but one instance, out of thousands, of misinterpreting an undoubted fact, from disregarding the relation in which it stands. As has been well observed, this non-ability to read is an humiliating fact, or otherwise, according to circumstances. It does argue a nearly total want of cultivation when we find it in an English agricultural district; it did not argue it among the people of Athens, who gazed habitually, and with delight, on the sculpture of a Phidias, and listened to the oratory of a Demosthenes and the poetry of a Sophocles.* Similarly, the

* Edinburgh Review of Croker's 'Boswell.' We do not remember whether the unmistakable author has republished the paper.

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non-translation of the Scriptures and the Liturgy, from the dead languages, was, as we shall by-and-by have occasion to see, a very different fact in the Middle Ages from what it is in the countries wherein we find it at present. Another impediment in the way of really understanding facts, is the fallacy of classification; yet of this writer and reader are sure to provide an abundance. The very divisions of volumes and chapters, indispensable as they are, constitute an artificial arrangement creative of some associations, and obstructive of others, which we cannot get rid of for the rest of our lives. Each *reign*, for example, headed by the name of a separate sovereign, with its especial chapter, or chapters, devoted to it, and introducing us to a perfectly new set of favourites and personages, seems to us a separate whole. We forget that the grown-up agents in its events must have been trained and moulded in the by-gone period which we have quitted, and had their associations formed by its discarded persons and proceedings. Thus we think of Laud simply as living and dying in the reign of Charles I., because Hume never mentions him till then, and because the most important part of his public life was passed in that period; and we are startled when it is first brought home to us that he had reached manhood before the death of Elizabeth, and must have had his early impressions made, and the peculiar bias of his mind directed, by the days and the doings of Hooker, Cartwright, Whitgift and Bancroft; and that he had matured his Anglican theory before the Hampton Court conference. So, too, we habitually surround Milton with the persons and the proceedings of the Protectorate and the Restoration; and quite forget that his choice early years were spent in the reign of James I.,—in the gay time of the dramatists, and amid the first full flow of the English tongue. But not thus do we become acquainted with—*get to know*—a contemporary. We do not bound our view of him by the present position in which we find him; we do not think of Sir R. Peel only as the premier of 1845, but we go back to him as the promising boy at Harrow, the first-classman at Oxford, the rising young statesman of 1813, the Home-Secretary of 1822, the brilliant opposition leader of 1831. And without thus reverting to his previous course, we should feel that we had no real apprehension of him at all. And, not only in the case of the public man, who is after all to be conceived by the private man only by means of the imagination, do we act thus; but we never consider ourselves really to *know* any one in our own circle about whose past life we are wholly in the dark. No one, however frankly conversing with him, calls himself *acquainted with* his fellow passenger or railway companion. Manifestly, then, a fallacy such as that to which we

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have referred must altogether hinder our attaining any real apprehension of the characters which we encounter in History.

These are but one or two illustrations of the refracting medium through which the light of the Past ordinarily comes to us; and when we add to them that each of our popular Historians has his own bias, his own cause to plead, his own case to make out, and that the two most read by people of education have certain very mischievous aims of which they never lose sight, the chance of an ordinary unscholastic person getting at historical truth seems discouraging enough. And there is a further difficulty from the nature, structure, and scope of what we call a *History*. Its plan almost necessarily excludes Memoir. It is all public and dignified. It confines itself to important people and great events; and yet these are but accidental, and even subordinate *symptoms* of the great whole to which they belonged, to be interpreted by, but very powerless to interpret, that whole. And History being further, when successful, a *work of art*, the obscuration of plain] Fact, if not the actual distortion of Truth, which must ensue, requires not to be shown.

So sensible seems a distinguished writer of the present day* of the difficulties whereof we have been speaking, that he is doubtful of the advantage accruing to an ordinary man from the study of History at all, and by way of a substitute for the enlargement of mind which it is supposed to minister, recommends mastering the memoirs, details, ways, and peculiarities of some one age. But to say nothing of the fact that such a task cannot be performed by ordinary persons, we deny that it would accomplish the end in view. For though a man who should know a good deal about one other time than his own, would be better off in respect of enlargement than a man who knew only his own, his mental prospect would be still very restricted; he would be like a prisoner allowed two apartments instead of only one, and remaining a prisoner still. What we think would be valuable, where practicable, would be such minute study of one period joined to a general historical range. The effect of the former might be to give the reader an eye for facts throughout the latter, and a power of interpreting them, which he would not otherwise possess. Having found the Reality of one time, and been enabled to compare it with the disguise thrown over it by the dignified Historian, he may guess at the Reality lurking behind the folds of a similar disguise elsewhere.

Still, be it remembered, we are professedly dealing with ordinary cases. Let us try then to imagine how a teacher, alive to the difficulties we have described, might deal with an in-

* Mr. Henry Taylor in his *Statesman*.

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telligent boy between twelve and fifteen, to whom he wished to impart a real living acquaintance with by-gone fact. We shall suppose that the History of England is to be commenced. And here we would recommend the master to content himself with Hume as a text-book. The fact that his is the universally read History of England is sufficient reason for this, to say nothing of its being incomparably the most delightful. Let him then read it along with his pupil, accompanying the work with oral illustration and oral warning. Let him show how, with all his ability, Hume fails to give real facts. When the Saxon division has been read through, let Sir F. Palgrave's admirable little volume be consulted, and similarly let the same author's 'Merchant and Friar' be perused at another stage. The learner will thus have the advantage of knowing what is commonly believed, because it is *said to be the History* of those periods, and of seeing the difference between this and what really happened and really characterizes them.

Again, at the outset, and repeatedly throughout, while reading Hume on the mediæval period, the phrase, 'dark ages,' may be commented upon. It may be shown to the learner how the designation came into use; how natural it was to be so delighted with certain discoveries and improved methods of investigation as to fancy that men had lived in vain till they were known, or so enchanted with the once again revealed charms of the classical civilization, as to have no eye for one in which the features of that were obscured and scarcely known; yet how fallacious both estimates are. 'Anyhow,' the teacher may say, 'if we are reading about those ages, we may as well have some conception of their true character.' He should therefore proceed to point out the peculiarity of mediæval civilization; that it was a process of formations out of the shattered mass of the Roman empire; that it had the unspeakable blessing of being carried on under Christian influences; that, under those influences, certain arts, such as architecture and music, and certain pursuits, such as theology, jurisprudence, and metaphysics, flourished in circumstances wherein Europe has never been known to exist before or since, the civilized and formed languages having ceased to be spoken in ordinary life, and become what we call *dead*, and their successors not having yet taken shape, so as to be available for any but the most familiar uses; and that the Teutonic races are in some measure an exception to this remark, though not wholly, and though too much bound up with the rest of Christendom not to come under its intellectual condition. This consideration, which is absolutely indispensable to our understanding a single fact connected with the mind of the middle ages, is not brought forward, so far as

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we remember, by Hume, nor, we suspect, by any commonly-used writer. How much superfluous censure would have been spared had people but kept it in mind!

To take an instance to which we have already referred, a point, indeed, where Hume has no warmth of censure to bestow, but whereon most of us have abundantly made up for his apathy—the retention of the Scriptures and the Liturgy in the dead languages. That such practice, where it exists, has not much to say for itself in the present day, may perhaps be safely conceded; and its continuance, where continued still, must be allowed to have *at least the air* of hierarchical jealousy. But how different does the same practice seem in its original circumstances, and as sketched by the no less truthful than charitable pen of Sir F. Palgrave.

'Throughout great part of Europe, there was a strong prejudice against the employment of the vernacular tongues as written languages. The "*Romance*"* dialects of Gaul and Spain and Italy were broken Latin, or the dialects into which it had been corrupted, first by the provincials, and afterwards by the barbarian conquerors of the Roman empire. Spanish has been described with some drollery and truth, as such Latin as might have been heard from the mouth of a sulky Roman slave. And the ground-work of all these *Romance* languages,—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, Italian,—is in fact only the Latin, mangled, and deprived of its grammatical forms and grammatical construction, and then copiously interspersed with words derived from barbarian sources:—Teutonic, Celtic, Vascon, and even Sclavonic, all having contributed to the compound. By cultivation, these irregular dialects have acquired beauty and elegance; but, to the learned, who, though they may have been deficient in critical nicety, were quite familiar with the correct forms of the Latin language, these *patois* must have sounded as ludicrous as the *talkee talkee* of our negroes in the colonies, to which they bear the closest analogy. Such a language might be, and was applied to the oral instruction of the common people, from the necessity of the case; and discourses were delivered from the pulpit in what was termed "the rustic tongue." But the employment of this jargon in a literary composition, would have seemed as derogatory to the writer. Still less could they venture to employ it in translations of the Holy Scriptures; for they feared that the dignity of the sacred writings would be profaned by the association of ideas arising from a plebeian idiom, bearing the stamp of ignorance and vulgarity.

'There are few transgressions more seductive to us all, than that disrespectful treatment of the word of God which is, to all intents and

* 'This term was constantly applied to the languages formed as noticed in the text; and *Romance*, in Spanish, is still employed as synonymous to Castilian, or the vulgar tongue.'

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purposes, a breach of the third commandment; and we are therefore bound to guard ourselves against the error with the most watchful care. It is of the greatest importance that we should resist the temptation, frequently so strong, of annexing a familiar, facetious, or irreverent idea to a scriptural usage, a scriptural expression, a scripture text, or a scripture name. Nor should we hold ourselves guiltless, though we may have been misled by mere negligence or want of reflection. Every person of good taste will avoid reading a parody or a *travestie* of a beautiful poem, because the recollection of the degraded likeness will always obtrude itself upon our memories, when we wish to derive pleasure from the contemplation of the elegance of the original. But how much more urgent is the duty, by which we are bound to keep the pages of the Bible clear of any impression tending to diminish the blessing of habitual respect and reverence towards our Maker's law!

'We must therefore admit that the general principle, which induced the clergy of Gaul and Spain and Italy to avoid clothing the Scriptures in what they considered a degrading garb, was right and sound; but the particular application of that principle was evidently incorrect.'—*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 163—165.

We have said that the Teutonic nations are a partial exception to this remark, as having independent languages, however inadequate; and in reference to this the teacher will call careful attention to the interesting fact of our Saxon forefathers having possessed and used large portions of Holy Writ in their own tongue.

In the different periods of English History after the Conquest, the teacher will do well to give interest and liveliness to their records from various sources; pointing out where the means are afforded, the characteristic architecture of each, and showing in what present forms and institutions any great movement of each has been embodied. When engaged with the reigns of Edward III., and Richard II., parts of Chaucer should be read; the historical plays of Shakspeare, where they are appropriate; and Shakspeare, Spenser, parts of Bacon, &c., when the learner has come to the reign of Elizabeth. Whatever distinct domestic or private facts, such as both Sir F. Palgrave and Mr. Maitland shine in discovering, can be made to apply, ought also to be told, and fallacies of classification, such as we spoke of some way back, guarded against by pointing out the facts and dates which disturb them.

Now, it is easy to see that this method, which of course admits of far more varied illustration than we have space to bring forward, applied through a very small part of any one history, will do much, both to excite inquiry and fix the love of Fact and Reality in the mind of an intelligent lad of the age supposed; that such will be probably led to further questions

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and penetrating thought; will look for further Reality than is presented by ordinary histories; will suspect commonplace accounts of the ambition of prelates, and the luxury of monks; will learn to feel how impossible it is but that there should be other elements in the grave questions that have divided men, in times past, than are recognised by the Robertsons, Humes, and Gibbons of modern literature.

II. The teacher's next *desideratum* will be to present historical facts in their reciprocal connexion, and in their unity of scope. And here, if he trust to mere literature, his difficulties will be even greater than in the former case; while, if he take a higher and better guide, he will find the labour considerably less. Did we know of no Divine element, no theocratic principle in History, we might well content ourselves with a search after some of its facts; and, after arriving at a fair proportion of these, decline the task of connecting or classifying them. Every one must feel the risk that there is of a *philosophical* history,—one that professes to connect events with their causes, and trace recorded actions, triumphs, and changes to their principles,—being more fanciful than solid. But the Christian teacher can, if he like, do something of this sort, with no such danger. He sees a main stem of the world's history, whereof all particular histories are but branches. The Christian Church, the Heavenly Kingdom supplies him with a central point of view, whence he can take in the whole panorama: and on this principle, and on no other, will he teach History. The mighty and terrible Image before which the Babylonian sovereign quailed, the fourfold Vision of the captive Prophet will afford him his clue. He will lead his pupil to gaze inquiringly on the sight of an Universal Empire —will try to show him what cravings of the ruled and conquered, no less than the ruler and conqueror, render such a thing possible; to what great Truth those cravings point; and how God made those empires, dark and portentous substitutes for such Truth as in themselves they were, the means of its development. He will carefully trace the progress of the Heavenly and Divine Kingdom amid those empires; nor will he quit the history of Israel, as is too commonly done, just where, for wise reasons, it is quitted by Canonical Scripture; but guiding his pupil through a part of history by far too much neglected by ordinary people, that of the Macedonian empire after Alexander, he will show him how wonderfully God's Providence arranged that, when the fulness of time was drawing near and the Universal Society about to be instituted, the land of sacred history and the regions around were made European by becoming Greek; how the Divine Kingdom seemed on the point of being ingulfed in the Greek Polytheism; how it arose unhurt from the struggle

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and developed itself afresh; and how, as the Greek mind was now spread through the East, the Jewish mind was spread throughout it too, so that from their interpenetration might ensue a diffused preparation for the Catholic faith, while the rising empire of Rome, which was embracing all this part of the Earth, was also pushing its conquests Westward, and about to bring the shores of the Atlantic and our own distant isle into the pale of *World History.*

So much for the teacher's methods. We will now say a few words on some collateral points. Besides such mere intellectual fallacies as we have been pointing out, there are others partly moral against which it will be necessary for him to guard the learner.

In the first place, he will warn him against the common practice of *judging* historical personages, determining absolutely whether such and such people were good or bad men. How common this is, let the frequent subjects of conversation bear witness. From Julius Cæsar down to Charles I. there is a succession of people about whom we argue as warmly as if anything depended on the suffrages we could win for them, and who are exalted to the skies and trodden under foot by their partisans and their opponents respectively. Intellectual children do the same, but often, as is the case with children in so many things, in a far wiser form. 'Do not you *like* such an one?' they say; 'Do not you dislike another?' a much more modest way of putting the question. What? When we dare not judge our neighbour whom we see every day, when we are bound to abstain from determining his precise position in the moral and spiritual world, when we feel it our part to see and be thankful for the evidences of Divine Grace which he presents, and to own that we have no means of measuring the difficulties with which he is beset, and therefore have no right to be severe on his imperfections, how can we pronounce on departed men, of whom it is antecedently probable that they presented the same tissue of characteristics, good mixed with deplorable inconsistency and weakness, as is done by the people about us; with this only difference, that in the one case we have, and in the other we have not, a thousand interpretive phenomena? And here again History and Travelling correspond. The hasty traveller forgets that he is even more bound to be lenient in his judgments abroad than at home, as having less access to the interpreting and often extenuating circumstances. The man of another country and the man of another age are necessarily somewhat perplexing to us; and in both cases we must remember that the imperfections and faults which we theoretically admit to be found in a

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good man are often connected with the unquestioned maxims and customs around, instead of being the choice of the will, and that as those maxims and customs vary, so will the form taken by human imperfection.

A judicious teacher, therefore, will guard his pupil against determining in reference to by-gone people, that which is only to be authoritatively determined of any one at the Great Day of Judgment. On the other hand he will cheerfully point out to him the power and the reality of Holiness, he will direct his attention to the satisfactory symptom of a mixed character like that of King Charles, rising with time and trial; and he will rejoice with him in those which illuminate every age of Christian history, and in which hardly any disturbing or disfiguring element mars our satisfaction. And as he warns him against judging the persons, so will the teacher restrain him from too peremptory decisions on the actions, of bygone men. Crime must indeed remain ever the same, and must be avoided equally by the men of all ages; and "the primal duties shine aloft like stars," and must, therefore, be in some measure obeyed alike in all times by all men on whom we are to bestow any amount of approbation. But the line of conduct adopted by the historical character in less obvious cases—the mode of action which must be wise and good, or evil and foolish, according to circumstances —is a matter on which, as regards the agent, our judgments have no such undoubted jurisdiction. True, *we* can see that the leaders of two opposite sides were each contending for half truths; that each missed the harmonizing whole truth by refusing to listen to the other; that each fought under a great disadvantage in consequence; and that the absolute success of either would have been a calamity instead of a good. It is easy for *us* to judge that Laud's attempted triumph of a Church detached from the great Catholic mass, and in a state of internal distraction and disease, to be achieved by means of monarchical ascendancy, would have been an ill-omened victory, which would have recoiled sooner or later upon the Church and country. But how was Laud, unless endowed either with a mind of miraculous comprehension, or with Prophetic Vision, to see the same? It is clear to us, not because we are more moderate, more judicious, more practical than he, but because we know two hundred years of history which he did not and could not know. Men cannot be expected to see what will be the final issues of the things going on around them. While on earth, they must miss the harmony into which the conflicting principles amid the strife of which they have to play their parts, may perchance be developed. Meanwhile, they must act, and act according to what they are enabled

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to see. For that to be exactly what the calm student, who surveys the whole march of the events and its final results, is enabled to see, would be a manifest impossibility. In a present war, no man can conduct himself on principles of eclecticism. But, nevertheless, there is revealed to him each day and each hour a right and a wrong, between which he is to choose; and let it be enough for us if we have reason to believe that it was his habit to choose the right. This is all that the great heroic spirits can hope to do,—to see a cause of God and of man; to see wherein they are called to serve it, and to fight for it; to throw themselves unreservedly upon it, and, perchance, in an earthly point of view, to be overwhelmed by it. But such live not, nor strive in vain; their aspirations and their endeavours come to their true, though not exactly the wished for, issue. And, therefore, the teacher will guard his pupil against the common measurements of success in regard to historical persons; will lead him, for example, to question how far Laud has not been on the whole a victorious man, instead of the defeated one he is commonly represented; how far, as was lately said in these pages, our existing Church of England level may not have been reached mainly through his instrumentality,—how far, therefore, he does not stand forth as an encouragement to animate us in seeking to climb to a higher range of thought and striving, instead of a beacon to warn us against the attempt.

Should the pupil be romantic and visionary, it will be requisite to guard him against another fallacy which is nearly sure to assail him,—that of sighing after a period characterized by many great men. There are several such times in the world's history,—starry and magnificent as seen through the night of ages, and at the thought of our removal from which we are fain to fret and bemoan ourselves,—the age of Apostles and early Martyrs—the age of great Fathers and heroic Churchmen, of an Athanasius, a Chrysostom, and an Ambrose—the ages of noble Chivalry and cloistered Saintliness; or, again, the age of England's bright development under her maiden Queen, to which, as to a period in which magnificent strength was combined with a fresh, youthful gush of all emotion,—a time of rare sunshine and diffused joyousness,—our minds are apt to turn with a fond wish that our lot had been appointed in it, and that we had been the contemporaries of Shakspeare, Raleigh, Spenser, Hooker, and Bacon. The fallacy of such estimates of the Past has been often exposed, but men's minds will go on forming them notwithstanding. Mr. Digby completed his voluminous "Mores Catholici" in spite of all demonstrations of the deception which he was practising on himself and others,—demonstrations which he must frequently have encountered; and equally in spite of them will

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gentle and visionary minds continue to delight in the book. Now, though there be little immediate harm in a dream of this sort, it is right that the teacher should expose its fallacy, both for the sake of truth in general, and also to show the true character and conditions of greatness. The existence in it of great men, as we once heard well remarked, so far from being an argument for, is one of the strongest that can be alleged against, an age; for such are not formed by the sympathy of the things and persons around them, but by the very reverse. It is through resistance to the evil around them that men are made heroes. And therefore, let the truth be continually urged which a great writer has thus expressed: "If we ask that the age in which St. Paul preached may come again, we ask that Nero may come again; if we ask that we may be transported back to the glorious period of Athanasius, we ask to live under the tyrant Constantius,—to have the world almost wholly Pagan, the Church almost wholly Arian. If we long to sit at the feet of Chrysostom, we long for the infamous corruptions of Antioch and Constantinople—for the government of Eutropius—for the horrible villanies of the eunuchs of the Palace. If we reckon that it would have been a blessing to live under the teaching of Augustine, we must be content to see Rome sacked by one set of barbarians, and the Church in Africa threatened by another; we must get our learning from a race of effete rhetoricians; we must dwell amidst all the seductions and abominations of Manicheism." Though our teacher will delightedly put such a book as the *Mores Catholici* into the hands of a promising pupil, he will not fail to point out the monstrous contradiction, unconsciously perhaps, involved in its second title, *Ages of Faith*; showing him how the *sæculum* must at any period have been the direst antagonist of faith.

But it will be right also to fight with another delusion which is pretty sure to possess the mind either of a romantic and visionary or a cold and utilitarian reader,—the delusion that any great degree of Civilization is something very modern and peculiar to ourselves. Now, if there be one thing which the records of the Past teach us more distinctly than another, it is the extreme antiquity and universality of Civilization in all its essentials. Many people may have heard of the text, 'There was fine linen in Egypt,' and the conclusions respecting the extent of knowledge, and the variety of arts among the Egyptians, which necessarily follow from it. But it is not merely solving such a problem as the number of things requisite to produce fine linen that will suffice to disabuse us of our habitual notion that we, in these latter ages, have covered the earth with wonders, which reduce all previous adornments thereof to insignificance, and accomplished

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feats such as make all previous aggressions of the 'audax Iapeti genus' upon the resisting and hostile elements around them no better than child's play.

Now, on this subject, let us, as before, compare History with Travelling. In this case, too, we start under precisely the same fallacy. Englishmen are at first apt to fancy that Civilization is confined to their own four seas: then France and Northern Germany are, through the sheer force of familiarity, included within the favoured pale. The Englishman learns to forget such trifles as door-handles that will not move readily, and doors that will not perfectly shut,—in the sense of cities, enclosures, banks, credits, laws,—as essentially civilization. Let him try the wilder parts of Italy, such as Calabria, or travel in Sicily or Spain, and the same result takes place. The perfections of modern English manufacture begin to occupy very subordinate room in his mind, now occupied with the at once far more universal and far greater wonder, which has shaped the intractable ὑλη of the planet Tellus into the forms of social life—has reduced her wild and weedy surface into an orderly and successive production of things suited to man's wants and ways—has studded her with cities—has subjected her teeming populations to law and government, and forced all their individual and varying wills into reciprocal relations and a dominant order. This he will find all over Christendom, and indeed wherever he is in the world of kingdoms and laws; everywhere except in savage life, which exhibits, as it is now happily a common phrase to say, not man in his natural, but in a strangely diseased, condition.

And what Travelling does for us in this respect over Space, the like will History do over Time. Just as we at first fancy every country savage that has not attained our own perfection of mechanical art, so do we of nearly every age that had not reached all the discoveries wherewith we are familiar, or thrown off every prejudice from which we may have emancipated ourselves. And yet here History, rightly digested, will disabuse us: it will teach us to regard ourselves as having only gained a small step in the accidents, without any proportionate progress in that substance, of Civilization which has been the heritage of all but the savage from the very earliest times. Cities are, after all, greater wonders than clubs or joint-stock companies—ploughs than the latest drilling machines that may have won the admiration of the Royal Agricultural Association—sailing-vessels of any kind than steamboats—regular intercourse between distant places than railroads—the weaving of linen than all the looms of Manchester—and a calendar by which times and seasons could be reckoned than the Newtonian system. We forbear to mention *Language*, because that alone, even in the savage, has

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its separate mystery and awe. But we think the teacher will not have guided his pupil through History aright unless he in some way or other impress upon him the lesson which we have been urging; unless, whether engaged with Herodotus, narrating the dawn of ancient Pagan, or the modern historian doing the same by the new Christian, Europe, or the Bible, with larger scope than either, acquainting us with the beginnings of religious society altogether, he take pains to show the learner how small and subordinate a step are our boasted achievements compared with that essential difference between the civilized man and the brute, as well as the savage, which has been stamped on the denizens of History from the very first. And then will arise the great and necessary question, Who stamped it? Then will it be right to urge the pupil to inquire, whether merely Man's independent energies, or the Giver of all Good and Perfect Things, should receive the praise thereof.

Finally, should the teacher avail himself of the recently introduced distinction between *organic* and *critical* periods? We call this distinction recently introduced, because it is said to owe its formal origin to the St. Simonians, but it has surely been long practically recognised, belonging to the class of 'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.' An *organic* period, we need scarcely say, is one wherein some great Idea prevails in society, shaping its institutions, directing its thoughts, and presiding over all its sentiments; it is the period of unquestioned Faith, of habitual reverence, of dominant hierarchies, of habitual unity. In such a period first principles are assumed, and men live, without questioning and without murmuring, under the tie of the relationships in which they are placed. Sovereigns meet with cheerful loyalty from their subjects, parents receive their due honour from children and descendants, priests minister to cheerfully submissive flocks. A *critical* period is the reverse of all this: it is the age wherein people ask questions, wherein institutions are scrutinized and sifted, wherein men investigate and divide upon first principles. Our own age would at once be viewed as a critical, the thirteenth century would as readily be voted an organic, period.

We have already hinted at our persuasion of this distinction being by no means so new as the terms whereby it is now expressed. It is one which habitually haunts the lovers of the Past, consequently it is one which will very probably take some practical possession of our supposed learner's mind, and upon which therefore the teacher ought to make up his.

Now, viewed simply as a method, we think it one without which History can neither be written nor read to any good purpose. Without it, we cannot appreciate either characters

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or actions. It seems to us real as applied to different states of affairs, though we think it a gross delusion to apply it without qualification to different periods. Every age of an European and living country is both organic and critical—organic as regards some things, critical as regards others—though woe to the age which is not more organic than critical! We trust that it may turn out of our own, the most critical, as we are apt to believe, which the world has yet beheld, that formative and unific have a larger sway over it than dissociative and individualizing tendencies. But this we think will be carefully pointed out by a judicious teacher, that both the organic and the critical tendency are designed for society, that the presence of both is a necessary condition of its life, and that both, therefore, though of course in reference to different matters, ought to be in operation together. It will be shown, too, that the critical principle never can operate safely except in strict subordination to the organic. The teacher, moreover, will carefully point out, that the periods which look to us the most organic often do so merely from having been so in reference to the searchings and their own contests on first principles. He will point to the municipal revolutions in the fourteenth century as illustrating this in politics, to S. Dominic and the Albigenses a century earlier, to the rise of the mendicant orders, or to the Realists and Nominalists as illustrating it in morals and religion. By these means he may at once save his pupil from that retroverted Socialism which looks idolatrously on an earthly Past, and that morbid sensibility which shrinks from all that is characteristic of the Present, which would shut its eyes to all that Present's real wants and cravings, which would prescribe ignoring them as the true treatment of its questionings, and stifling them as the only satisfaction of its anxieties.

Before concluding this article, which pretends only to be one of hints, we will mention one or two features of History, of which right views should be presented to every learner.

1st. The destiny and calling of the *Abrahamidæ*, the children of Isaac, Ishmael, Esau, &c. If Mr. Forster be right in his estimate of Saracen ascendancy, its bearing on the History of the world, and the Theocratic scheme, must needs be important enough to make it requisite for all to understand something of it,

2dly. The third universal Empire to which we have already referred. It is to be feared that comparatively few ordinary readers of History have, in any living way, filled up the space in Hebrew annals, between the return from Captivity and the coming of the Lord. Yet how important this is,—how needful

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in order that we may discern what is meant by 'the Fulness of Time,' what we have said in a former part of our paper may, perhaps, serve to indicate.

3dly. The long duration and gradual decease of *Imperial* ideas in Western Europe. There can be no greater fallacy than that which regards the Western Empire as having perished under Augustulus, and which looks upon Charlemagne as a mere parodist of its character and features. This is, however, too large a subject to be entered on at present, even did we feel competent to the task. It requires no reasoning, however, to show that if Savigny and his followers be right in their views of the matter, it is a point the misapprehension of which must necessarily render European History incomprehensible. We have already alluded to its bearing on the character of Mediæval Civilization.

4thly. The Reformation as a movement *participated in* by the Latin Church.

Our whole article, as we have said, has been one of hints. If our hints have been at all just, they must suggest many others, the following out of which would render historical lessons real and living to an extent whereto in ordinary education we have perhaps been sadly strangers, at least for a century and a half.

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ART. II. — 1. *An Epistle to the Terrible Priests of the Convocation House.* By MARTIN MARPRELATE, Gentleman. Reprinted from the Black Letter Edition, with an Introduction and Notes. London: Petheram. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 76.

2. *An Epitome of the First Book of Dr. John Bridges' Defence of the Government of the Church of England in Ecclesiastical Matters.* By MARTIN MARPRELATE, Gentleman. Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 64.

3. *Pap with a Hatchet; being a Reply to Martin Marprelate.* Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1844. 8vo. Pp. 52.

4. *Hay any Worke for Cooper.* Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1845. 8vo. Pp. 84.

To what are we to attribute the mass of 'reprints' with which we are in the present day overwhelmed? Let a man examine any of the more favourite channels employed in the advertisement of new publications, and we will venture to say, that he will find nine-tenths of such advertisements to be either pamphlets of mere local and passing interest, or new editions, as some would call them, 'reprints' more properly, of older works. Now is this owing to a want of industry, or talent, or self-reliance in modern writers, not to say, authors? or rather to an apparently unappeasable desire in the reading part of the people of England to know the opinions and concusions of their forefathers, and so learn to guide their own practice, not so much despising as distrusting contemporary judgment? We certainly are always ready to welcome new editions, carefully done and with impartiality, of scarce books of high ecclesiastical or national importance, and of standard authors; but we are really sickened by the late profusion of mere 'reprints,' the originals of which have been selected as if at random, and might well have been allowed to remain, not in obscurity perhaps, but in their comparative infrequency of occurrence. We would not lose this opportunity of naming one book which we are anxious to see another and a good edition of, viz. Wilkins' 'Concilia.' Any man well learned and of laborious habits who would undertake it (and much of both he must have), would confer, we do not hesitate to say, a national benefit upon us; independently of making a very dear and scarce book more accessible, *many important documents* have, during the last hundred years, been brought to light, and much valuable information gained, the addition of which would greatly increase the usefulness of the old 'Concilia,' and make it very far indeed from

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being a reprint.' Neither would we omit holding up as an example of what any thing that pretends to be an edition should *not* be, the late republication, with notes, of Collier's 'Ecclesiastical History,' by Francis Barham, Esq. This was a scarce work also, and in deservedly great demand; but we cannot sufficiently express our regret, that it was entrusted to an editor who had neither discretion nor learning at all competent to the task, and who has done his utmost by silly remarks to injure the reputation of the great author of the History itself.*

And societies also are springing up, every year a new one, eager to supply the demand for 'reprints.' The members of these, however, and this is not to be lamented, are never pleased, but always complaining; at one time of the selection made; at another, of the delay in publishing; at another, of the incompetency of editors; and very seldom without good reason. There are many evils generally accompanying all this, one or two of which we are bound to notice; such as, that careless readers are easily satisfied without being at any trouble to form a judgment themselves upon what they read, taking for granted that no book but a good book would be reprinted, and one which had successfully stood the test of public opinion; hence they adopt, as a matter of course almost (certainly are not so cautious as about new works), doctrines and conclusions advocated in these republications; and, not the least, idle men, with little learning and less wit, find in it, or suppose they find in it, a '*royal road*' to distinction, an easy way by which they may gain the repute of being '*literary*' themselves. These take an

* We presume that this Mr. Francis Barham has had the benefit of such an education as he was capable of, and we have said that his remarks upon Collier are *silly*, rather than use a stronger term about them, which we are really unwilling to do. Silly people are generally vain: if Mr. Barham's vanity had allowed him to be content in that line of business for which his talents probably are sufficient, viz. for a simple correcting of the press, we should have had a valuable book supplied to us, for we should have had Collier himself. We know no greater misery than to be forced to read a good author, and to be interrupted at every three or four pages by some impertinent, ignorant note. We are glad, however, since an annotated edition was to be, that Mr. B.'s arrangement with his publisher did not oblige him to more than at the rate of about one note per sheet. This is carried out with most stubborn honesty, according to a sort of settled routine. First a witty (!) note; then an indignant; then argumentative; then pathetic; then one very nearly approaching the blasphemous; as for example, 'If Christians had contended a little more for Christ's spirit, and a little less for his body, it might have been better.' Then begins the witty again; and the indignant; and so on, through the stipulated changes. It is indeed fortunate that we still have the old *folios* to fall back upon; we speak in all earnestness upon this matter. Bishop Collier's 'Ecclesiastical History' is not a book which should have been subjected to such treatment; and we are anxious to add whatever weight may be attached to our opinion, though expressed in so brief a way, to the contempt with which this edition by Mr. Barham ought to be received, and which it most amply deserves.

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author, go through the usual form of what is called 'editorship,' a service to which most people who can read are competent, and then make themselves happy, and suppose themselves to be conspicuous, this man as 'the editor of ——;' that man, 'the editor of ——.'

We are led to make these observations as a sort of brief exposure of a great abuse, by the appearance of the four tracts which stand at the head of this article. We hope and believe that nothing except the *rabies* of reprinting could have induced one to have undertaken the expense and trouble (for some little trouble even these unquestionably demand,) of republishing any volumes of the Martin Marprelate controversy. We understand that the publisher of them, Mr. Petheram, of Chancery-lane, is also the editor; and we are in justice ready to say, that so far as regards a general correctness of the text, and neatness of typography, we have nothing to complain of. There are a few temperately written notes added, chiefly explaining the historical allusions. At the end of the reprinted 'Epistle' is a prospectus of twenty-six 'Tracts relating to the controversy between the 'Puritans and the Church of England, during the reign of 'Elizabeth, on Discipline,' &c., which are 'suggested for publi-'cation.' All these, with the exception of three or four short pieces in answer to Martin Marprelate, are upon the Puritan side only; and, to show the extent of the '*&c.*' include the '*Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford*,' and a selection from the '*Parte of a Register.*'

Now even supposing, which seems to us absurd, that the proposals of this Prospectus should be carried out, yet we believe that as on the one hand there is little or no demand for books of the sort, so upon the other the spreading of them abroad at any time must be accompanied with very serious evils, must tend to excite doubts about things long ago argued and decided upon, and produce no little pain in minds accustomed to regard with reverence subjects which the Elizabethan Puritans spoke of in mockery and scorn, and with blasphemous jesting. A friend has told us (upon the authority we believe of the publisher) that almost all the copies which are sold go to America: we cannot say that we are surprised at this; but it greatly increases our regret. If the people of America ask bread of us, should we give them stones? There, where thousands are eagerly looking out for information it may be, but more probably simply for amusement; where there are not even the checks which still exist among ourselves; where the Catholic Church barely claims to be the city upon a hill, but is oppressed from within and from without; where there is no attempt at discipline, and scarcely certainty even upon the most important

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doctrines; *there*, let us ask, shall we suffer these pamphlets to be sent without uttering, though it be perhaps in vain, our indignant protest? When, however, (to return from this digression,) we said that there is little demand for such books, we did not forget that whenever they do occur, few produce higher prices; and several of the shorter ones, of five or six pages, would sell for as many guineas: but the reason of this is, first, their extraordinary rarity, which is the result of the severe penalties which the mere possessors of them at the time lay under, and the strictness with which they were suppressed; secondly, and here we would notice an objection which might be made to our previous remarks, they are, without doubt, of great historical importance, as it is in a measure from them, and from the replies to them, that we learn the religious history of the Elizabethan age. For the first of these reasons bibliomaniacs, who care nothing for intrinsic value, will always be eager purchasers; and for the second, many will anxiously seek after them who wish to inquire into the then state of public opinion, or who may be engaged upon a work which relates to that period. Now, to neither of these will such a series of 'reprints' as that proposed by Mr. Petheram be of value; it is evident at a glance, that the collector of curious books, as such, would care nothing about them; and an accurate writer ought not to content himself with a reprint of a book of this class, if the original is to be referred to. All these considerations seem to us of infinitely greater weight when we observe further, that Mr. Petheram's Prospectus does not aim at a complete 'reprint' of any one controversy, even upon one side only. Mr. Petheram, in his brief introduction to Martin Marprelate's Epistle, (the first of the series,) expressly says, 'I must disclaim any personal or 'politico-religious feelings in bringing once more before the world 'these curious productions of by-gone times.' Hence his Prospectus has the appearance of, and in fact is, a list of books selected for republication without a particular object, or hope of completeness, or on any other account than because they are 'curious.' For among them is, 'The Admonition to the Parliament,' a very famous tract without doubt; but the beginning only of a controversy which included Whitgift's 'Answer to the Admonition,' and Cartwright's 'Reply to the Answer,' and Whitgift's 'Defence of the Answer,' and Cartwright's 'Second Reply,' and 'The rest of the Second Reply.' Where are all these? who would venture to republish them? The 'Defence of the Answer' is a folio of more than eight hundred pages, very closely printed in a small type. We shall state, in a word or two, another objection. Although all the books in Mr. Petheram's list are at least uncommon, yet,

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except the '*Admonition*' and Martin Marprelate's '*Protestation*,' they are by no means of that high degree of rarity which attaches to many of the class or series; and, therefore, in exactly the same proportion, there is the less reason for their having been selected for republication.

The usual English ecclesiastical histories give us but very little information about the Martin Marprelate controversy. Strype, Collier, Soames, Neal, and others, notice it, as having been of great importance; but repeat, from one to another, almost the same story; which, in short, merely proves that, Strype perhaps excepted, they were not able to refer to the volumes themselves. We propose now to give some further account of Martin Marprelate and his answerers, which shall be chiefly collected from their own books.

The full titles of the first two tracts which Mr. Petheram has reprinted are, of the '*Epistle*,' 'Oh read ouer D. John 'Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an Epitome of the fyrste 'Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the 'Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worship-'full a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor 'of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of 'the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to 'answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath 'bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the 'Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, 'and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin 'Marprelate, gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocation-house. 'The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the 'Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the 'meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle. 'Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing 'Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.' This tract collates A to G, in fours, 4to, pp. 54. Entirely in black letter. The title of the second is the same exactly as far as 'hath bene spoken;' after which follows, 'Compiled for the 'behoofe and overthrow of the vnpreaching Parsons, Fyckers, 'and Currats,' &c. (as above), 'dedicated by a second Epistle to 'the Terrible Priests. In this Epitome the foresaide Fickers, &c. 'are very insufficiently furnished, with notable inabilitie of most 'vincible reasons, to answere the Cauill of the puritanes. And 'lest M. Doctor should thinke that no man can write without 'sence but his selfe, the senceles titles of the seueral pages, 'and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome, shewe 'plainly that beetleheaded ignoraunce must not liue and die with 'him alone. Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests.' Collates F in fours, 4to, and has no pagination. Also in black letter.

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The originals of these two pamphlets are now lying before us, as well as copies of the following, which enter into what may be strictly called the Martin Marprelate series; for it is not enough that a book should condemn a distinction of ecclesiastical habits and discipline, and church government, or rail against priestly orders and episcopacy, to be classed as in that series; which would seem to be the notion of Mr. Petheram on the subject; or else we might also include with him the '*Admonition*,' or the '*Parte of a Register*,' or the '*Demonstration of Discipline*;' but we would limit its beginning, even if we are unsure of its end, with the '*Epistle*' of Martin Marprelate. Copies then, also, of the following books are now before us, and, though somewhat wearisome, we think it best to give first the full titles of them, and their collation, as of the two others: we need afterwards merely refer to them by their shorter titles.

3. 'An Admonition to the People of England: wherein are 'answered, not onely the slaunderous vntrouthes, reprochfully 'vttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by 'some of his broode, obiected generally against all Bishops, and 'the Chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite 'the present state of the Church.—Detractor & libens auditor, 'vterque Diabolum portat in lingua.—Seene and allowed by 'authoritie.—Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christo- 'pher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. '1589.' 4to. K k iij. in fours. Pp. 245. In Roman letter.

4. 'Hay any Worke for Cooper: or a briefe Pistle directed 'by Waye of an hublication to the reverende Byshopps, coun- 'selling them, if they will needs be barrelled vp, for feare of 'smelling in the Nostrels of her Maiestie and the State, that they 'would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the prouiding of 'their Cooper. Because the Reuerend T. C., by which misticall 'letters is vnderstood eyther the Bounsing Parson of Eastmeane, 'or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine, to bee an vnskilfull and a be- 'ceytfull tubtrimmer.—Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe 'like a man I warrant you, in the modest Defence of his Selfe 'and his learned Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye 'off, and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye. Penned and 'compiled by Martin the Metropolitane. Printed in Europe, not 'farre from some of the Bounsing Priestes.' 4to. H i, in fours. Pp. 48. Black letter.

5. 'Th' Appellation of John Penri, vnto the Highe Court of 'Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. 'of Canterb. and other his colleagues of the high commission: 'wherin the complainant, humbly submitting himselfe and his 'cause vnto the determination of this honorable assembly: 'craueth nothing els, but either release from trouble and per-

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'secution, or just tryall.'—(Then follow two quotations; the one from 'Psalm xxxv. 19, 20, &c.;' the other, 'Jerem. xx. 21.'—'Anno Dom. 1589.' 12mo. G 3, in fours. Pp. 52. Small Roman letter.

6. 'A Dialogue. Wherein is plainly laide open the tyran-'nicall dealing of L. Bishopps against Gods children; with 'certaine points of Doctrine, wherein they approoue them-'selues (according to D. Bridges his judgement) to be truely the 'Bishops of the Diuell. Mallach ii. 7, 8, 9: "The Priests 'lippes—partiall in the lawe."' 12mo. D, in fours; no pagination. Small Roman letter.

7. 'M. Some laid open in his coulers: wherein the indif-'ferent Reader may easily see, howe wretchedly and loosely 'he hath handeled the cause against M. Penri. Done by an 'Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge. Prov. xxx. 32: '"If thou hast bene foolishe in lifting vp thy selfe, and hast 'thought maliciously, laye now thy hande vpon thy mouth. 'For proud, haughty, and scornefull is his name, that worketh 'wrath in his arrogancie." Prov. xxi. 24.' 12mo. Q, in fours. Pp. 124: in small Roman letter.

8. 'The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat: wherein, not-'withstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known 'vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Anti-'christian pope, tiranous prelate, nor godlesse catercap: but 'defiethe all the race of them by these presents, and offereth 'conditionally, as is farthere expressed hearein, by open dis-'putation to apear in the defence of his cause against them 'and theirs;—which chaleng if they dare not maintaine aginst 'him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never meaneth, by 'the assistance of god, to leaue the assayling of them and theire 'generation vntill they be vterly extinguised out of our 'church. Published by the worthie Gentleman D. martin 'marprelat, D. in all the faculties, primat and metropolitan.' 12mo. D, in fours. Pp. 33; Roman letter.

9. 'Theses Martinianae: that is, Certain demonstrative 'Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by 'that famous and renowned Clarke, the reuerend Martin Mar-'prelate the great: seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation 'of al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their whole band 'of Clergie-priests, haue, or can bring for the defence of their 'ambitious and Antichristian Prelacie. Published and set foorth 'as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a prety 'stripling of his, Martin Ivnior, and dedicated by him to his 'good name and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury. How the 'yong man came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande suffi-'ciently in the Epilogue. In the meane time, whosoeuer can

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'bring mee acquainted with my father, Ile bee bounde he shall 'not loose his labour.—Printed by the assignes of Martin 'Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps.' 12mo. 'D, in fours. No pagination. Small Roman letter.

10. 'The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.—'Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish 'youth is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson 'taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, 'Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin 'Mar-prelate the Great. Where also, least the springall shold be 'vtterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde, that 'hee is not beraued of his due commendations.' 12mo. D, in fours. No pagination. In small Roman letter.

11. 'Pappe with an hatchet; alias, A figge for my God 'sonne; or, Cracke me this nut; or, A Countrie cuffe, that is, 'a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his 'peace, seeing the patch will take no warning.—Written by 'one that dares call a dog a dog, and made to preuent Martin's 'dog-daies.—Imprinted by Iohn Anoke, and Iohn Astile, for 'the Bayliue of Withernam, cum priuilegio perennitatis, and 'are to bee sold at the signe of the crab-tree cudgell, in 'thwackcoate-lane.—A Sentence.—Martin hangs fit for my 'mowing.' 4to. E iij. in fours. No pagination. Roman letter.

12. 'Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker of England. Sweetly 'indevoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Recon-'ciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother.—Compiled by law-'full art, that is to say, without witchcraft, or sorcery; and 'referred specially to the Meridian and pole Artichocke of 'Nomans Land; but may serue generally, without any great 'error, for more Countries then Ile speake of.—Quis furor aut 'hos, Aut hos, arma sequi, ferrúmque lacessere iussit.—Printed 'in Broad-streete, at the signe of the Pack-staffe.' 4to. E 2, 'in fours. Pp. 26. Black letter.

13. 'An Almond for a Parrat; or, Cutbert Curry-knaves 'Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, and the rest of those 'impudent Beggers, that can not be content to stay their 'stomakes with a Benefice, but they will needes breake their 'fastes with our Bishops.—Rimarum sum plenus.—Therefore 'beware (gentle Reader) you catch not the hicket with laugh-'ing.—Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the 'Assignes of Signior Some-body, and are to be sold at his 'shoppe in Trouble-knaue-street, at the signe of the Standish.' 4to. F 3, in fours. Pp. 19. Black letter.

14. 'A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior; by the ven-'turous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of Englande, Caualiero.—'Not of olde Martins making, which newlie knighted the Saints

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'in Heauen, with rise vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule; but latelie 'dubd for his seruice at home in the defence of his Country, 'and for the cleane breaking of his staffe vpon Martin's face.— 'Printed between the skye and the grounde, wythin a myle of 'an Oake, and not manie Fieldes off, from the vnpriuiledged 'Presse of the Ass—ignes of Martin Iunior. Anno Dom. '1589.' 4to. Single sheet. Roman letter.

15. 'Martin's months Minde, that is, A certaine report 'and true description of the Death and Funeralls of olde 'Martin Marre-prelate, the great makebate of England, and 'father of the Factions.—Contayning the cause of his death, 'the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his 'Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends, 'and other of his well-willers, were framed for him.

'Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde,
'The three Martins are, whose workes we haue had.
'If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,
'Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill. 1589.'

4to. H, in fours. Roman letter.

16. 'The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of 'England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with 'Marforius in London vpon the Royale Exchange.—Where 'they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and 'Martinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in England; 'and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the 'golden Legende of the Liues of the Saints.—If my breath be 'so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by 'Pepper Allie. Anno Dom. 1589.' 4to. D, in fours. Roman letter.

Of the above, there are in the Bodleian Library, Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 9 to 16 inclusive; and in the Museum Library, Nos. 1, 4, 11, 15, 16 and 17.

We would take then, as we have already said, 'The Epistle' to be the first of the Marprelate tracts; but by this we do not mean that Martin Marprelate sprung up before the astonished counsellors and high commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, opening any new controversy, or even directing his attack upon hitherto untouched places of his enemy's camp. Men also had been accustomed to bitter language and misrepresentation, of which a huge folio (for many years a favourite however) was a ponderous specimen, viz. 'Fox's Book of Martyrs;' and direct personal allusions had not been spared, and motives, however base and unworthy, already imputed to those who were, or had been in authority. But this had occurred in books written apparently in sober earnestness; even John Foxe might possibly have

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believed that a great part of what he said was fact, and might all have been no more than what every one would naturally look for in the productions of such men in times of so fierce religious animosity, and unsettled faith. Martin Marprelate was a new assailant in an old struggle, armed with new weapons; no one, indeed, according to his own admission, yet knew their efficacy, but he came to prove them; these were to be jesting, and ribaldry, and plain lying; as the Author of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*' says 'to the indifferent reader,' 'They have scattered 'divers libels, all so taunting and slanderous, as it is hard to 'iudge, whether their lyes exceed their bitternesse, or their 'bitternesse their fables.' Such, then, it seemed, were now to be the means—means worthy of the cause—by which the Church of England, her orders, her worship, and her rulers, were to be overthrown, and the entrance so long looked for at last gained for the 'holy discipline,' the platform of Geneva, the outwardly sanctimonious and meek and unassuming, the really insolent and prying and tyrannical politico-presbyterian model.

There had been, from about the year 1580, an almost unceasing flow of Puritan tracts from the press, such for example as the '*Abstract of Acts and Canons, &c.*,' the '*Counterpoyson*,' the '*Dialogue concerning the Strife of our Churche*,' '*The Demonstration of Discipline*' (by Udall), and many others, upwards of *forty* of which may be found collected together in a volume published by Waldegrave, the chief Puritan printer, with the curious title, 'A parte of a Register, contayninge sundrie 'memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned in our 'time,' &c. Dr. John Bridges (elected in 1603 Bishop of Oxford), then Dean of Sarum, in 1587, wrote a large 4to of 1401 pages, in which he answered the objections contained in these publications, and established (to his own satisfaction we mean) the excellence of the government of the reformed Church of England. The title of his book is (though long, it seems necessary to give it entire), 'A Defence of the Government 'established in the Churche of England for ecclesiastical mat-'ters. Contayning an aunswere unto a Treatise called, The 'Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government, otherwise 'intituled, A briefe and plaine declaration concerning the de-'sires of all the faithful ministers that have, and do seeke for 'the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. 'Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the arguments in a 'treatise named the iudgement of a most reverend and learned 'man from beyond the seas,&c. Aunswering also to the argumentes 'of Calvine, Beza, and Danæus, with other our reverend learned 'brethren, besides Cœnalis and Bodinus, both for the regiment

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'of women, and in defence of her Maiestie, and of all other 'Christian Princes supreme gouernment in ecclesiastical causes, 'against the Tetrarchie that our brethren would erect in euery 'particular congregation, of doctors, pastors, gouernors, and 'deacons, with their seuerall and ioynt authoritie in elections, 'excommunications, synodall constitutions and other ecclesias-'ticall matters. Aunswered by John Bridges, Deane of Sarum.

'Come and see. Take it up and read.
'Joh. i. 36. Aug. lib. conf. viii. ca. 12.

'at London. Printed for John Windet,* for Thomas Chard, 1587.' It was against this book in particular that Martin Marprelate professed to direct his *Epistle* and *Epitome;* in the first page of the Epitome, he gives a true enough account of it (in a bibliographical way): 'The whole volume of M. Deanes, containeth 'in it, 16 bookes, besides a large preface, and an epistle to the 'reader. The epistle and the preface are not aboue 8. sheets of 'paper, and very little vnder 7. You may see when men haue 'a gift in writing, howe easie it is for them to daube paper. 'The compleat worke, very briefely comprehended in a portable 'booke, if your horse be not too weake, of an hundred three-'score and twelue sheets, of good demie paper, is a confutation,' &c.

But, by far, the greater part of these two tracts is employed in abusing Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Aylmer, Bishop of London 'Oh! read over D. John Bridges, for it is a 'worthy worke,' is the head-line of the titles of both of them; but in the first page of the *Epistle*, after mentioning that 'seen and allowed by the Archbishop' is not to be found in the Dean's Defence, Martin passes on to claim the victory for Cartwright, in his old controversy with Whitgift, about the '*Admonition to the Parliament;*' because, his two last books, viz., his '*Second Replie,*' and '*the rest of the Second Replie,*' had not been answered. This was a boast of victory which the authors of the tracts against Martin Marprelate quickly and frequently refused to acknowledge: for example, in one of them, 'Ile ribroste my brother 'Martin a litle, for obiecting to my Lord Archbishop, the not 'answering of his bookes. Therefore, first, would I know of 'sweete M. sauce malapert, whether he would have the care of 'the commonwealth, and forseing consultation of domestical and 'forreine affairs, resigned to the retorting of T. C., his irreve-'rent railings. Next, what such equall proportion his master-'ship finds in their places, that the grauity and widness of the

* This John Windet, 'dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keyes neere Powles Wharffe,' was the printer, and probably the publisher, of the first edition of the four books, and of the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity.

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'one, should stoupe his attention so low, as the iangling lenity 'of the other.—As there is nothing more vnseemely, then to 'aunswere the froward, so there is nothing more profitable then 'scilence to such as are prouokt.'—*Almond for a Parratt, sign. D. 2. Rev.* To return, however, to the *Epistle.* Immediately after this claiming of the victory for Cartwright, Martin proceeds to attack Aylmer, and the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Rochester. Presently he returns to Dr. Bridges' book, again, not without constant digressions, until, at last, after a few pages, he fairly gives the matter up, plainly confesses that he is weary of him, and says, 'I care not an I now leave masse Deane's 'worship and be eloquent once in my dayes:' 'well, nowe, to 'mine eloquence;' and this eloquence is displayed to the end of the book, in telling scurrilous stories about Bishops Aylmer, and Cooper of Winchester, and the Archbishop. The same account, in as many words, is equally applicable to the second tract, the *Epitome.*

John Elmar, Ailmer, or Aylmer, (his name is spelt indifferently in books of his own time),* then Bishop of London, comes in for, even more than Whitgift, Martin's abuse, at least, in the early tracts: most probably as having been an active member of the High Commission Court. In the year 1554, he was Archdeacon of Stowe, and one of the six who, in the Convocation of that year, refused to subscribe certain propositions offered by the prolocutor, Weston, Dean of Westminster, and engaged, afterwards, in the disputation which was allowed to be held upon them. A full account of this disputation was printed the same year, at Basil, (a most rare volume,) entitled, 'The trew report 'of the dysputacyon had and begonne in the conuocacyon hows 'at London among the clargye there assembled the xviij. daye 'of October, in the yeare of our lord M.D.LIIII.' There is no name attached, but it purports in the beginning to have been done by one 'that was present thereat,' and John Philpot, at that time Archdeacon of Winchester, afterwards burnt in Smithfield *causa religionis,* acknowledged, upon his examination, in 1555, that he had been the author of it. Philpot reports largely enough his own share, and we need scarcely say that the whole is to be received with very considerable caution, coming, as it does, from a violent partisan who, according to his own admission, would not conform to the usual orders and decency of the house, but studied to provoke those who were in authority over him, by refusing to appear in 'the long gown and typpet,' which all the others wore; saying, 'I had rather be absent alltogether.'

* The very accurate and careful *Le Neve,* in his '*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglic.,*' gives us 'Aylmer' as the orthography.

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However, in this disputation, Archdeacon Elmar (as he is there called) took some part, and seems to have said what he did say, learnedly and with moderation. He was shortly afterwards deprived, and fled to the Continent. In 1559 he wrote and published a work against John Knox's '*First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstruous Regiment of Women.*' This was called, '*An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subiectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen; wherin he confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late hath made in that behalfe, with a briefe exhortation to Obedience. Anno* M.D.lix. *At Strasborowe the* 26. *of Aprill.*' (4^to^) Aylmer had been, for some time, among the refugees, and foreign protestants; and, whatever his opinions might have been before his absence, it is quite clear that in 1559 they were not according to what he must have believed as Bishop of London, in 1589. It is ill printing sometimes, and the Bishop would gladly have forgotten his early contest with Knox: not, indeed, the intention and object with which he wrote against him, (for people were much moved by the Scotchman's abominable arguments, and Elizabeth wanted a defender, and himself a bishopric,) but the reasoning which he had used, and the admissions which he had made. Martin Marprelate, however, had unluckily too good a memory: 'Quoth honest John Elmar in his Harboro,' is a favourite reference with him, and not unfairly we must own. For example, take his very first appeal to *John of London:* 'I hope one day her Maiestie 'will either see that the L. Bb. prooue their calling lawfull by the 'word, or as Iohn of London prophesied saying, Come downe you 'bishopps from your thousands, and content you with your hun-'dreds, let your diet be pristlike and not princelik, &c. quoth 'John Elmar in Harborow of faithful subiects. But I pray you 'B. John dissolue this one question to your brother Martin: if 'this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shall 'be B. of London?'—*Epistle,* p. 3. Compare *Harborowe, sign. O.* 4.

There can be no doubt, let it be excused and disguised as much as it may, that the leading men among the reformers of the sixteenth century were wonderfully pliable. The circumstances in which they were placed may be allowed to have been various enough, and yet we are utterly at a loss many times to offer any reasons which might honestly have induced them to act as we know they did act: sometimes advocating one doctrine, at others another: *now* exclaiming against certain practices and customs as unchristian and to be detested (to use mild phrases); *now,* clean contrary, finding out all at once, that they might not only lawfully be submitted to, but rigorously enforced:—*now,* for years it may be, whilst hope of gain remained from plundering some hospital, or college, or endowed cathedral, professing

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hatred of Catholic truth, and pushing to their furthest limits the wild theories of Luther, and Bucer, and Calvin: *now*, when about to lay down their heads upon the block, and whilst being disrobed upon the fatal scaffold, a time when men usually are driven to speak the truth, declaring that they died in the true faith of the Church of Rome, and confessing, and joining in the solemn offices which are proper for those 'who are appointed to die.' Having already slightly alluded to it, let us take more particularly, yet very briefly, the question of *the Vestments.* Bishop Hooper's case is the best known, from his after-sufferings, and readers of the common books called Ecclesiastical Histories of England, or Histories of the Reformation, from the prominence which has been given to that case, naturally suppose that he was a rare exception; and as regards him, the sternness with which he met his dreadful death, almost makes us forget his conduct when he accepted his Bishopric, productive as it was of most unhappy consequences. But the exiles during Queen Mary's time thought as he did:* whilst they were at Strasburg, or Zurich, or Frankfort, or Geneva, they could exclaim nearly as loudly as even their hosts could, against the sacerdotal robes, and holy apparel which for ages had been used in their own Church of England. Pilkington of Durham spoke softly when he merely ranked them among 'unprofitable ceremonies;' Jewel did not hesitate to say that they were 'the relics of the Amorites.' But when the times changed, and sees were offered them, then their objections became less violent: they could listen to the disgraceful advice of Peter Martyr, that '*they should consent to wear the vestments, but speak and preach against them:*' and even wondered that men who had been taught by them, who were their disciples brought up at their own feet, should not also forget their arguments and abuse, and see that the habits and kneeling were simply 'things indifferent,' and to dispute about them, 'raising great troubles in trifles.' They were growing old also, and we may suppose wiser; they had had enough of trouble, and had gained their end: they now desired to rest, and to live quietly, and that the laws should be observed: and who

* That is, the exiles and Hooper said equally hard words about the habits. Because it appears to be somewhat doubtful whether the objections of the latter did not lie against the surplice more particularly, because it was rather an *Aaronical* than a *Popish* garment. Neal, *Vol. I. p.* 46, tells us that he declined his offered bishopric 'for two reasons. 1. Because of the form of the oath, which he called foul and impious. 2. By reason of the *Aaronical* habits.' But he soon found other arguments against them, not more forcible, but more likely at the time to be listened to. Such as that (we quote again from Neal) 'They were the inventions of Antichrist, and were 'introduced into the Church,' not by Moses and Aaron, but 'in the corruptest ages 'of Christianity. That they had been abused to superstition and idolatry, and to use 'them was to symbolize with Antichrist, &c.' Here the exiles fully agreed with him.

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were their disturbers? who were their opponents? We repeat what we have just observed above, *their own disciples.*

These men, the Martin Marprelates, did but carry out and put in practice the rules which had been set them in former days: two of those teachers we would further make a remark on, as not only did the Puritans then appeal to their authority, but some now-a-days still look up to them as worthy ornaments of the English Church; one, Tyndale, the active spreader abroad of hasty translations of the Scriptures. *He* had said long before, what now in words scarcely less decent, was eagerly repeated. In his '*Obedience of a Christian man*,' p. 102, he had attempted to prove (proved as he blasphemously himself declared) 'that the Bishops were Antichrists, inasmuch as in 'their doctrine, and their doings, they are directly against Christ 'and his word.' Again, in his '*Practice of Prelates*,' p. 374, he had said, 'It is not possible naturally, there should be any 'honest Lord Bishop.' The references we have given are those in the '*Protestation*,' p. 16, and in '*The Just Censure*,' *sign. D.* 1, and are without doubt to the folio collected edition of the works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes. This volume we have not at hand to look into: but we should have had no difficulty in producing many such passages from the original editions of Tyndale's books, if we had not been fully certain that they are not misquoted, and preferred following in the present instance Martin's own guidance.

He, whom we would also notice, has been still more widely known and reputed in the English Church: John Foxe, the martyrologist, as he has been called. His authority as an historian fortunately has passed away, and the merest pretenders to accuracy, the lady-sciolists, the *Costellos* and the *Stricklands* in their Lives, and Memoirs, have their kick at the dead lion. But it was an evil day, when the rulers of the Church, so far as lay in their power, gave effect to, and stamped their seal upon his heretical doctrines and exaggerated tales. It was an evil day, we repeat, when the same Convocation which laid down this Canon about preachers, 'Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid 'unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri 'et credi velint nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ veteris aut 'novi testamenti, quodque ex illa doctrina catholici patres, et 'veteres episcopi collegerint,' issued also this injunction,—'Qui-'vis Archiepiscopus, et episcopus habebit domi suæ sacra Biblia 'in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt, et 'plenam* illam historiam quæ inscribitur *Monumenta Martyrum.*

* The *English* edition of these Canons, which was put forth at the same time as the Latin, and by the same printer, has 'that full and perfect history.' The interpolation is worth remark.

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'Locentur autem isti libri, vel in aula, vel in grandi cœnaculo, 'ut et ipsorum famulis, et advenis usui esse possint.'* This was truly blowing both hot and cold: and we shall give a proof presently of its sure consequences. However, we will pass on again to Aylmer's Harborough, quoting only further upon this point, the forty-fifth of the *Theses Martinianæ*, 'That this wicked 'gouernement of bishops was an especial point, gainesaid by the 'seruants of God, in the time of King Henrie the eight, and 'Q. Marie; and in the withstanding whereof they died, the 'holie martires of Christ Jesus.'

To return then to the '*Harborow for faithfull subjects*.' The book is a quarto, in which the signatures run to R. 3. in fours: upon the reverse of the last leaf of which sheet is a device in a square compartment, probably the printer's. It has 125 pages, according to the paging in a contemporary hand of a copy now before us. Below the title upon the same page is a text from Prov. xxxii.; and under it, 'at Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill.' It admits of some doubt whether this date refers to the conclusion of the author's or the printer's labours. From the character, however, of the types and spelling, it appears to have been printed abroad. We have been particular in giving some account of the volume, in consequence of its extreme rarity, (we believe it has never been reprinted, but we can scarcely congratulate ourselves yet,) and its intimate connexion in many respects, though above thirty years preceding them in time, with the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate. The latter reason tempts us to give an extract or two more, proving that there is no lack in it of violent and bitter language. Such as calling the Church of Rome 'a beast,—the dungeon of deuelishe doctrine, couered 'with the rotten bones of Romyshe Martirs, synfule sayntes, 'and counterfaited confessores.'—*Sign. B.* 4. Bidding 'priests 'and prelats to howld and wail, not for the daunger you stand 'in, of losing your bishopriks and benefices, your pomp and 'your pride: your dignities and honors, your riches and welth: 'but for that hel hath opened hys mouth wide, and gapeth to 'swallowe you, &c.'—*Sign. D.* 4. Complaining that the Parliament of Queen Mary 'stouped contrary to their othes and 'alledgiaunce to the crowne, againste the preuilege of that 'house, vppon their marye bones to receiue the Deuels blessinge, 'brought vnto them by satans Apostle the Cardinal.' *Sign. H.* 3. Accusing 'my lordes of the clargie, as gaping to see the daye 'wherein they myghte washe their goodly whyte ratchettes in 'the innocent bloude of Elizabeth,' and that they could not but

* Liber quorundam Canonum disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Anno 1571. Pp. 5 and 19. *Edit.* Londini apud Johannem Dayum. 4to.

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be sure of destroying her, 'when they sawe so many holy martirs 'sacrificed to the God in the boxe.' And gibing at the habits of Bishops of the Church, calling them 'ratchetters.' *Sign. N.* 4. Scoffing at the holy Communion also, as a 'blestered masse.' *Sign. O.* 1. Regretting that under Queen Mary any of the nobility or gentry had been forced to give up their sacrilegious gains, and to disgorge some of the fair manors of the plundered Church, *Sign. O.* 1; and threatening the Bishops of Elizabeth, and telling them, 'Let the Quene have the rest of your 'temporalties and other lands to maintain these warres which 'you procured, and with the rest to builde and founde scoles 'thorow oute the realme: that euerye parishe church may haue 'his preacher, euery city his superintendent to live honestly and 'not pompously.'—*Sign. O.* 4. We shall quote no more passages upon this head: far more even than all this to our present purpose is it that Aylmer at Strasburg had said, what Bishop Aylmer was reminded of by Martin Marprelate, that 'those 'that be preachers, must be no mylke soppes, no white lyuered 'gentlemen, that for the frowning and cloudy countenance of 'euery man in authoritie, will leaue his tackle and crie Peccavi,' *Sign. H.* 1; and that Bishops must 'away with their superfluities, 'yeld up their thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be 'in other reformed churches,' *Sign. O.* 4. We are glad now to dismiss Bishop Aylmer's book, as neither our present object, nor the question itself how far women are competent to rule, seems to call for any further notice of it.

A remarkable feature of the first Marprelate tracts is, the expressions which frequently occur in them of the certain expectation which their authors had, that the Church of England, as ruled by Bishops and Priests, was now tottering to its downfal. 'Look to yourselves, I think you have not long to raigne,' is Martin's advice to the Bishops, reminding us of the warning given within a few years past, by one now alive, in his place as a peer of the realm, to their successors, that they should '*set their houses in order.*' And such expectations, humanly speaking, were not unfounded. As the learned editor of the last edition of the Ecclesiastical Polity has observed (*Preface*, lii.), there are certain points, *turning points*, in the annals of the Church, when God in His mercy is at length pleased to interfere, and stop at once the whole course of things tending (almost without hope) some one evil way. 'One of these critical periods,' the editor continues, 'if he mistakes not, is the latter portion of the sixteenth century.' It was not unnatural, therefore, that the Puritans should begin to rejoice that they were about to gain their end: and even Hooker seems to have thought as they did, that there was but little hope of escape for the English Church,

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and that her candlestick would be very soon removed. The Puritans wrote as if in triumph, he confessedly desponding: both could but look upon the struggle passing around them, as being themselves *actors* in it, only guessing at the probable event, and not as *we* can at a long distance of time after all is over, able to discern, if we may venture to say so, the plain interposition at the proper hour, of the Almighty Hand. This doubt which Hooker evidently felt, and the fearful peril in which to his judgment (and so far we need no better) matters appeared to be, are clearly shown by the first sentence of his own Preface to his great work. 'Though,' he says,—'though for no other 'cause, yet for this; that posteritie may know we have not 'loosely through silence permitted things to passe away as in a 'dreame, there shall be for men's information extant thus much 'concerning the present state of the Church of God established 'amongst vs, and their carefull endeuour which woulde haue 'vpheld the same.'

Hence, therefore, it was not merely in jest, that Martin Marprelate scoffingly proposed the following 'conditions of peace, 'to be inuiolablie kept for euer,' between his party and the Bishops of the Church.

'1. In primis, the said Lord Bb. must promise and obserue, 'without fraud or collusion, and that as much as in them lyeth, 'they labor to promote the preaching of the worde in euery 'part of this land.

'2. That hereafter they admitt none vnto the ministerie, but 'such as shalbe knowen, both for their godlinesse and learning, 'to be fit for the ministerie—and that they suffer M. Cart-'wrightes answere to the Rhemish Testament to be published.

'3. That neyther they nor theyr seruants—urge any to sub-'scribe contrary to the statute 13 Eliza.*—that none be sus-'pended or silenced, eyther for speaking (when their text 'giueth them occasion) against the corruptions of the Church, 'for refusing to weare the surplice, cap, tippet, &c., or omitting 'the corruptions of the booke of common prayers, as churching 'of women, the crosse in baptisme, the ring in marriage, &c.

'4. That none be molested by them—for not kneeling at the 'communion, or for resorting on the Saboth (if they haue not 'preachers of their owne) to hear the word preached, and to 'receiue the Sacraments.

'5. Lastly, that they neuer hereafter profane excommunica-'tion ——; that they neuer forbid publike fasts, molest either

* This Statute, by a construction not unfrequently at that time put upon it, was taken to give a permission to those who had received orders in some other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England.

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'preacher or hearer, for being present at such assemblies. 'Briefly, that they neuer slander the cause of reformation, or 'the furtherers thereof, in terming the cause by the name of 'Anabaptisterie, schisme, &c., and the men puritans, and ene-'mies to the state.'—*The Epistle*, pp. 38, 39.

'I offer you peace upon these conditions,' continues the writer shortly after, 'if you will keep them, but if you violate them 'either in whole or in part, then your learned brother Martin 'doth proclaim open war against you, and entendeth to worke 'your woe 2. maner of wayes as followeth. First, I will watch 'you at euery halfe turne, and whatsoeuer you do amisse, I will 'presently publish it: you shall not call one honest man before 'you, but I will get his examination,*—and publish it. To 'this purpose I will place a young Martin in euerie diocesse.— 'Secondly, all the books that I have in store already of your 'doings, shall be published—the catalogue of their names, 'and the arguments of some are as followeth:—First, my '*Paradoxes*; 2. my *Dialogues*; 3. my *Miscelanea*; 4. my *Variæ* '*leiciones*; 5. *Martin's Dreame*; 6. *Of the liues and doings of* '*English popes*: 7. my *Itinerarium*, or *visitations*; 8. my *Lam-*'*bathismes*. In my Paradoxes shalbe handled some points, 'which the comon sort haue not greatly considered of: as 1. 'That our prelats, if they professed popery, could not do so 'much hurt unto God's Church as now they do. 2. That the 'Diuele is not better practized in bowling and swering then John 'of London is, with other like points. What shalbe handled 'in my 2. 3. 4. 5. and 6. bookes, you shall know when you read 'them. *Epistle*, pp. 40, 41. (None of these threatened publications ever appeared, at least no copy of any one of them has been found.)

Both the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* are full of scandalous stories of various people in authority, especially of the Bishops of London, and Winchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are one or two passages in the two volumes in which Martin Marprelate shows a lurking fear that he has overstepped even the usual allowed broad limits of his party, and that a severe inquiry would be set on foot after himself, and those who printed or bought his tracts. *Vide Epistle*, pp. 38 and 43, and *Epitome*, pp. 1 and 42. And his denial that his book is a libel is curious: 'You will go about,' he says, 'I know, to proue 'my booke to be a libell, but I have preuented you of that

* Among the Tracts contained in the *Parte of a Register* are, 'An examination of 'certayne Londonners before the Commissioners, about anno 1567.' 'The Bishops 'proceedings against Maist. Robart Johnson Preacher, who dyed in the gate 1573.' and 'The Conference betweene some of the high Commissioners, and Mai. Marbury 'anno 1578.'

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'aduantage in lawe, both in bringing in nothing but matters of 'fact, whiche may easily be proued, if you dare denie them, and 'also setting my name to my booke.' *Epistle*, p. 40. We are at a loss which we are here to admire the most: the legal knowledge displayed by the Nonconformist party, or its strict adherence to the truth.

In every age there have always been hasty and turbulent, or sour and discontented men, who wanted some outlet for their discontent and violence, and cared little against what they were directed provided only that an opening was found. In the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, the one object seemed to be, the remnant which had escaped the religious revolutionists of Edward's and Henry's reigns. Many questions of great importance had gradually dwindled into almost utter insignificance, or sunk quietly to rest: many others through changes in the political world had lost their interest, or ceased to be even among the probable chances of that busy time: but still one party persevered: the loss, by death, of one leader, the defection of another, only served to stimulate the exertions of the rest, and to produce new hosts. Like a vortex, it was absorbing rapidly the scattered fragments of parties which had been broken and dispersed, but formerly united with some far different purpose. So, all that had hitherto been given up to clamour, and abandoned through fear, did but whet the appetites and excite the passions of men who pretended to be more thorough reformers. Others, again, would sit speculating in their closets, or draw conclusions natural enough from premises laid down by the writers of some forty years before, then go into the world, and look out for an opportunity of putting these theories and conclusions into active practice. Lastly, we must not forget that the popular preachers of the day were not idle in heaping fresh fuel upon the fire. The pulpit then, in many an instance, served the end which now the daily press amongst us does, not merely spreading intelligence abroad, but stirring up and leading the people.

It has been frequently said that many among these, of whom we have just been speaking, would have become, in the centuries immediately preceding, inmates of monasteries; that there they would have sought for refuge from disappointment, and, in the equal routine of the daily services and duties of such foundations, have found relief from the excitement of eager, and unsatisfied, and visionary hopes. The fact also has been triumphantly appealed to in support of this opinion, that, until of late years, (late, that is in comparison,) so great outrages by professed Christians upon religion and religious ordinances were unheard of. With this we cannot agree; and (we mention it merely incidentally, as matter for future consideration) we think

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the same objection would lie, in a measure, against a too hasty revival, amongst ourselves, of conventual institutions, solely with their ancient purpose. Convents and monasteries will be only a refuge, to be very partially indeed available, and of very limited use, *so long as the masses are irreligiously educated under an imperfect system.* Most certainly, as regards the Elizabethan Puritans, if the abbeys had been still standing in their time, we cannot think that they and the Martin Marprelates would have taken the monastic vows. They were fanatics and seditious preachers, not sober-minded and earnest, not desirous, by a more intimate communion with their God, to forget the world. Their great aim was to be among 'the powers of this world.' There were none such, perhaps, among their fathers as they were; but their fathers had been otherwise brought up. In after days the very foundations of the Church had been shaken, her strongholds overthrown, her ordinances ridiculed, her powers despised, her faith changed, her worship meanly, poorly, provided for; and we may as well expect the thunder not to succeed the flash, as that such a generation should *not* follow, as its most natural progeny, such an age as were the first sixty years of the sixteenth century. The seeds had been sown with an unsparing hand; home produce and foreign had been mixed in most strange and horrible confusion; these had been thrown into one hotbed to grow up as they might, and we cannot be surprised at the rank luxuriance of the crop.

We shall now proceed to a publication which was intended to check the outbreaks of Martin Marprelate and his faction. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, boldly took up the cause; and in the work, (No. 3,) '*An Admonition to the People of England*,' soberly appealed to their good feelings, and warned them against the ribaldry and exaggerations of Martin's pamphlets. Bishop Cooper had been a few years before translated from the See of Lincoln, to which he had been elected in 1570, having previously been Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Dean of Gloucester. He was originally of low parentage; and Anthony à Wood gives us an account of the misery which he endured through the misconduct of his wife. There are many indecent allusions to her notorious ill-living in the Marprelate tracts, the authors of which cared not a whit for the feelings of other men, and spared not their misfortunes, so long as they might raise a laugh by gibing at them. Wood tells us, that it was proposed to set him free by a divorce, but he would not consent, and 'to divorce and marry again, he would not 'charge his conscience with so great a scandal.' In 1565, Cooper published his 'Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ,' &c. fol., commonly known as '*Cooper's Dictionary*;'

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'this work was so highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth,' continues Dr. Bliss, in his additions to Wood, 'that ever after she 'endeavoured to promote the author as high in the Church as 'she could.' Whether rightly or wrongly, (we have never examined the book,) it is certain that there were more than one opinion of its merits. Martin Marprelate says 'that it was a 'mere compilation, unworthy of a scholar.' 'Alas!' says one of the speakers in the '*Dialogue*,' (No. 6,) 'he is altogether 'vnlearned, (for I have heard of him in Oxford, and the papists 'say they can make him beleeue the moone is made of greene 'cheese,) marry to get him a name (forsooth), being a correcter 'with a printer in fleet streete in London, who printed a Dic 'tionarie, called *Sir Thomas Eliott's* dictionarye, Cooper trans-'lated a peece of *Robert Stephanus* his Thesaurus, and joined it 'to the same with a fewe phrases, and so bereaued the famous 'knight of his labour, and calls it by the name of *Cooper's Dic-'tionary.*'—*Dialogue, sign. B.* 3. (Quoted also by Dr. Bliss from Tanner's Bibl. Brit.) Anxious as the Puritans must have been to rake up any old stories against Bishop Cooper, it is indeed very much in his favour that we find but little against him, except the unfair imputation to himself of his wife's ill-conduct, and this charge about the dictionary.

As to the *Admonition*, how sad, how very sad, is the first sentence of it. Surely, we exclaim, is this England, Catholic England, against whom such complaints are laid? Is this the land, and within few years, of so many holy Bishops and good saints of Christ? We no longer wonder that at that very time Richard Hooker gave way to despondency. 'When,' says the Bishop, 'I call to my remembrance the loathsome contempt, hatred, and 'disdaine, that the most part of men in these dayes beare, and 'in the face of the worlde declare towarde the ministers of the 'Church of God, as well Bishops as other among vs here in 'Englande; my heart cannot but greatly feare and tremble at the 'consideration thereof.'—*Adm.* p. 1. And again, shortly after, 'Who seeth not in these dayes, that hee who can most bitterly 'inueigh against Bishops and Preachers, that can most boldely 'blaze their discredites, that can most vncharitably slaunder 'their liues and doings, thinketh of himselfe, and is esteemed of 'other, as the most zealous and earnest furtherer of the 'Gospel.'—P. 2.

It appears that when the *Admonition* was published, there had not been sent abroad by the Marprelates more than two or three pamphlets. This is rendered almost certain by the author of '*Hay any Worke*,' who says (p. 35) 'I haue onely published a 'Pistle, and a Pitomie, wherein also I graunt that I did rea-'sonably Pistle them. Therefore T. C. you begin with a lye,

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'in that you say that I haue published either 3 or 4 bookes.' But the eagerness with which these few had been read, and more were looked for, seemed to call for some immediate notice. The scandalous stories told of the Archbishop, and of Bishop Aylmer, and of Cooper himself, required a contradiction; even where they did not admit of direct and complete denial, (such, for example, we must allow, as the cutting down of the elms at Fulham, or the taking the dyers' cloth,) yet the exaggerations were to be exposed. To these points the beginning of the *Admonition* is directed. Each charge is separately dealt with, and satisfactorily also. We shall now extract only one or two of these. 'Touching the Apocrypha, &c.' says the Bishop, referring to the *Epistle*, (p. 37,) wherein it was complained, that 'the last lent there came a commaundement from his grace into 'Paules Churchyard, that no Byble should be bounde without 'the Apocripha.'—'He gave commaundement in deede, and 'meaneth to see it observed. For who ever separated this '*Apocrypha* from the rest of the *Bible* from the beginning of 'Christianity to this day? or what Church in the worlde, 'refourmed or other, doth yet at this present? and shal we 'suffer this singularitie in the Church of England, to the 'aduauntage of the aduersary, offence of the godly, and con-'trary to al the world besides?'—*Adm.* p. 49. Again (we have a reason for extracting this):—'Among other their reproches, 'they affirme of the Bishop of *Rochester*, that hee presented 'himselfe to a benefice. I doe not think it to be true, for that I 'know it can not be good in lawe. If he hath procured a bene-'fice in way of *commendam* (as they call it) it is by lawe allowed, 'and hath been done by other.'—P. 62. Soon after, it is said, that the Bishop of Lincoln had been attacked merely because he was a member of the Commission Court. As the Bishop did not put his name to this defence against Martin Marprelate, he speaks of himself as the Bishop of Winchester, in the same way, with no greater particularity, answering the accusations which had been made against him. Upon the name which the Puritans had assumed, he observes, 'The author,' of these libels, 'calleth himselfe by a fained name, *Martin Marprelate:* a very 'fit name vndoubtedly. But if this outragious spirit of bolde-'nesse be not stopped speedily, I feare he wil proue himselfe 'to bee, not onely *Mar-prelate*, but *Mar-prince*, *Mar-state*, *Mar-'lawe*, *Mar-magistrate*, and all together, vntil he bring it to an 'Anabaptisticall equalitie and communitie.'—P. 30. The Puritans had objected against the old and good custom, still continued for a time in the Church of England, of prohibiting the celebration of marriage at certain solemn seasons of the year: 'thereby,' they pretended, 'giving occasion of sin to weake

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'and fraile persons, or to burne in their consciences with great 'danger of their soules.' The Bishop answers, 'Vndoubtedly 'this must needs be thought a captious and rigorous interpre- 'tation, to say that a stay of marriage for certaine daies and 'weeks, is an vnchristian forbidding of marriage,—for then it 'is a Popish disorder also, and Antichristian corruption, to stay 'marriage for three weekes, vntill the banes be asked: for in that 'space, light and euill disposed mindes, may easily fall to offence.' —P. 104. The question of abstinence and fasting is treated in much the same way. 'The law of forbearing flesh on Fridayes, 'in Lent, and other dayes, for the state of our countrey, I 'thinke very conuenient, and most necessarie to be vsed in 'Christian policie. I woulde to God those men, that make so 'small accompt of this lawe, had heard the reasons of the grauest, 'wisest, and most expert men of this realme, not only for the 'maintenance of this law, but also for some addition to be made 'vnto it.* How God hath placed this land, there is no reason- 'able man but seeth: The sea are our walles, and if on these 'walles we haue not some reasonable furniture of ships, we 'shal tempt God:—there is no state of men, that doth so 'furnish this realme with sufficient numbers of mariners for 'our nauie, as fishers do. And howe shall fishers be maintained, 'if they have not sufficient vtterance for those thinges, for 'which they trauell? And howe can they haue utterance, if 'euery dainty mouthed man, without infirmitie and sicknesse, 'shall eat flesh at his pleasure? They cannot pretend religion, 'or restraint of Christian libertie, seeing open protestation is 'made by the lawe, that it is not for conscience sake, but for 'the defence and safetie of the realme.'—P. 107. Alas! that a Bishop of the Church of England, with the Book of Common Prayer open before him, even in the state to which that book had fallen, could sum up such an argument, with such a conclusion!

We had intended to have pointed out several instances in this book, proving the correctness of the remark made in Mr. Keble's Preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (before

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* The Bishop very probably refers to an order of the Privy Council which was sent to the Archbishop in 1576, in which complaint was made that the ember ing and fish days were not duly observed, and 'it is ordered that they shall be more 'carefully seen unto and continued, than heretofore they have been.' But the Council direct also that the clergy, when they press this order upon their people, shall 'further declare unto them, that the same is not required for any liking of 'Popish ceremonies heretofore used (which utterly are detested), but only to main- 'tain the mariners and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing.' The whole may be seen in *Collier. Ecc. Hist.* ii. 557. Edit. 1708. It is not necessary to do more than allude to the well-known line taken in the Homily of Fasting, second part.

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cited), that the Church-writers of that day either would not or could not appeal to the true source of Christian teaching, together with the Holy Scriptures, viz. Catholic antiquity, but to the writings of the foreign Protestants, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin. But we are somewhat limited in space. We need also scarcely perhaps add, after the last extract especially, that there are many statements in Bishop Cooper's work which we utterly dissent from; indeed it is not likely that we should agree in all things with a book written for such a purpose at such a time. Neither do we at all consider *the Admonition* to be an authorized exposition or apology by the whole order of which he was a member.* Indeed, the book in no way claims to be other than it really was, a private answer (apparently not by a public man, or one in power) to the Marprelate libels. If, then, in short, an over-charitable reader is not astonished to find general praises of the reformed discipline and faith of the English Church, or broad statements such as, p. 10, that 'God 'alwaies hath appointed godlie men to be teachers and reuiuers 'of his trueth, as *Abraham* with the other Patriarchs, *Moses*, 'Aaron, *Dauid*, the *Prophets*, the *Apostles*:' adding in one lump, 'in our dayes, Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Cranmer, 'Ridley, Jewel,' &c.; and styling them all, 'godly captaines 'to gouerne his Church, and to set foorth his word;'—if, again, he should not think it unnatural to call Rome 'Antichrist,' and suppose that the five centuries preceding the sixteenth had been 'dark,' echoing the common cry of a general decay of learning during them, and of the knowledge of Holy Scripture; then we believe that such a reader of the whole volume, and such only, (making that reasonable allowance in other matters for Bishop Cooper which, under the circumstances of his position, we are ourselves inclined to do) will find but little cause to differ from Lord Bacon, who thus spoke of it: 'I do much admire the 'wisdom and religion of that bishop, who replied to the first 'pamphlet of this kind, who remembered that a fool was to be 'answered, but not by becoming like unto him; and considered 'the matter which he handled, and not the person with whom 'he dealt.'—*Adv. on Ch. Controvers. Works*, vol. ii. p. 503.

* The indefatigable Strype, who had seen, and (unlike some other historians) had examined, it is evident, several of the Marprelate Tracts, gives us a long account of this book of Bishop Cooper's. And he supposes, but not on satisfactory grounds, that not only the Archbishop himself was a joint-author of it, but that the several vindications were drawn up by the Bishops, and the whole work overseen and approved by them. We, nevertheless, would rather hold to our opinion expressed above, and believe that Cooper spoke only from his own knowledge, having unquestionably had many opportunities of hearing these slanders contradicted. When matters of doctrine are involved we would always give suspected parties the benefit of a doubt.—*Vide* Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, pp. 300, 304.

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Such, nevertheless, was not the spirit in which the *Admonition* was received, nor, as we shall hereafter see, were a soberness of reasoning, and an appeal to the good feelings of the people, the weapons by which Martin was to be opposed. The same inspired writer who forbids us, under some circumstances, to answer a fool according to his folly, immediately added the command, that under other circumstances, we must 'answer a fool according to his folly, *lest he be wise in his own conceit.*' The Puritans were not fools as regarded mere learning, and knew well enough long ago the common arguments which the Bishop offered in reply: the object was not to convince the Martin Marprelates themselves, but the ignorant and silly people who read their books: and where one bought and read the solemn and apologetic *Admonition*, scores eagerly purchased and believed the scurrilous tales and assertions of the *Epistle* and *Epitome*. Scarcely had the Bishop's book issued from the press, before it was replied to by the '*Hay any worke for Cooper.*' The dedication, or rather inscription of this is, 'A man of 'worshipp, to the men of worship, that is, Martin Marprelate, 'gentleman, primate, and metropolitane of all the Martins 'whersoeuer. To the John of al the sir Johns, and to the 'rest of the terrible priests: saith haue among you once againe 'my cleargie masters.' Martin Marprelate had gained, at least, one of the ends which he had proposed; his libel, wicked and abominable as it was, had drawn forth an earnest remonstrance from one of the Bishops of the Church. Returning to the passage just before quoted, Lord Bacon in it seems to suppose, that such was not only the proper style of rebuke, but that it was not also either improper or impolitic to reply at all. This, however, was exactly the sort of notice which Martin required; he therefore could not contain his joy. Like many other lying pamphlets his, probably, would have been confined to a smaller circle of readers, perhaps scarcely beyond the Puritans themselves, if they had been let alone. But if it was a mistake to bring them into further notoriety by civil penalties laid upon the purchasers of them, by seizing the printers, and demolishing their presses, surely much more would it seem to have been a blunder that the Bishop of Winchester should address a sober admonition to the people of England upon the subject, which (at the time certainly) could not escape the being looked upon as an authorized apology of the dignified clergy and the bench of Bishops. So the first address of Martin Marprelate to 'his brethren,' the Bishops, is; 'O brethren, there is such a deal of 'love growne of late, I perceive betweene you and me, that 'although I would be negligent in sending my Pistiles unto 'you; yet I see you cannot forget me. I thought you to bee

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'verye kinde when you sent your purcivaunts about the countrie 'to seeke for me. But now that you yourselues haue taken the 'paines to write, this is out of all crie. Why it passes to thinke 'what louing and carefull brethren I haue, who although I 'cannot be gotten to tell them where I am, will notwithstand-'ing, make it known unto the world, that they haue a moneths 'mind towards me. Now, truly brethren, I find you kinde, why 'ye do not know what a pleasure you haue done me. My 'worships books were unknowne to many, before you allowed 'T. C. to admonishe the people of England to take heed, that if 'they loued you, they would make much of their prelates, and 'the chiefe of the cleargie. Now many seeke after my bookes 'more than euer they did.' We are not inclined to think that Martin here expresses himself beyond the truth. And another very serious evil followed the publication of Cooper's *Admonition*. It not only spread abroad the fame of his opponent, and appealed to the people to judge the truth of his tales and arguments; but, as the author of '*Hay any Worke*' was sharp enough to see and to mention, 'Whatsoeuer you ouerpasse in my writings, and did 'not gainsay, that I hope wilbe iudged to be true.'—P. 2.

As we before said, Bishop Cooper did not attach his name to the *Admonition*. The initials *T. C.** were alone given at the end of his short preface to the reader. Very probably there was no secrecy about the matter, and common rumour, at the time uncontradicted, gave it to its real author. The author of '*Hay any Worke*' appeals to internal evidence, and his inferences are amusingly expressed. 'I gesse your T. C. to be Thomas Cooper '(but I do not peremptorily affirme it) because the modest 'olde student of 52 yeres standing, setteth Winchester after 'Lincolne and Rochester in the contents of his booke, which 'blasphemy would not have been tollerated by them that saw 'and allowed the book, unlesse mistres Coopers husband had 'bin the author of it. Secondly, because this T. C., the author 'of this booke, is a bishop, and therefore Thomas Cooper, he is 'a bishop, because he reckoneth him selfe charged, amongst 'others, with those crimes whereof non are accused but bishops 'alone. Ha olde Martin, yet I see thou hast it in thee, thou 'wilt enter into the bowels of the cause in hand I perceve. 'Nay, if you wil commend me, I will give you more reasons 'yet. The stile and the phrase is very like her husbands, that 'was sometimes woont to write vnto Doctor Day of Welles. 'You see I can do it indeed. Again, non would be so groshead

* The reader must be careful not to confound this *T. C.*, Bishop of Winchester, with *the* T. C., Thomas Cartwright, who by a prerogative of dignity, familiar to the students of Hooker, has monopolized these notorious initials.

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'as to gather, because my reuerence telleth Deane John, that he 'shall haue twenty fists about his eares more than his owne,— 'that I threatened him with blowes, and to deal by stafford 'law; whereas that was far from my meaning, and could by no 'means be gathered out of my words, but only by him that 'pronounced *Eulojin*, for *Eulogein*, in the pulpit: and by him 'whom a papist made to beleeve that the Greek word *Eulogein*, 'that is, to give thanks, signifieth to make a crosse in the for- 'head; py hy hy hy! I cannot but laugh, py hy hy hy! I 'cannot but laugh to thinke that an olde soaking student in this 'learned age is not ashamed to be so impudent as to presume to 'deale with a papist, when he hath no grue in his pocked.'—Pp. 3, and reverse.

But from this, we now pass on to the picture displayed in this pamphlet of the utter hatred which was felt by the Puritans against the divine order of the Episcopacy. The known leaders of that heretical faction restrained, or were aware that as much as they could they *must* restrain their language: we are speaking of their avowed publications. It is, then, from their anonymous works that we are enabled to discover what their objects were, and the full extent to which their opinions went upon doctrines and rites of the Church of God, which have been held from the earliest age, the Apostolic, to be essential not simply to her efficacy and well-being, but to her very existence, and to the validity of her sacraments. Now, let us hear 'reverend Martin.' 'Doe you thinke our Churche 'gouernement to be good and lawfull, because hir Maiestie and 'the state, who maintaine the reformed religion, alloweth the 'same? Why the Lorde doth not allow it, therefore it cannot 'be lawfull. And it is the falt of such wretches as you bishops 'are, that her Maiestie and the state alloweth the same.'—P. 4. Again: 'But our archbishops and bishops, which hold it lawfull 'for her Maiestie and the state, to retain this established forme 'of gouernment, and to keepe out the gouernment by pastors, 'doctors, elders, and deacons, which was appointed by Christ,— 'hold it lawful for her Maiestie and the state to bid God to 'battel against them.—Therefore you T. C., and you Deane 'John, and you John Whitgift, and you the rest of the beastly 'defenders of the corrupt church gouernment, are not only 'traytors to God and his word, but enemies to God and the 'state. Like you any of these nuts John Canterbury? I am 'not disposed to iest in this serious matter.'—P. 24. And once more, passing by an overflow of 'wretches,' 'grosse beasts,' and such epithets, Martin at last, by impiously perverting an argument of the Dean of Sarum, arrives at this: 'Now you 'bishops of the diuell, what say you now, are you spighted of

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'the Puritans, because you, like good subiectes, defend the 'lawes of her Maiestie, or els because, like incarnate diuells, 'you are bishops of the diuells.'—P. 28. It is not without much hesitation that we have brought ourselves to quote these passages: after all, they are not the worst, neither are they more than a few out of many such: and our duty is to represent these productions of the Elizabethan Puritans as indeed they are, and not allow our readers to suppose them to be, unwarned, merely witty, though perhaps scandalous, squibs of the day. If any one says that they are but repetitions in coarser language, of still earlier Puritan and Nonconformists' objections upon the great question of Episcopacy, and that our apology is unnecessary, we are not disposed to quarrel with him—'there is nothing new under the sun.'

But another point or two remains before we can dismiss this '*Hay any Worke.*' Martin confesses, or pretends to confess, that his style and manner of addressing those who were in authority had been misliked by some even of his own party: alluding, that is, to Cartwright, Travers, and others among the chief Puritans. He says, 'I am called Martin Marprelat. 'There be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may 'have my wants, I know. For I am a man. But my course 'I knowe to be ordinary and lawfull. I sawe the cause of 'Christ's gouernment, and of the bishops' antichristian dealing 'to be hidden. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. 'I, for iesting is lawful by circumstances, euen in the greatest 'matters.—My purpose was and is to do good. I know I haue 'don no harme, howsoeuer som may iudg Martin to mar al. 'They are very weake ons that so think. In that which I haue 'written I know, vndoubtedly, that I haue done the Lord and 'the state of this kingdom great service.' (We hope it is no profaneness to quote a parallel almost contemporary with the humble Puritan—

> 'Soft you; a word or two, before you go.
> I have done the state some service, and they know it;
> No more of that:'—

so to return.) 'Because I haue, in som sort, discouered the 'greatest enemies thereof. And by so much the most pestilent 'enemies, because they wound God's religion, and corrupt the 'state with Atheism and loosnes, and so cal for God's vengeance 'vppon vs all, euen under the coulor of religion.'—Pp. 14, 15. And a few pages after more plainly; 'I knowe I am disliked of 'many which are your enemies, that is of many which you cal 'Puritans. I am alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or 'hath bin priuy vnto my writings against you. I vsed the 'aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers.' &c.—

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Pp. 20, 21. Now we really do not think that this dislike arose among the more notorious of his own party until it was produced by fear that their experiment was about to fail—that it had overreached the mark, and disgusted men, rather than was likely to effect the object which the Puritans had in view. We could point out in the avowed publications of Travers and Cartwright, in the little controversial tracts, for example, upon the question of the habits, in the 'Counterpoyson,' &c., many passages which, with less violence of language, and less expressed profaneness, breathe the same virulent spirit and hatred of the ordinances of the Church of God. That these pamphlets of Martin Marprelate were, indeed, disapproved of by the faction who made use of him, we require other witness than himself only before we give it credit; and we do not remember that any such disapproval was plainly expressed *at the time* by the Puritan leaders. It is not enough that they should disclaim him *after*, before the council-board, with the terrors in the distance of the Tower and the rack, or before the court of High-Commission: it is not enough that Neal, their professed historian in after years, and their apologist, should speak of Martin in terms of reprobation, and (which proves either his utter ignorance, or wilful lying) class him and his opponents in the same style, as equally obnoxious to the members of the government. Even Martin himself, in a later publication, to which we shall come presently, speaks again merely in such language as this, addressing the 'Puritans:' 'The report goeth, that some of you have preached against me.' *The report goeth:* very cautious this; to be used hereafter in two ways. In short, it may easily be downright asserted, but it cannot be proved, that the Marprelate pamphlets were not an experiment which the Puritan leaders, Cartwright and Travers, and the rest, were willing enough to try. Doubtless, being wise in their own generation, when they fancied it about to fail, they neglected not the providing some ground to retreat upon, by a timely disconnecting of it with themselves. If it *should* succeed (which was not unhoped for when '*Hay any Worke*' was published), there would be no difficulty in substantiating their claim to this honour among others, that *Martin Marprelate* had been their doing, that his tracts had been a part of their 'godly work,' a stepping-stone to the obtaining their 'holy discipline:'—if, again, it should *not* succeed, disclaimers, such as we have quoted above, would be an easy blind in the eyes of the silly multitude, and it would be far from easy to bring home to them their cognizance of the authors, or their recommendation of such an attempt.

After one more passage, illustrating Martin's style and reasoning, we shall pass on to another of the series.

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'Our churche gouernment is an vnlawfull gouernment, and 'not allowed in the sight of God. Because, that church gouern-'ment is an vnlawfull church gouernment, the offices and 'officers whereof the civil maiestrate may lawfully abollish out 'of the church; but the offices of archbishops and bishopps, and 'therefore the officers much more, may be lawfully abollished 'out of the church by her Maiestie and our state. And truely 'this were braue weather to turne them out: it is pitty to keepe 'them in any longer. And that would do me good at the 'heart, to see John of London, and the rest of his brethren, so 'discharged of his busines, as he might freely runn in his cas-'socke and hose after his bowle, or florish with his 2-hand sword, 'O 'tis a sweet trunchfiddle. But the offices of archbishops 'and bishops may be lawfully abollished out of the church by 'her Maiestie and the state. As I hope one day they shalbe. 'Therefore (marke now T. C., and cary me this conclusion to 'John o' Lambehith for his breakefast) our church gouernment, 'by arch. and bishops, is an vnlawful church gouernment. 'You see, brother Cooper, that I am very courteous in my 'minor, for I desire therein no more offices to bee thrust out of 'the church at one time, but archb. and bishops. As for 'deanes, archdeacons, and chancellors, I hope they will be so 'kind vnto my lord's grace, as not to stay, if his worship and 'the rest of the noble clergie lords weare turned out to grasse. 'I will presently proue both maior and minor of this sillogisme. 'And hold my cloake there somebody, that I may go roundly 'to worke. For Ise so bumfeg the Cooper, as he had bin better 'to haue hooped halfe the tubbes in Winchester, then write 'against my worship's pistles.'—Pp. 5, 6.

Yet this chain of attack and defence is so connected link upon link, that (though they run not exactly link *for* link, now one added upon this side, and now another upon that,) we must pass on to our next book, led by a passage in the last. Martin says, '*Hay any Worke*,' p. 21, 'I am alone. No man vnder heauen is 'priuy, or hath bin priuie vnto my writings against you; I vsed 'the aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers, as 'master Paggett, master Wiggington, master Udale, and master 'Penri, &c., to make Martin. If they cannot cleare their 'selues their sillinesse is pitifull, and they are worthy to beare 'Martin's punishment.' Upon this disclaimer of authorship, we need say no more than we already have; and, indeed, those observations would apply with even greater force in the present case. Of the four persons above named, Penry now claims our notice. He was by birth a Welshman, afterwards a member of the University of Oxford, and about the year 1586 admitted into holy orders. Anthony à Wood's account of him is, that

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being 'a person full of Welsh blood, of a hot and restless head, 'he did, upon some discontent, change the course of his life, 'and became a most notorious Anabaptist, and in some sort a 'Brownist, and most bitter enemy to the Church of England.' Hence he was very fit for, and soon became, a tool in the hands of wiser men. The Marprelate tracts were, at the time of their publication, immediately attributed to him as one of the authors: a warrant was issued for his apprehension, together with some others, and he was taken, and his house and study searched for some proof against him. We must not overlook this, that no evidence was found; and also that Penry himself at the time, (which we do not give much weight to,) and always after, even when about to die, (when we are rather inclined to believe that he would speak the truth,) denied that he had been concerned in the writing of those tracts. If we were disposed to adopt Martin's own line of reasoning, we should more especially decide that he was mixed up with them, from his being named the last among 'the goodly company' in the extract given above. It is curious, certainly, that, of all the anonymous tracts, '*Hay any Worke*' has been the most constantly attributed to Penry. However, there being then no sufficient evidence against him, after a short imprisonment of a month, he was discharged. As soon as he was at liberty, to use his own language, 'I saw 'myselfe bound in conscience not to giue ouer my former pur- 'pose, in seeking the good of my countrymen, by the rooting 'out of ignorance and blindness among them.'—P. 5. Here he alludes, not to the Marprelate tracts, but to two former books of his, about the state of religion in Wales, and a supplication to the parliament. His conscience obliged him then to continue writing. We know well that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth much harshness was used towards political offenders: (it is scarcely necessary to remark, that Penry and his fellows would, and justly, be looked upon as of that class:) they were generally deprived not merely of liberty, but even of opportunities of communicating with their friends, and of the means of correspondence: not seldom, also, greater violence and torture were resorted to. The extent to which this last way of arriving at confessions had been carried a few years before, more especially in the cases of the seminary priests, had reached so far that the Queen had interfered and checked it; and a sort of authorized apology been put forth by the council, entitled 'A Declaration 'of the favourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners 'appointed for the Examination of certaine Traitours, and of 'tortures vnjustly reported to be done vpon them for matters of 'religion, 1583.' (4to, reprinted in the Harl. Miscell.) Burleigh also found it was necessary for himself to write a like

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excuse, which he called 'The Execution of Justice in England, &c.' It does not appear, however, that Penry was treated with even the usual severity of the day, but immediately upon his release he published his '*Appellation to the High Court of Parliament.*' (No. 5.) Little less violent or coarse in language, and equally bitter in its spirit, with the *Epitome* or the *Epistle*, or the answer to Bishop Cooper, its author could not possibly suppose that any personal benefit would be the consequence: (in fact, he was included in the next warrant from the High Commission Court, which for a time he escaped:) and we must say of him, a kind of praise common to many of his party, that he was both stubborn under correction, and insensible to kindness. Neither was he at all wanting in that self-sufficiency, so frequent among fanatics, which leads men to suppose that God certainly approves their doings. Penry claims to be an especial instrument employed by Him. 'You are to understand,' he says, 'that the beginning of these mens hatred towards me did 'arise from the goodwill I beare vnto the glory of my God 'and the good of his church, and that the continuance thereof 'is for the same cause. For vntill such time as the Lorde 'vouchsafed to vse me (most unworthie, I acknowledge from 'the bottom of my heart) as an instrument to motion the parliament in the cause of God's truth, I was a man altogether 'vnknowne vnto th' Archb. or any other of the high commission.'—P. 3. And he boasts that 'the Lord, of his infinite 'goodnes, had enlightened him with the knowledge of the sauing 'trueth of his gospell.'—P. 2. And he does not stick at comparing himself and his condition with St. Paul and the Prophet Jeremiah, and their sufferings, calling upon the parliament to judge his cause, as Festus listened to St. Paul. One would have thought that experience had taught him moderation; but a sidenote (p. 11) tells us, 'It is no new thing to find the supposed 'pillers of the church to be the most pestilent enemies thereof.' And again he says, 'I am bounde in conscience to lay open, 'that the blindnes and ignorance of our blind and ignorant 'guides, the tiranny, vnlawful bondage, and vnjust oppression 'of God's church by vngodly and tiranical Lord Bishops, with 'the rest of th' vnlawful church gouernoures, (who, euen by 'vertue of their places, cannot chuse but oppresse the church of 'God,) are the ready and direct waie, not only to kepe my 'countrimen from eternal life, but also to bringe the Lord's 'wrath vppon vs, our prince, maiestrats, people, and the whole 'kingdome.'—P. 16. And once more, those to whom he is himself now appealing, he accuses of 'careles and wilfull negli-'gence to deal in the Lord's matters.'—P. 34. Very probably the parliament had been negligent, as he esteemed it. It was

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no concern of parliament; and it would have been well if its members had always kept within their proper limits, and from interference with the government and practice of the Church of God. These, no less than the doctrines of the Church, are beyond both its power of controlling, and capability of correctly judging. We need hardly add that in saying this we do not forget its vaunted claim to omnipotence; but *power* is not *right*. The parliament of England, as its parliament alone, acting upon its own judgment only, has never meddled with the Church without weakening her powers, and lessening her efficiency, and injuring her reputation. And if this is true, as most unquestionably it is true, of parliaments which professed at least to be Christian, how much more now, when this profession has ceased to be a necessary qualification of its members.

Penry, however, does not forget to press a point, which, under the strong hand of Elizabeth, and her vigilant eye, and jealousy of her prerogative, the parliament would not then dare to listen to, viz. this, (speaking of the powers exercised under the High Commission,) 'Judge whether it be not 'against all right, that some fewe of the inferiour members in 'that house (of which number, in respect of manye, I might 'justly account the men before named) should extort vnto their 'privat censure, the judgement of a cause preferred publikely 'vnto the whole parliament. The time hath beene, wherein 'this high courte woulde not haue taken a meaner injurie 'offered vnto their liberties, at the handes of anye prerogative 'within this kingdome: whether it stands not with the honor 'and credit of parliament men, amongst posterities, not to haue 'their liberties thus infringed and diminished by inferior and 'baser courts: it behoues them that loue their countrie, and 'endeuor to maintaine the welth thereof, to consider.'—P. 41. Here was a little leaven of sedition thrown into the mass to work its silent way: here was one spark, which, mouldering, was not extinguished, and mouldered on, until more fuel and more fire were gradually given, and at last this question of prerogative was sufficient to set the kingdom in a blaze.

We are not in the least disposed to enter into an argument in behalf of the oath *ex officio*, although much possibly might be said for it; and men now are scarcely sufficient judges how far in former times such means were necessary to extort the truth, for the preservation of the public peace against the malice of the disaffected; yet it was not according to our modern ideas of justice, and at the time was spoken of as a measure only of absolute necessity. One thing cannot be denied, that it did effect in a great degree the object which it aimed at, and was no less a terror to the Puritans than a very successful

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means of discomfiting their plans, by arriving at a knowledge of their secrets. We quote, therefore, Penry's account of the manner of administering this oath: he says, 'All the justice 'that poore christians haue at Lambeth is this. You are now 'sent for by Lords grace here, and vs her Majestie's Commis-'sioners; we grant, in deed, that as yet we know nothing 'wherewith you may be charged. For accusers you haue none, 'neither were you sent for to answere vnto them. For it is our 'maner to deliver men into bonds, though they haue no accusers 'to conuince them of any crime. And therefore you must 'here be deposed vpon your oath, to reveal whatsoeuer you 'know by yourselfe, or any other of Gods children her Majes-'ties subjects. Whereby it shall come to pass, that you shall 'escape vs narrowly, but ere you depart the court, we shall finde 'sufficient matter to imprison you; and if you refuse the oath, 'to prison you shall goe. For we administer it *ex officio*, and 'so, vpon your refusal, we may imprison you.'—P. 46. Undoubtedly Master Penry had experienced the putting of this oath; he may be thought, therefore, to be a good witness against it: and so, indeed, he was in words; but the fact was clear that he had evaded it in some way or other, and had been set at large by the Commissioners.

But a word or two more about this ancient bugbear, the oath *ex officio*. We really do not think that we must listen to objections from the Elizabethan Puritans in the same temper as we would to other men's; neither can we allow them to have the same weight. Here were people making a great grievance of this oath; refusing it stiffly, and with unseemly language, when it was likely to effect the object proposed. Loudly protesting also against it as an infringement, not merely of their civil, but of their Christian liberty, and enlisting upon their side, as being cruelly persecuted by it, all who, from whatever motive, were opposed to the government of the day. And what was *their own practice?* It is very true that legally they could not administer any oath; but they came as near to it as possibly they could, by subjecting every one who was of their party to the solemn scrutiny of their consistories, and obliging him, upon any suspicion, to give an account of his private opinions, and so accuse himself. They had enacted a plain law (the 52d Article of their '*Discipline Reformed*,') upon this point: 'That every 'member of the congregation do not refuse to render a declara-'tion of their faith, before the ministers and elders, whensoever 'they shall by them be thereunto required.' Their great exemplar, the heretic Calvin, made use of the actual oath *ex officio* in his consistory at Geneva. (Calvin. Epist. 71. *Farello.*) More than this: there was but one Court of High Commission in

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England which had the power of administering the oath. If the Puritans had gained their end, each parish in the country would have had a little set of arbitrary judges, ready to listen to any trivial complaint, eager to find a cause of intermeddling with every man's affairs, and too glad of so ready a means of gratifying their malice. They were even bound, upon their own theory, to find out causes for bringing men before them. Cartwright, in his 'Defence of the Admonition,' says, 'The Elders 'watch over the life and behaviour of every man; and to them 'belongs the decision of all such matters as do rise in the 'Church, either touching corrupt manners or perverse doctrine.' There was to be no difficulty in indulging any of their whims: no check upon partiality or prejudice; and no provision made against personal dislike having its full swing. These were safeguards which the Puritan Nonconformists utterly despised: they were to be accusers, witnesses, and judges: they were to complain, and to determine according to their own pleasure, and their own caprice. And these are the men who sought for compassion and found it, when the oath *ex officio* was duly administered by a proper authority to themselves.

A little less than a year before this, Dr. Robert Some had written a book against Penry, which he called '*A godly Treatise* '*containing and deciding certaine questions, mooued of late in Lon-* '*don, and other places, touching the Ministerie, Sacraments, and* '*Church.*' (4to.) To this '*M. Some laid open in his coulers, &c.*' (No. 7) was intended to be an answer. Who the Oxford man was, cannot now be ascertained, probably (as Wood thought) Penry himself: at any rate, this volume made its appearance very soon after the *Appellation.* It is long, and sufficiently dull. Hooker's name occurs in it, in connexion with Dr. Some's. The 'Oxford man' denies that a papist can be saved: he says, 'We hold, that to him that dieth a papist (let him do neuer so 'many good workes, and builde, if it were possible, ten thousand 'colledges or churches) the verie gates and porteculleses of Gods 'mercie are quite shutt vp, and all those his glorious works, 'how sweet soeuer they may be to others, shall be but wrack 'and misery to himself. And in this point if either *M. Hooker,* '*M. Some,* or all the reuerend Bb. of the land doe stand against 'vs, it shall little dismaie vs.' (P. 29.) There is nothing in it which requires of us a further account of this reply to Dr. Some.

The advisers of Queen Elizabeth were always in those dangerous days too much upon their guard to suffer such publications as the tracts of Martin Marprelate to pass unnoticed. Looking at them as we do, after a long period of time, it is a matter of extreme doubt still, in what way they ought to have

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been received: whether they should have been left unregarded, in silent contempt. Those who were then in authority could not overlook the sedition and treason against the state which they contained, even if many who sat at the same council-table cared nothing for their more open attacks upon the Church. It has been always known that some of the most influential persons about the Queen were inclined to the Puritan party; and Lord Leicester generally pretended to be so: it was his game to play: when abroad he had tried to hide his incapacity by spending half his time with the schismatic preachers, who were followers of the camp, joining in their praying exercises, and patiently listening to their three hours' sermons. No less so were others of a sterner cast; and some who were mere courtiers and parasites of the day. Nor is this to be wondered at; for, independent of deeper motives by which a few were influenced, up to a certain point the love of being amused was quite sufficient to make Martin popular at court. He says himself, (*Epitome*, p. 2,) 'I haue been entertayned at the court: 'euerye man talkes of my worship. Manye would gladly re-'ceiue my bookes, if they coulde tell where to finde them.' So we think ourselves obliged, by the way, to quote the old anecdote of Lord Essex. 'When a prohibition issued that no per-'son should carry about them any of the Marprelate pamphlets 'on pain of punishment, the Earl of Essex observed to the 'Queen, "What, then, is to become of me?" drawing one of 'them out of his bosom and presenting it to her.'—To return, however: active measures were taken to prevent any more such publications:* as we have seen already, Penry with several others were arrested; and at last, after great difficulty, the Marprelate press and the printers were seized, it is said, in Lancashire. At the time of the surprisal, it is not improbable that they were engaged upon more than one pamphlet: the rapidity with which these had already followed one another would of itself make us suppose that two or three might be preparing together. It is quite clear that one, at least, was far advanced towards completion; viz. '*Hay any more worke for the Cooper.*' All the finished sheets of this were taken, and we believe that no copy of it, in any state, remains. Other titles

* A proclamation was issued '*against certain seditious and schismatical books and 'libels.*' This contains the prohibition to which Lord Essex is said to have referred. 'Her Highness doth hereby will and also straitly charge and command that all per-'sons whatsoever, within any her majesty's realms and dominions, who have or here-'after shall have any of the said seditious books, pamphlets, libels, or writings, or 'any of the like nature already published, or hereafter to be published in his or their 'custody—shall with convenient speed bring in and deliver up the same unto the 'ordinary of the diocese, or of the place where they inhabit, to the intent they may 'be utterly defaced by the said ordinary, or otherwise used by them.'

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of books have been mentioned, as seized also at the time: such as Epistomastix, Paradoxes, Dialogues, Miscellanea, Variæ Lectiones, Martin's Dream, The Lives and Doings of English Popes, Itinerarium or Visitationes, Lambethismes. So they are given (as missing books) in *Lownde's Bibliographer's Manual*, p. 1225. But they all stand, as to the fact of their 'having been,' upon the sole authority of Martin himself, in his later tracts: and we have scarcely any doubt that these titles were a subsequent invention of the Puritans, pretending also that the books were nearly finished and ready for dispersion. It was a cheap way of proving their unwearied diligence in their 'calling,' and of exciting greater pity for their losses.

But in fact they were unwearied, and their operations were checked for a very short time only: they were many-limbed, and the destruction of one or two members seemed to quicken and give energy for a time to the rest. '*The Protestation of 'Martin Marprelate*' (No. 8) quickly made its appearance, showing, however, evidently by its wretched typographical execution, and almost countless errors, the haste and fear in which, after their surprisal, the printers worked. It opens, 'Thou canst 'not lightly bee ignorant good reader of that wich hath latly 'fallen vnto some things of mine, wich were to be printed, or in 'printing: the presse, leteres, workmen and all, apprehended 'and caried, as malefactors before the magistrat, whose authoritie 'I reverence, and whose sword I would fear were I as wicked 'as our Bb. are.' It is a strange characteristic of the time and person, that he should suppose the surprisal of the press to be perhaps a token of God's anger and dislike against himself: he continues in sober earnest; 'These events I confes doe strike 'me, and giue iuste cause to enter more narrowly into my selfe, 'to see whether I bee at peace with God or no.' (P. 1.) Presently the author says that he (that is, his party) is not dismayed at the mischance which had occurred: 'Good reader, I would 'not haue thee discouraged at this that is latlie fallen out.—As 'to the present action, let them be well assured it was not 'undertaken to be intermitted at everye blast of euill successe. 'Nay let them knowe that by the grace of God the last yeare 'of *Martinisme*, that is, of the discrying and displaying of L. 'Bb. shall not be, till full 2 years after the last year of *Lam-'bethisme*.—Be it knowne vnto them that *Martinisme* stands 'vpon an (*an*) other maner of fundation, then ther prelacy doth 'or can stand. Therfore yf they will needs ouerthrowe me, let 'them goe in hand with the exdloyte, (*exploit*?) rather by 'prooving the lawfullnes of their places: then by exercising the 'force of ther vnlawefull tyranny.' (Pp. 6 & 7.) The *Protestation* gives us an account, or pretended account, of what the '*Hay*

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'*any more worke*' would have been. 'To tell thee true, good 'reader, I sigh to remember the losse of it, it was so prettie, and 'so witty.—First then, there was set downe, the true, proper, 'and naturall definition, or rather description of *Martinisme*, to 'this effect. That to be a right Martiniste indeede, is to bee 'neither Browniste, Cooperist, Lambethist, schismatike, papist, 'atheist, traytor, nor yet L. byshop; but one that is at defy-'aunce with all men, so far forth as he is an enimy to God and 'her Maiestie. Whereupon I remember, I did then aske the 'reader, whether it were not good being a Martiniste.—Nexte 'to this followed a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death of 'olde Andrewe Turne-coate, to be sung antiphonically in his 'graces Chappell, on Wednesdayes and Frydayes, to the lament-'able tune of Orawhynemeg.—The next prettie thing to this, 'was to my remembrance, Chaplain Some comforted with the 'balde sheath of his own dagger.—Then there was recorded a 'braue agreement which Martin of his curtesie is contented to 'make with the bishops, &c.' (Pp. 24—31.)

Old 'Andrewe Turne-coate,' above mentioned, is a title which the Puritans very irreverently, whatever his demerits might have been, gave to Dr. Perne.* He died in 1589, Dean of Ely and Head of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He had a sufficient command over himself, and his conscience, to go with the leading party, whatever it might be, through the troubled times of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth: no test was found stringent enough to drive him from his deanery or headship. We would not deny that if he had any principle at all, it was upon the side of the Reforming sect: this possibly induced Whitgift to support and patronise him in his later years, to which he was also in a measure bound in gratitude, for some kindnesses which Dr. Perne had shown him when a fellow of Peterhouse, in Queen Mary's days. His partiality, however, seems to have been extreme. If Dr. Perne had not a character to lose after 1570, Dr. Whitgift had; and men cannot touch pitch without some of it sticking to them. Martin Marprelate said that the Archbishop had been at Peterhouse 'the master's boy, 'and had carried his cloak-bag;' Bishop Cooper denies this in his *Admonition*, in a manner which shows at least that the Doctor's intimacy with the Archbishop was a matter of notoriety: and Strype calls him 'his dear friend.' But there is a curious jest, very much to the purpose, which Fuller has handed down to us. Queen Elizabeth (we know from her personal

* *Jacke* saye, in the '*Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*,' 'What, Doctor Pearne? 'Why he is the notablest turnecoate in al this land. Why euery boy hath him in 'his mouth, for it is made a prouerbe, both of olde and young, that if one haue a 'coate or cloake that is turned, they saye it is *Pearnd*.'—*Sign. D.* 2.

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histories) was accustomed to take a certain daily amount of exercise. Once, when it was raining hard, she was still determined upon going from home: at that time she was not in good health: and, after much advice offered, the Archbishop, who happened to be at hand, was called in to dissuade her majesty. He was not listened to; and, quite in accordance, as it seems, with the practice of the court at that time, the Queen's fool, *Clod*, was next appealed to. 'Heaven dissuades you, madam,' was his address, 'not only by its weeping aspect, but by the 'eloquence of the Archbishop: earth dissuades you by the 'tongue of your poor fool, Clod: and if neither heaven nor earth 'can succeed, at least listen to Dr. Perne, whose religious doubts 'suspend him between both.' Now, in all seriousness, we do not wonder that Dr. Perne (and many others) should have acted as he did; that he should have been a notorious time-server; a trimmer to every wind; and worse than this, (as he actually was,) eager to show his adhesion to the ruling party, whatever it might be, by persecuting the losing one. But we do wonder, unless we set it down as a sign and token by which we are to guide our judgment as to the rulers of that time, and the sincerity of the great movers in and leaders of the Reformation,—we do wonder, we say, that such men—for Dr. Perne, again, was but one of many, a specimen of a class—should have been sought out for preferment, and allowed to retain their dignities.

There can be no doubt that there were many among the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth, high in rank and powerful in influence, who, remembering the spoils divided some forty years before, hankered after the remnants of the possessions of the Church, and were looking out, eager to avail themselves of every internal commotion among her members and reported members, to obtain their end. This was asserted, even by the opponents of Martin Marprelate. In the dialogue between Pasquill and Marforius (*Return of Pasquil*, No. 16), we find, '*Marforius.* By your leave, Cavaliero, they say Martin hath 'great vpholders. *Pasquil.* It may be so, some that are as 'ready as himselfe, to rob the Church.' (*Sign. C.* 4. *Rev.*) Again, in the same book, speaking of the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, 'If a greedie desire of withholding that from 'the Church which themselves had giuen, was of force to open 'such a windowe to the deuill, that they were presently giuen 'ouer as a pray to the iawes of hell,—howe many foule sinnes, 'and howe many greeuous plagues are to be feared in this lande, 'which alreadie hang at the ende of the lyne of *Martinisme*, 'and would speedilie be puld vpon our heads, if we should but 'beginne to take that from the Church which we neuer gave.'—*Sign. D.* 1. 'We fully believe, that with so near a precedent

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before them, one almost of their own experience, it was by the most merciful interposition only of the divine Providence that the destroying hands were stayed. The same arguments which led men on blindfold, as it were, to overthrow the abbeys of England, and could make their consciences so blunt as to care nothing for the sacrilege which they were committing, or, which was more dreadful, could teach men to talk about their sin as done for conscience' sake,—these same arguments, we say, would apply, broadly stated, to the cathedral endowments and parochial revenues of the Church reformed. But self-seekers, (to use their own term,) as the Puritans unquestionably were, selfish as were the ends to gain which there were few means which they hesitated to employ, this end, at any rate, was not openly proposed, nay, very openly started from with horror, that the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth should divide the spoils. Far from it: they were avowedly destined to another purpose. Let us, upon this, listen to Martin's indignant protest: 'I may safelye 'saye, it is so far from me to bringe the Churche liuinges into 'the hands of any but the ministers, and officers thereof;' these ministers to be the elders of the Genevan discipline, Cartwright, Udall, Travers, and the rest; 'that I can no more abide church-'robberie in a temporall man, then I can brooke sacriledge in a 'presumptuous priest: as I hate the one, so I abhorre the other. 'But as concerning the laying open of their bishopprickes to the 'spoyle of such cormorants as gape for their downfals, thereby 'only to enrich themselues, I greatly muze, that owr prelates 'wil be so ouersene as to charge me therwith.'—*Protestacyon*, p. 18. Really, all this looks so honest, that if it stood alone, we might give the Puritan credit, more particularly in such a case, for once speaking the truth; but, alas! Pasquil of England has been before us, and hinders our praise. He mildly admonishes Martin Marprelate upon this very point: 'May it please 'your Masterdom to vnderstand, that by the last Butterflie you 'sent abroad, you tel me a tale of a dry Sommer, and protest 'that you seek not to stanch the hote thyrst of any couetous 'courtier, with the bishoprickes of the land, but to share them 'amongst the Ministerie. Fie, fie, do you not know that a lyer 'must haue no shetle memory? If you looke eyther to your 'former workes, where you urge the spoyle of the Church for 'the maintenaunce of wars, or to your son Martin Senior, a man 'that hath slept in his father's bosome, and knowes your mind, 'in exhorting his yonger brother to resigne the care of Church 'reuenewes to the Court, you shal find your selfe taken 'with an overture.'—*The Return of Pasquil, sign. D. 4.* The author also of '*An Almond for a Parrat*' speaks out plainly, not fearing the Court, upon the ill-concealed rapacity of some of the

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then advisers of the Crown, and their friends the Puritans. He says of Martin Marprelate, 'One thing I am persuaded, that he 'neither respects the propagation of the Gospel, nor the pro-'sperity of the Church, but only the benefite that may fall to 'him and his boulsterers by the distribution of bishoprickes. 'Beshrewe mee but those Church-liuings would come well to 'decayed courtiers. O howe merrilye the dyce would runne, if 'our lustye laddes might goe to hazard for half-a-dozen of these 'dioceses. Not a page but woulde haue a flinge at some or 'other impropriation or parsonage: and in conclusion, those 'liuings which now maintaine so many scollers and students, 'would in two or three yeares be all spent in a taverne amongst 'a consort of queanes and fidlers, that might carouse on their 'wine-bench to the confusion of religion.'—*Sign. E.* 4. *Rev.*

The term 'Protestation' in the title of this tract would rather seem to imply 'Proclamation,' or 'Publishing.' It is this, pp. 10 and 11, printed in a larger type: 'I doe therefore, by 'this my protestation, make it knowne to the whole church of 'England—that I who do now go vnder the name of Martin 'Marprelate, do offer personally to apear, and there to make 'my selfe knowen in open disputation, vpon the danger not 'onlie of my libertie, but also of my life, to maintaine against 'all our bishops, or any els whosoever, that shal dare in any 'scholastical manner, to take their parts: the cause of the church 'government, which is now in controversie betwixt me and our 'prelats: so that I may have this condition following inviolablie 'kept and obserued, viz. That for apearing, I be not delt with, 'except thei overthrow me by the worde of God.—But if in this 'encounter I overthrowe them (as I make no question of it, if 'they dare abide the pushe) then they to trusse vp and be pack-'ing to Rome, and to trouble our church no longer. Provided 'also, that if any of the Puritans wil ioyn with me, and venture 'their liues in the cause, it maye be lawfull for them to come 'in freely against these dragons in disputation.' This *Protes-tation* was new only in its name: merely harping upon an old string. Martin has just before said, in this same book, speaking of the Bishops, 'They are the children of those fathers, who 'neuer as yet durst abide to haue their proceedings examined 'by the word, and me thinks they should be ashamed to haue it 'recorded vnto ages to come, that they haue evere shunned to 'maintaine theyre cause, eithere by open disputation, or by any 'other sounde conference or writing.'—P. 8. There are allu-sions to it in the '*Appellation of John Penri*,' and in the earlier tracts, the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*. In the first we find, 'Nowe 'may it please your grace (addressing Whitgift) with the rest of 'your worships, to procure that the Puritans may one day haue

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'a free disputation with you about the controuersies of the 'Church, and if you be not set at a flat *non plus*, and quite 'ouerthrowen, ile be a Lord B. my selfe.'—P. 3. In the other, 'Haue but a free disputation with the Puritans, about the 'vnlawfulnes of your place, and if you be not ouerthrowene I 'wil come in, and do vnto you what you thinke good: for then 'I will say that you are no Popes.'—P. 3. And in the next tract, which we are about to give some account of, the same demand is boastfully repeated, and the denial of it, or not having been taken notice of, set down as an acknowledgment of *right* being on the side of the Puritans. This tract is the '*Dialogue of the Tyrannical Dealing, &c.*' (No. 6), and the speakers are 'Puritane, Papist, Jacke of both sides, and Idoll Minister.' The opening is good, in the Izaak Walton style. '*Puritane.* You 'are well ouertaken, sir; doe you travel far this way, I pray 'you? *Jacke.* Towards London, sir. *Puritane.* I shall willingly 'beare you companie, if it please you. *Jacke.* With all my 'heart; I shall be very glad of yours.'—P. 1. Jacke, it appears, had just come from France, from Orleans, the Puritan also from Rochelle; this leads to a discussion upon the points in controversy, sufficiently well managed. But, being upon the point, let us hear what they say about a disputation. We must premise that they have been joined ere this by the *idoll minister*, who is supposed to represent the Church party, or Conformists of the day. Neither Jacke nor Puritane hit it off with him at first. '*Jacke.* Why, vicker of the diuell" (we suppose the vicker was a meek man) 'why, vicker of the diuell, let the whole 'conuocation house of diuels know of it and you wil, for they 'dare not, noe not *Beelzebub* of Canterburye the cheefe of the 'diuels, come to disputation, therby to approoue their Callings 'to be lawefull, and other points in controuersie against the 'discipline of God, as they haue bin often challenged, and offered 'by the Puritans, euen to aduenture their liues against their 'bishopricks, and yet they durst not. And I pray you tell me, 'if they were not Bishops of the diuel indeed, woulde they refuse 'this offer? *Minister.* Why, the Puritans have bene often dis-'puted with. *Puritane.* Where? In the Bishops closet? For 'they are ashamed to haue it tried before any magistrate. Let 'them, if they dare, procure a free disputation, wherby every 'man may freely speake, and be indifferently heard, and if the 'Bishops and al their partakers be not ouerthrowne, I will loose 'my life for it.'—*Sign. C.* 4.

We do not think that any of the Marprelate Tracts exceed the *Dialogue* in violence and bitterness of language. The check which had been given was not likely to mitigate either the one or the other. In the extract just above 'Bishops of the diuell,'

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is a specimen which might be easily accompanied, if we thought it necessary, by others of a like sort. The volume, however, is chiefly of importance as a proof of what the Puritans really thought of Archbishop Whitgift. There have been, according to various writers' views, various opinions given upon this: some say, that although harsh and severe in a few instances, he nevertheless had won the general good-will of many among the Non-conforming and Puritan party: some go so far as to assert, that he did not press the penalties upon them of his own accord, so much as in compliance with the will of another more powerful than himself, (though the Archbishop stood very near the throne,) and more determined in Church views and principles. But, says Martin, and we look upon his hatred as clearing a doubtful point in the Archbishop's character, 'Is not this a divelishe pollicie of 'the Bishop of Canterbury, to place such heads in the vniuer-'sitie: that none shal proceed, or be preferred, but such as wil 'subscribe.*—Of all the Bishops that ever were in that place, 'I meane in the see of Canterbury, did neuer so much hurt 'vnto the church of God, as he hath done since his comming. 'No Bishoppe that ever had suche an aspiring and ambitious 'a mind as he, no not *Cardinal Wolsey:* none so proud as he, 'no not *Steuen Gardiner* of *Winchester:* none so tirannical as 'he, noe not *Bonner.*'—*Sign. D.* 4. Martin is very particular in stating the place he means; but still it may be thought hypercritical, if we venture to observe, that not one of his three examples was an Archbishop of Canterbury. Nevertheless, it stands the same for his and our own purpose.

It is quite towards the end of the dialogue that *the Papist* joins the others with, 'You are well overtaken, my masters. 'Which way trauel you, I pray? *Jacke.* Towards London, sir. '*Papist.* What good newes is there abroad, doe you heare any? '*Puritane.* I knowe none good, for the land is sore troubled with 'these trecherous Papists; and our Church pestered,' &c.; and so he goes on, quite in the old fashion, with Bishops of the devil, and popish priests, and dumb dogs. Most certainly, if we take their own evidence, the Puritans must have had not only a monopoly of impudence, but a miraculous means of knowing whom they might insult upon the Queen's highway with impunity. The Papist does not, in return, say much; and we should scarcely have thought it necessary to have noticed him, were it not for a somewhat (to say the least) witty application of his having joined the travelling party; for the Dialogue ends with an arrangement between him and Jacke of both sides, and the

* Curious, this: with a little change of persons, plans, and purposes, some late proposals in 'the vniversitie' seem to be a burlesque of it.

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idoll minister, to lay an information against the Puritan as soon as they should reach London. '*Papist.* I can hardly beleeve 'that you heard masse at *Orleans?* *Jacke.* If I had not bin 'present at the masse, I should have bene taken for a Hugonot, 'and so I shoulde hardly escaped with my life. *Papist.* I am 'the gladder of your company. *Jacke.* And I of yours, for I 'perceue you are a Catholike. *Papist.* Yea, indeed, and I will 'not deny it: looke, I thinke the Puritane and the Vicker will 'goe by the eares. *Jacke.* He shall doe the Vicker no wrong 'for al my speeches to him: and he will be ruled by me, wee 'will haue him before my lords grace, for we will giue him the 'slip, when we come in the citie, and one of vs will fetch a pur-'siuant, and the other twoe shal dog him. *Papist.* Content, 'sir, if you please, let it be so.'—*Sign. D.* 4. *Rev.* We have said that here ends the dialogue: this is a mistake, for the Puritan, as might be expected, strikes in, has the last word, and sums up the whole with two texts about 'blind watchmen,' 'dumb dogs,' and 'idoll shepheardes,' and thunders that he will justify all that he hath spoken.

We must be more brief now in noticing the other two Marprelate tracts, which we proposed to give account of. The first of these is the '*Theses Martinianæ.*' (No. 9.) The fact, that Penry and some others had been imprisoned, and their press taken, suggested the not very witty idea of Martin's sons succeeding to their father's place, and carrying out his interrupted design: neither, whoever he might have been, does the author of this book retrieve his character, in respect of wit, by what he has written. A set of 110 Theses, pretended to have been collected out of his works by old Martin Marprelate, and now published by his son, *Martin junior*, would but drily answer the expectations of his old admirers. We must acknowledge, however, that there is the usual seasoning of virulence and blasphemy. As, for example, the 34th Thesis, 'That the warrant 'that the Archbishops and Bishops haue for their places, can be 'no better than the warrant which the open and most monstrous 'whoredom in the stewes had in times past amongest vs. For 'by the worde they are condemned, &c. And as for the laws 'that maintain them, being the wound and sore of the church, 'they are no more to be accounted of then the lawes maintein-'ing the stewes.' 'That by the doctrine of the Church of 'England our lord bishops are none of Christ's bishops, but the 'ministers of Antichrist.' *Thesis* 60. Many Theses begin, 'That by the doctrine of the Church of England,' and that it is *her doctrine* is proved previously by citing Tyndal, and others, and especially Master Foxe, as being authorized expounders and doctors of the Church. Once more, the 72d, 'That *by the doc-*

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'*trine of the Church of Englande*, all ministers be of equal 'authoritie;' the 78th and 79th, 'That our prelates haue no 'authoritie to make ministers; and to haue a bishops licence to 'preach is the very marke of the beast Antichrist.' Martin, junior, adds an '*Epilogue*,' of some five or six pages, headed by an address or dedication, 'To the worshipfull his very good 'neame, Maister Iohn Canturburie.' This gives an account of the *Theses* having been picked up 'under a bush;' and a hope that old Martin Marprelate, who is supposed to be in jail, would not be offended at their having been published. All this seems exceedingly dull and stupid. Neither does the book show any novelty of daring (as our readers are already aware) in demanding a public disputation, (*sign. D.* iij.) or of wit, in using the queer words which had already been repeated over and over again, such as 'Ka,' 'nunckle,' 'Cankerbury,' 'Catercaps,' and the like.

But, we confess it to our astonishment, within a short time, from one of his own party, comes out '*The just Censure* 'and *Reproof*, &c.' (No. 10.) This is the last tract, evidently upon the Puritan side, which we have to notice; and we feel a sort of satisfaction that the ancient violence of Penry and Cartwright, and the rest, are fully displayed even *to the last*. There are no signs of weariness and flagging in *them*. Their old supporters might probably be getting tired; the fallacy of their arguments might, in many instances, have been exposed; their exaggerations been explained away; their lies contradicted; and, more than all, answerers in their own style have taken the field against them, but they are determined to die hard. If profaneness and malice were destined for a season to be checked, though not destroyed, it was even then to be only after a desperate struggle. But why this apparent disagreement among themselves? Why this censure of one of Martin's sons by an elder brother? Because it is pretended, if no more pamphlets had been published after the imprisonment of the printers, and Penry's seizure, that the High Commissioners would probably have looked upon Martin's productions as mere jokes, and said, 'I faith, lette him go, Martin is a madde knaue.' *Sign. A.* ij. *Rev.* But now their pursuivants will be sent out, and a sharp search made, and 'Marke whether these poore men 'beforenamed, to wit, Penry, Sharpe, Walde-graue, New-'man, &c., with many other good men, who, I dare sweare for 'them, did neuer medle nor make at anie time with the metro-'politicall writings of our renowned father, shall not be now as 'hotlie pursued after as euer they were. And al this comes of 'thy foolish and paltrie meddling in matters too high for thy 'capacitie. And thus other men are like to smart by thy

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'follie.'—*Sign. B.* ij. In this '*Reproofe*,' the Puritan speaks out again about 'the men of sinne, I meane the Canturburie 'Caiphas, with the rest of his anti-Christian beasts, who beare 'his abominable marke,' (*Sign. A.* ij.); and makes his usual ten or eleven protests against the Ecclesiastical government of the Church of England. We quote the first of these. 'First, 'I protest and affirme, that the foresaide Iohn Whitgift, *alias* 'Canturburie, which nameth himselfe archbishop of Canturburie, is no minister at all in the church of God, but hath, 'and doeth wrongfully usurp, and inuade the name and seate of 'the ministerie, vnto the great detriment of the Church of God, 'the vtter spoyle of the soules of men, and the likelie ruine of 'this commonwealth. And in this case do I affirme al the lord 'bishops in England to be.'—*Sign. B.* iv.

It is well known that Archbishop Whitgift maintained always a household and retinue suited to his high dignity. If we remember rightly, it was of him that an Italian spoke, when he afterwards told some Englishman that 'the English nation had 'been much misrepresented abroad: that instead of there being 'no Archbishop, or cathedral, or ecclesiastical services, he never 'remembered to have seen greater pomp displayed, or more 'outward ceremonial.' We should be glad to be able to appropriate this praise more fully than we feel we can do.

The fact, however, remains undisputed, that Archbishop Whitgift properly kept up great personal state. Sir Geo. Paull says, 'He kept a good armory, and a fair stable of great horses: 'inasmuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and 'foot; and divers times had one hundred foot and fifty horse of 'his own servants mustered and trained, for which purpose he 'entertained captains.' Martin Marprelate was not a likely man to overlook this: we have one sharp example of his keen sight in the '*Just Censure and Reproof.*' 'Doest thou not see 'thy vncle Canturburie abroad in his visitation? Doest thou 'not see with how manie men Esau rides, that if hee meete with 'his poore brother Jacob he maie be sure to sucke his blood? 'Is seuen score horse nothing, thinkest thou, to bee in the 'traine of an English priest? Whereof also there are thirtie 'golden chaines! Doest thou thinke that the kingdome of 'Christ, which thy father seeketh to builde, shall be able to 'stand, seeing John Canturburie, with so manie men, rideth 'about the countrie, to proclame nothing else but fire and 'sworde vnto as manie as professe themselues to be the true 'subjects thereof.'—*Sign. B.* 1.

The Puritans were never behindhand in claiming for themselves the distinction of being *the* true Church: as here, in his last effort, Martin declares himself and company to be the only

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'true subjects of Christ's kingdome;' so in his first tract also he had said, 'all the pastors in the land, that deserue the name of 'pastors, are against their wil vnder the bishops iurisdic-'tions.'—*Epistle*, p. 6. Hooker has set down amongst the causes advancing the popularity of Puritanism this one; that it is 'instilled into their hearts, that the Spirit, leading men into 'their opinion, doth thereby seal them to be God's children; 'and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most 'special token to know them that are God's own from others is 'an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of 'separation between such and the rest; whereby the one sort 'are named the brethren, the godly, and so forth; the other, 'worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with 'like.' And Bishop Cooper, speaking of the *Recusants*, 'Some haue affirmed flatly vnto me, that in seeking to presse 'them to come to our church and seruice, we doe against our 'owne consciences, seeing our most zealous preachers (as they 'be taken) openly speake and write, that as well our service, as 'the administration of the sacraments, are contrary to the word 'of God.'—*Admonition*, p. 128.

But we must turn, at last, to those productions which were to be effective, when other means had failed, to check for a time this outbreak against the Church. We have given but a slight sketch, and but few extracts from the writings of Martin Marprelate; and we shall be compelled also, by want of space, to be even less copious in our selection now. It will be sufficient for our purpose if we mention each in order, upon our former plan, and give our readers a just notion of the spirit in which they were designed to carry out their purpose.

It is not to be wondered at that Neal, and others after him of the same sort, should attempt to class both the answerers and the answered as equally obnoxious to the government, and equally included under the same prohibitory proclamations. As they knew that the original pamphlets were of very rare occurrence, that few could obtain them, and that the majority of people were quite content to take statements for granted, it did not seem likely to injure their reputation as historians (such as it was) so to speak of them, and echo from one to the other a false account. But it is quite certain that Nash and others, whoever they might have been, who were the authors of these replies, were looked upon in a very different light by the government of the day. It is not necessary to defend upon every point the style of answer adopted; the *argumentum ad hominem*, the *tu quoque* way of reasoning, is one of the least satisfactory at all times: but here was an especial case; one out of the common pale of things; extravagant in its attack, it was to be met

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by an extravagant defence; fools were to be answered according to their folly. It is certain, also, that this mode of defence was not adopted without consideration, and until other means had been tried and failed. There are evidences ample to prove this: one is sufficiently strong for us, coming from so high a quarter, and spoken of so important a person: when Dr. Bancroft was made Bishop of London, the Archbishop, in consequence of some ill-reports spread abroad about him, wrote a commendatory letter to the Court in his behalf. Among other things, 'That 'he was, by his diligent search, the first detector of Martin 'Marprelate's press and books: where and by whom they were 'printed. He was a special man, that gave the instructions to 'her Majesty's learned council, when Martin's agents were 'brought into the Star Chamber. *By his advice that course was 'taken, which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; 'viz. to have them answered after their own vain writings.*'—*Strype. Life of Whitgift*, cap. xxiij. p. 516.

It is not easy to say which of these answers was first published; neither is it possible to assign a name to each as its author. It must be evident to any one who reads the books, that they were written by several men. Yet Thomas Nash, who had formerly been of St. John's College, Cambridge, is usually spoken of as the sole author: generally in Catalogues (even of our public libraries) we find all entered under his name, which not only confirms error, but misleads. Anthony à Wood attributes to him particularly '*Pappe with a Hatchet*;' but Dr. Bliss has added, in a note to his edition of Wood, 'It may be 'doubted, however, whether Nash wrote this; for Oldys, in his 'MS. notes to Langbaine's "*Dramatic Poets*," in the British 'Museum, expressly says that John Lilly was the author.' So imperfect is our knowledge of the whole affair. It is not either impossible or improbable but that Bancroft himself had something more to do with the composing them than merely recommending. His avowed book, the '*Dangerous Positions and Pro-'ceedings*, 1593,' is little less severe, somewhat in the same style, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the most foul and disgraceful pamphlets of the Puritans.

We see every reason to suppose that '*Pappe with a Hatchet*,' (No. 11,) and the '*Countercuffe*,' (No. 14,) were the first published, and must have made their appearance shortly after the '*Theses Martinianæ*,' and the '*Just Censure and Reproofe*.' 'Take this,' the author of the first says, 'for the first venew of 'a yonger brother, that meanes to drie beate those of the *elder* 'house.'—*Sign. E.* 3. *Rev.* The dedication is, 'To the Father 'and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe, the three tame 'ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, because

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'they cannot marre Prelates grating.' As a specimen of the style and manner of arguing now about to be tried against Martin Marprelate, we give the beginning, and part of this dedication.

'Roome for a royster; so that's well sayd, itch a little further 'for a good fellowe. Now haue at you all my gaffers of the 'rayling religion, tis I that must take you a peg lower. I am 'sure you looke for more worke, you shall haue wood enough to 'cleaue, make your tongue the wedge, and your head the beetle, 'Ile make such a splinter runne into your wits, as shal make 'them ranckle till you become fooles. Nay, if you shoot bookes 'like fooles bolts, Ile be so bold as to make your iudgments 'quiuer with my thunderbolts.—We care not for a Scottish 'mist, though it wet us to the skin. I professe rayling, and 'think it as good a cudgell for a Martin, as a stone for a dogge, 'or a whippe for an ape, or poyson for a rat. Yet find fault 'with no broad termes, for I haue measured yours with mine, 'and I find yours broader iust by the list.—I was loath to write 'as I haue done, but that I learnde, that he that drinkes with 'cutters, must not be without his ale dagger; nor he that 'buckles with Martin, without his lauish termes.—If a Martin 'can play at chestes, he shall knowe what it is for a scaddle 'pawne to crosse a Bishop in his owne walke. Such dydoppers 'must be taken up, els theile not stick to check the king. Rip 'vp my life, discipher my name, fill thy answer as full of lies as 'of lines, swel like a toade, hisse like an adder, bite like a dog, 'and chatter like a monkey, my pen is prepared and my minde; 'and if yee chaunce to finde any worse words than you brought, 'let them be put in your dads dictionarie. And so farewell, 'and be hangd, and I pray God ye fare no worse.

'Yours at an houres warning,

'Double V.'

Immediately after this Dedication follows a more sober admonition to 'the indifferent Reader,' in which the author says, 'it 'is found that certaine Martins, if no miscreants in religion, '(which wee may suspect,) yet without doubt malecontents, '(which wee ought to feare,) haue throwen fire, not into the 'church porch, but into the chauncell, and though not able by 'learning and iudgment to displace a sexton, yet seeke to re-'mooue Bishops.' And he again excuses the style which he has been obliged to adopt: 'If they be answered by the grauitie of 'learned Prelates, they presentlie reply with railings; seeing 'then either they expect no graue replie, or that they are 'settled with railing to replie, I thought it more convenient to 'give them a whiske with their owne wande, than to haue them 'spurd with deeper learning. I seldom vse to write, and yet 'never writ anie thing that in speech might seeme vndecent, or

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'in sense vnhonest; if here I haue vsed bad tearmes, it is 'because they are not to be answered with good tearmes.'

The passage above, 'such dydoppers must be taken up, else 'theile not stick to check the king,' reminds us of the often quoted untrue aphorism of King James, 'No bishop, no king.' The replies to Martin Marprelate press this point however: years before the conference at Hampton Court, a generation or two before their plans had matured, the necessary consequences to which, as the constitution of England is framed, the Puritan objections and attempts tended, were clearly foreseen. In this book we find again, 'There was one indited at a Jaile deliverie 'of felonie, for taking vp an halter by the high way. The Jurie 'gaue verdit and said guiltie. The Judge, an honest man, said 'it was hard to find one guiltie for taking vp a penie halter, and 'bad them consider, what it was to cast awaie a man. Quoth 'the foreman, we haue enquired throughly, and found there was 'a horse tied to the halter. I marie (quoth the Judge) then let 'him be tied to the halter and the horse goe home. *Martin* saies, 'he is envied onelie, because he leuelleth at Bishops! and we 'say as the Judge saith, that if there were there nothing else, 'it were hard to persecute them to death; but when we finde 'that to the rule of the Church, the whole state of the Realme 'is linckt and that they filching away Bishop by Bishop, seeke 'to fish for the Crown, and glew to their newe Church theire 'owne conclusions, we must then say, let Bishops stand, and 'they hang; that is, goe home.'—*Pappe &c. sign. C.* 3. *Rev.* Again, soon after: 'They that teare the boughs, will hew at the 'tree, and hauing once wet their feete in factions, will not care 'how deepe they wade in treason.' *Sign. E.* 2. We could multiply these passages: for example, in the *Almond for a Parratt, p.* 5: 'Were this all, then shoulde not treason be such a 'braunche of your religion as it is. Haue not you and your 'followers vndermined her Graces Throane, as much as traytours 'might.' And, indeed, there had been open threats used by the Puritans which were quite sufficient to set men on their guard, and excuse the severity with which some of the leaders were treated by the Council. They had declared in their '*Subscription to the book of Discipline*,' that it should prevail, in spite of all opposition: and they hint at other methods to advance it, besides an appeal to the Queen's Majesty and the Parliament. In the '*Motion to the Council with Submission*' they had said that thousands sigh for it, and ten thousands have fought for it, and approved. Thomas Cartwright in his '*Reply to Whitgift*' says that some of these matters are such, as if every hair of our head were a life, we ought to afford them, in defence of them. Martin himself, in his *Epitome*, had wished that the Parliament would bring it in (*i.e.*

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the godly discipline) though it were by withstanding her Majesty. And once more in the *Just Censure*, he boasts of 'a hundred 'thousand hands, to offer a supplication, which in policy would 'not be rejected; especially standing thus in danger of our ene-'mies abroad.'

We have mentioned already that not only are the Marprelate tracts full of scandalous stories of the Bishops and Clergy, but also that Martin had promised to put spies in every parish, for the purpose of collecting slanders, and that a volume was nearly finished already, and about to be published. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the replies abundantly retort with stories, one or two equally indecent, of the leading Nonconformists, and itinerant preachers, and notable men among the godly. But it was not an unwise thought also to threaten such a volume from themselves. Pasquill says, that 'hee came latelie ouer-sea into '*Kent*, from thence he cut ouer into *Essex* at *Gravesend*, and 'hearing some tidings of *Hartfordshire*, hee made as much haste 'as he coulde to *S. Albanes*, where he staide one whole Sabaoth 'at the *Christopher*, and hauing there pestered a newe paire of 'writing-tables with profitable notes for that quarter, hee sette 'forwarde the Munday following to *North-hamton-shire*, smiling 'and glauncing as hee turned his horse about to bidde the con-'gregation of *Saint Michaels* adieu.* To be breefe with your 'worshipfultie Pasquill hath posted very dilligentlie ouer all the 'Realme, to gather some fruitfull volum of THE LIVES OF THE 'SAINTS, which maugre your five hundred fauorites shall be 'printed. There shall you read, &c. &c.' (with half a dozen specimens which we willingly omit.) *Countercuffe. Sign. A.* ij. *Rev.* And the author of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*' threatens; 'Pas-'quil is comming out with the liues of the Saints. Beware my 'comment, tis odds the margent shall be as full as the text. I 'haue manie sequences of Saints; if naming be the advantage, 'and ripping up of lives make sport, haue with thee knuckle 'deepe, it shall neuer bee said, that I dare not venter mine eares, 'where Martin hazards his necke.'—*Sign. E.* 3.

The passage in the title of the *Countercuffe*, 'Not of olde Mar-'tin's making, which newlie knighted the Saints in Heauen; 'with rise vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule,' refers to some places in the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* in which the Puritan, not content with speaking evil of earthly dignities, had denied also their pro-per titles to the Holy Saints, and made a mock at them. *Sir Peter, Sir Marie*, &c., instead of Saint Peter and Saint Mary the Blessed Virgin, occur again and again. We leave Bishop Cooper to express, as he has well done, the indignation, which every

* These were places well known as strongholds of the Puritans.

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good man must feel at this blasphemy. 'I must needs,' he says, 'looke for any hurt, that venemous scoffing, and unbridled 'tongues can worke toward me. And how shoulde I hope to 'escape that, when the Saints of God in Heaven do feel it? In 'the course of their whole libell, when they speake of *Peter, Paul,* 'or the *Blessed Virgin Mary,* &c., whome other justlie call 'Saintes, their phrase in derision is, *Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir* '*Marie.* Surely it had becommed right well the same unmodest 'Spirite, to have said also *Sir Christ,* and so throughly to have 'bewrayed himself.'—*Admonition, sign. A.* ij.

The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England (No. 16) is a dialogue between himself and Marforius, as the title of the tract tells us, meeting upon the 'Royall Exchange.' This seems, independent of some internal evidence to have been by the same hand as was the *Countercuffe.* Pasquil inquires, 'But 'of fellowship tell me, how hath my *Countercuffe* been intreated?' and Marforius answers both to his satisfaction, and we must confess to our own, 'It was verie welcome to the court, thankfully 'received in both Vniversities, the citties of the land doe giue 'you good speeches; as for the countrey, after the plainest man-'ner, with hart and good will they are ready to greete you with 'a cake and a cup of ale in euery parish. This onely is the thing 'that greiveth, they know not what *Pasquill* is. They desire in 'all places of the Realme to be acquainted with you, because 'they would bring you intelligence, thicke and threefolde, to 'further your volume of the liues of the Saints.'—*Sign. A.* ij. This 'Golden Legende,' as it is called in the title, if the Puritans had gone on with their threatened publications, would probably have proved, and without the expense of much labour in the collection, a bulky volume. There was an abundance of stories afloat (of which we have in these answers a random selection) about the doings of that 'godly' set, and if Martin upon his side did not stop to investigate the evidence upon which they were told, it was not to be expected that those whom he had so wantonly attacked would be more strict in their inquiries. But happily we have been spared this infliction: for our antiquarian curiosity does not reach so far as to regret the loss of those anecdotes and secret history of Puritan misdeeds: no length of time could have sweetened such a dunghill:—and more than this, the good old 'Golden Legende' itself, the favourite book and guide of our forefathers holding up examples which men ought to follow, retains its holy associations, unmixed even in a passing thought with anything so wretched, as this travesty must inevitably have proved.

Every one has heard of the 'Prophesyings' which were set on foot, and patronized by some of the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's

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reign, until their ill-consequences were discovered; in this dialogue Pasquil gives an account of one, at which he says he was present, at Ashford in Kent. We extract this as curious, from a contemporary, and probably not exaggerated. 'I went thither,' he says, 'with a student of Cambridge, and comming in the 'habite of schollers, we pressed somewhat boldly into their 'companie to dine with them, assuring ourselues to finde some 'new service at theyr table. When the dinner was doone, one 'of them read a chapter, every man keeping his place still.— 'The chapter was, the 1 Cor. 3; which being read, the reader 'began first to vtter his conceit upon the text, in short notes, 'then it came to his next neighbours course, and so in order, 'glosses went a begging, and expositions ranne a pace through the 'table, till they came to me, whom they desired to open my 'mouth among the rest. I vtterly refused to vndertake the 'taske, notwithstanding, I was so wonderfully vrged, that I 'coulde not any way shift them off, and somewhat I spake 'among them. When I came to the ende of my cariere, my 'companion was requested to pricke in for company with his 'freendes. I needed no minstrill to make me merrie, my hart 'tickled of it selfe, when it came to his turn, because I knew him 'to be a gentleman well studied in Philosophie, but he had not 'yet medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth verse of the 'chapter to discourse vpon, where the Apostle saith, Euery 'mans worke shall be tryed by fire. But to see how brauely 'hee trotted ouer all the meteors bredde in the highest region 'of the ayre, to see how louingly hee made the sence of the 'Apostle, and *Ouid's* fiction of *Phaeton's* firing of the world 'to kisse before they parted, and then how souldier-like hee made 'an ende of his manage with a double rest, was sport enough for 'vs to beguile the way, as we travailed backe againe from thence 'to Canterburie. I have brought many a propper note out of 'that meeting, for euery mans spirit at the table, had two bowts 'with the Apostle before hee left him, and one whilst another 'spake, had a breathing time giuen him to whisper with the 'Holy Ghost, to know what should be put into his head to vtter 'against it came about to his course againe.'—*Return of Pasquil, sign. C.* ij.

We have the more readily selected this description of one of the famous 'Exercises,' as they were also called, because it does not appear that while the author was present there was any attempt at those treasonable and forbidden discussions in which the members very frequently engaged, and managed, by some twist or other, to drive their subject into. Here we have a plain account of what the Exercise was, as recommended by Parkhurst or Grindal; and we do not think that it differed

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much from some meetings in modern days, (under other names,) at which we have been present ourselves—dull, stale, and unprofitable—an opening for the display of the commonest information, and for the indulgence of an aptitude to talk; an opportunity which, if the members are agreed upon the point before them, is worse than useless; if they are divided, is almost certain to lead to personal recrimination and to quarrels; a disputation without a moderator, whose authority is recognised for an instant, when interference becomes really necessary, and where the vain and the pretending claim an unjust superiority, which the less assuming, though they refuse to own it, cannot resist.

We make one extract more from this tract, viz. 'Pasquils Protestation vppon London Stone.' We have had Martin's; let us now hear his adversary's. 'I, Cavaliero Pasquill, the 'writer of this simple hand, a young man of the age of some few 'hundred yeeres, lately knighted in Englande, with a beetle and 'a bucking tub, to beat a little reason about Martin's head, doe 'make my protestation vnto the world, that if any man, woman, 'or childe, haue anything to say against Martin the great, or 'any of his abettors, of what state or calling soever they be, 'noble or ignoble, from the very court gates to the cobbler's 'stall,'—Pasquil flies high, but his quarry was in sight:—'If it 'please them these dark winter nights, to sticke up their papers 'upon London stone, I will there giue my attendance to receiue 'them, from the day of the date heereof, to the full terme and 'reuolution of seuen yeeres next ensuing. Dated 20 Octobris. 'Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, per me venturous Pasquill 'the Cavaliero.'—*Sign. D.* iij. *Rev.* Pasquil had just come 'from the other side the seas,' and had been, we have no doubt, at Venice, and admired the usefulness of the lion's mouth.

'*An Almond for a Parrat*' (No. 13) would seem to have been published next. The author alludes to '*The Return*' and to '*Pap with a Hatchet.*' Speaking of Martin Marprelate, he says, 'His 'crazed cause goes on crutches, that was earst so bravely en-'countered by Pasquin and Marphoreus, and not many moneths 'since most wittily scofte at by the extemporall author of Pap 'with a Hatchet.'—*Sign. B.* 3. The style is different from the last-named of these tracts; and from other evidence, we think it highly improbable that both, as has commonly been supposed, are from the same pen. The extravagant wit of the '*Pap with a Hatchet,*' and manner of expression, are imitated, in one or two places, with the plain intention of being so understood. But there is a general soberness of argument in this pamphlet, which is not to be found in the other, and an earnestness of reasoning in many parts, showing the natural style of the writer of it, if

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he had not been desirous of concealing himself. We would quote, particularly, one passage in illustration of this: 'By this 'time, I thinke, good-man Puritan, that thou art perswaded 'that I knowe as well as thy owne conscience thee, namely, '*Martin Makebate* of *Englande*, to bee a moste scurvie and beg-'gerlie benefactor to obedience, and, *per consequens*, to feare 'neyther men, nor that God who can cast both bodie and soule 'into unquenchable fire.—Talke as long as you will of the ioyes 'of heauen, or paines of hell, and turne from your selues the 'terrour of that iudgement howe you will, which shall bereaue 'blushing iniquitie of the figge leaues of hypocrisie, yet will the 'eie of immortalitie discerne of your painted pollutions, as the 'euer-liuing foode of perdition. The humours of my eies are 'the habitations of fountaines, and the circumference of my 'heart the enclosure of tearefull contrition, when I thinke howe 'many soules at that moment shall carrie the name of *Martine* 'on their foreheads to the vale of confusion. There will enuie, 'malice, and dissimulation bee euer calling for vengeaunce 'agaynst thee, and incite whole legions of deuilles to thy death-'less lamentation. *Mercie* will saie unto thee, I knowe thee 'not, and *Repentaunce*, what haue I to doe with thee? All 'hopes shall shake the head at thee, and saie, there goes the 'poyson of puritie, the perfection of impietie, the serpentine 'seducer of simplicitie. Zeale herselfe will crie out upon thee, 'and curse the time that euer shee was maskte by thy mallice, 'who, lyke a blinde leader of the blinde, sufferedst her to stumble 'in the dimness of her sight, to murther her mother the Churche.' —*Sign. C.* 2.

We shall refer to this tract presently upon another point, and would at once pass on to the next, if we could resist quoting an anecdote which the writer gives us of the state of learning among the Puritans: 'A doctor, standing in election for a liuing 'that was then in her Maiestie's bestowing, came to be exa-'mined by men of grauitie in the circumstance of his suffici-'encie, who descending eft soones into his unschooled simplicitie, 'gave him this little English to be made in Latin. There be 'three Creedes, the Nycene Creede, Athanasius Creede, and 'the Apostles' Creede, all which ought to be belieued upon 'paine of damnation. The good simple superintendant, that 'sawe himselfe so hardly beset, craved respite to compasse this 'vulgar, which graunted, after some deliberation he began thus 'to go forward. *Tria sunt Creda, vnum Niceni, alterum Atha-'nasii, tertium Apostolorum, quæ omnes debent esse creditum, sub 'pœna condemnationis.*'*—*Sign. F.* 1. Two or three other stories

* We are quite able to parallel this in late days, upon the authority of a friend, an ear-witness. At a meeting, some four years ago, in Southampton, the reverend

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follow this, exhibiting the absurdity and ribaldry of some of the noted non-conformists in the pulpit, which we refrain from citing, because we have not given Martin Marprelate's anecdotes; and even a more potent reason, these, equally with his, are really not fit to be transferred to our pages. We must, therefore, refer our readers to the original: if they have no means of such reference, we hope that they will hold us excused; and the rather, as they are, in fact, of little importance to our main object, and it appears sufficient to mention, which we have already, that the tracts, on both sides, contain many such tales.

'*Martin's Month Minde*' (No. 15) is, without doubt, the cleverest and the most witty of the replies to Martin Marprelate. We are not surprised that the contest was getting for a season near its end, and that the men who began it and recommended such a plan, should now think that they had had enough, as it was a game at which two might play; and those only could hope to win when stones of this sort were flying, who had no glass in their own windows. The title fully explains the object of it. It has two prefatory epistles. The first to Pasquine of England, author of the Countercuffe, complimenting him and pressing the speedy publication of his Lives of the Saints. 'It must needes 'be a singular peece of work, and edifie much; especiallie 'against the seuen deadlie sinnes which they never transgresse. '*Pride*, for they despise all but themselves. *Lecherie*, for three 'at a clappe, their *heaths* can yeeld them. *Sloath*, for though 'they bee seldom idle, yet they are neuer well occupied. *Glut-'tonie*, for they would devoure all. *Couetousness*, for they are 'never satisfied. *Wrath*, for they doo nothing but quarrell. '*Enuie*, for they cannot abide anie to haue ought, but them-'selues. But especially for the foure cardinall vertues:—*For-'titude*, for they hide their heads. *Justice*, for they would take 'from euerie man his owne. *Wisedome*, or els I report me to 'their wittie conceits. And *Temperance*, for they gouern their 'passions passingly well. But for the three *Theological* vertues 'they excell, of all that euer I heard of:—*Faith*, for I doubt 'me whether they bee of anie. *Hope*, which is to see the ouer-'throwe of all. And *Charitie*, for they detest and damne all but 'themselves.'—*Sign. A.* 3. The epistle to the reader follows,

'*the Deputation from the Parent Society*' made a long and wonderful speech, to the admiration of the ladies present: he concluded, in a sonorous voice, and with an energetic wave of his hand, that called down loud applause, '*magna est veritas et prævalĕbit.*' A clergyman there (albeit a friend, perhaps) could not resist a sorry pun: whether his audience would be alive to it was another matter; but he rose, and having complimented 'the reverend the Deputation' upon his eloquence, begged to say, that 'he was sorry to differ from him, but he could not help believing that truth 'would not merely prevail a bit, but that it would prevail a great deal.'

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rather long, giving a history of the rise and growth of Martin among the Puritans, and tracing him from the '*Admonition to the Parliament*,' down to their last productions, the *Theses* and the *Just Censure*.

The author reckons up a vast number of reported ways by which men said (he tells us) that Martin Marprelate had met his death. That he was now defunct all allowed. Some said that he had died abroad, taken by the Spaniards or the Portuguese: others, that he had been killed fighting in the Queen's service; that his horse had stumbled; that he had died of a surfeit; been murdered in prison; been poisoned with 'an 'Italian figge;' been choked with a fat prebend, &c.; all which reports are commented on and declared to be false. We have then 'the true report.' 'After that old Martin, hauing taken a 'most desperate cause in hand, as the troubling of the state, and 'ouerthrowe of the Church (both which attempts at once, '*Alexander the Copper Smith*, that did *Paule* so much harme, 'would neuer haue adventured; nor *Herostratus* that burned '*Diana's* temple, by many degrees came neere unto), and being 'therefore (and well worthie) sundrie waies verie curstlie han-'dled; as first *drie beaten*, and thereby his bones broken: (*T. C.*) 'then whipt that made him winse (*a whip for an ape*), then 'wound and launced, that he tooke verie grieuouslie, to be made 'a *Maygame* upon the *stage*, and so bangd, both with prose and 'rime on euerie side, as he knewe not which way to turne him-'selfe, and at length cleane *Marde* (*Marre-martin*): the griefe 'whereof vext him out of all crie: and that if he were taken, it 'was to be feared he should be made a *Bishop* (of the fields), 'which name he neuer loued, and to weare a tippet,* that he 'euer detested: but especiallie being drawne so drie (so as he 'could say no more) whereby his radicall moisture began to faile 'him, and his vital powers in such sort to decaie, as he saw that 'he could not long continue,—the old gentleman began at the 'length to droope and to mislike himselfe, and through meere 'melancholie fell into a feauer. And so hauing taken his bedde, 'he sent for his Physitions, who albeit they perceived that he 'was past cure, yet loath to lose so profitable a member to their 'commensing commonwealth, they ministered to him a potion: 'but afterwards, when they perceiued that the force therof 'wrought so stronglie vpon him, as that it *purged away all the* '*conscience, wit, and honestie he had;* and that *Purgarentur ea,* '*quæ purgari non oportuit*, a deadlie signe, they came vnto him 'and with teares in their eyes, told him that there was no way 'with him but one; and therefore wisht him to set his worldlie

* A Tyburn tippet (our author means) in Tyburn fields.

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'affaires in order, that no controuersie might growe amongst his, 'after he was gone.'—*Sign. E.* 3.

Martin then makes his last speech: and explains the three causes of his death. 'The first was my *foolerie*:' (his 'twaddling 'tales' and 'fond words and phrases'): 'the next was my '*ribaudrie*.' 'The third and last meanes that hath brought me 'to my last end, was worst of all; and that was my *blasphemie*,' &c.: and ends with some advice to his sons ('those two scape-'thrifts to him, who like a couple of good and vertuous babes 'stood grinning all the while, as glad they should bee chiefe 'Martins themselues'), that it was worse than vain to expect that even if the bishoprics were suppressed and their possessions alienated, themselves would be the gainers. 'Touching 'the matter you strive for, take heede what you do: you shoot 'at Church liuings, you hope to have the spoyle. See what 'hath come by it in Scotland. Forsee what will become of it 'here: forget not the last partition.' And he tells them the fable of the Fox and the Crow. (*Sign. F.* 3. *Rev.*)

Martin Marprelate's will, his last will and testament, that 'lay sealed in his deske, bound fast with an hempen string,' is now read to him in the hearing of his sons. Let us also hear the substance of the Puritans bequests.

'He begun with the vsuall style; next touching his bodie, '(for it should seeme he had forgotten his soule, for the partie 'that heard it told me, he heard no word of it,)' much after the fashion of men now-a-days, 'he would not be buried in any 'church, chappell, nor churchyard, for that they had been 'prophaned with superstition; but in some barne, outhouse, or 'field: without bell, pompe, or any solemnitie—minister he 'would haue none to bury him, but his sonne, or some one of 'his lay brethren, to tumble him into the pit.'

We stop here, to caution our readers against supposing that the author of 'Martin's Month's Mind' has exaggerated the probabilities of such a case as is here supposed. Waldegrave, the Puritan printer (who has already been alluded to), about the year 1585, or 1586, for the book is not dated, though the name is attached, published 'A booke of the Forme of common 'prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c.: agreeable to 'God's worde, and the vse of the reformed Churches.' We now, limited as our space is, intend to extract from this, the whole Order of Buriall! '*The corps is reuerently to be brought to the* '*graue, accompanied with the neighbours in comely manner, without* '*any further ceremonie.*' A very similar book printed at Middelburgh in 1586, and again in 1587, also called Forms of Common Prayer, &c., has the same service (?) appointed, word for word. But it may be said these were but private forms after all: it is

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strange, however, that there should be so many editions at the same time, and we could prove that they were *intended* to be of authority: but it is enough now to say that we have another work to appeal to; viz. 'The Booke of prayers and administra-'tion of the Sacramentes, approued and received by the Churche 'of Scotland. 1584.' Again, we extract the whole Order of Burial. 'The corps is reuerentlie brought to the graue, accom-'panied with the congregation, without any further ceremonies: 'which being buried, the Minister if he be present, and required, 'goeth to the Church, if it be not farr off, and maketh some 'comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and 'resurrection.' We cannot say whether this is the order still observed by the members of the establishment, miscalled the *Church of Scotland*, but we know that it was so for many years after this time: and we must also own that it did allow a faint and distant opening for the burying of our dead out of our sight, in somewhat a more decorous way than we should get rid of a dead dog. But still an opening very distant: the minister is to be present; he is to be asked; he is to go to the church only if it be not far off: a happy concatenation not very favourable to the chance of 'some comfortable exhortation.'

Looking back wistfully to years long gone by, regretting, as we often must, the many good observances which have been taken away from us, how much cause yet of thankfulness have we as members of the Church of England, that *not all is gone:* that, for example, in this one point of burial, we still commit the bodies of our fellow-Christians to the earth, as hoping for their blessed resurrection; as knowing that they are not severed really from, although no longer visibly in, our Holy Communion; that they are still to be subjects of our pious solicitude, still to be prayed for over the grave, still to be partakers with ourselves in the mysterious blessings which attend the offering up to the Almighty Father of the Body and the Blood of our risen Lord.

But we reluctantly return to Martin: 'he would not be laid 'East and West, but North and South: Tomb he would haue 'none, nor Epitaph upon his graue, but in some post or tree, not 'farre from it, he would have onelie engraven, *M. M. M.* 'Whereby his sonnes say, he meant, *Memoriæ Martini Magni.* 'But I think rather, this, *Monstrum Mundi Martinus.*' (*Sign. G.* 1.) The will goes on to bequeath various legacies: such as his knavery, his lying and slandering, his foolery, &c. &c. to various persons: 'Item, I bequeath all my plots, and modells, that I 'haue drawne, of churches, and commonweales, to the number 'of twelve, for euerie moneth of the year one, to our chiefe 'builders (you know their names) to dispose of at their plea-

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'sure.' And so, the narrative goes on, within about half an hour, Martin Marprelate dies. The next day, the physicians open his body, and find 'a wonderfull corrupt carcasse:' a hollow heart; lungs, huge and made to prate: a tongue 'wonderfullie 'swolne in his mouth; I thinke by reason of his blasphemie.' 'The night after (for the horrible stinke thereof, because his 'bodie was so corrupt), and for that he durst not in his life time 'bee seene by day, being a night bird; they carried him foorth 'in the darke; and by reason he died excommunicate, and they 'might not therefore burie him in Christian buriall, and his will 'was not to come there in anie wise; they brought him vnawares 'to a dunghill, taking it for a tumpe, since a tomb might not 'be had, and there cast him in.' 'And this is the very truth of '*old Martin's death*, which if the young *Martins*, or any *Martinist* 'of them all denie; I cast here my mitten upon the quarrell.'—*Sign. G. 2. et seq.*

We might have fancied that Martin, being dead, might rest at last; upon the old principle *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. But our author thought differently: and feared not to say so. In his prefatory Epistle to Pasquin, speaking of the Martinists, he ends, 'Since they are now become contemptible, amongst the 'most and best, let vs trample on them as the dirt of the streete.' So his book finishes, as in fact the history of any one's death should, with a series of epitaphs, by various contributors. We shall extract the author's own.

'Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.'

'O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brounistæ,
Et Famillilouistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et omnes sectistæ,
Et Machiuelistæ,
Et Atheistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
Lugete singuli.'

'At gens Anglorum,
Præsertim verorum,
Nec non, qui morum,
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum,
In sæcula sæculorum,
Gaudete singuli.'
(*Sign. H. 2.*)*

We have one tract more, which was either published at the same time with the '*Month's Minde*,' or very shortly after. This is, '*Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker*.' (No. 12.) Almost every one, we know no exception, who has alluded to or professed to give a list of the Marprelate Tracts, has set it down to the credit of his adversary, or has directly attributed it to Nash. (*Confer. Lowndes, Bibl. Dict.*) But it is, in fact, a last gasp of the Puritans: an expression in their extremity of some desire of peace: a wish that they might for a time, until themselves spoke again, be let alone. The quaintness of the title, leaning apparently against Martin Marprelate, would be apt to mislead: and the writer of it struggles to be neutral, but his bias is too

* This epitaph is quoted by Dr. Bliss in his edition of Wood's Athenæ, from Weaver's Funeral Monuments.

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strong to be mistaken. The book is tiresome: the spirit of the particular controversy might be said to be at an end; and we do not propose to strain the little remnant of our reader's patience through '*Plaine Percevall.*' There is no little anxiety displayed to be witty, or to seem to be so, according to the old tune; but we agree with Percevall himself, that after the spice and peppercorns of the earlier dishes of the feast, *he* follows, 'like a plaine Dunstable groome, with salt and spoones on a trencher.' Now that, in fact, the battle had been fought, and the assailants beaten out of the field with their own weapons, and (in a sense) upon their own ground, it was too late, and manifestly absurd, that any one should venture forward as a peacemaker, to say, as it were, to two parties no longer equally strong, 'be friends,' and so strive to cover a defeat, and check, by a pretended compromise, the real triumph of the victors. If there is any cleverness at all in the idea, it certainly consists in the attempt to induce men to believe that such really was the case; and if, again, we can give any credit for sincerity to some of our historians, this ruse, though it failed with contemporaries, succeeded with their successors. These seem to have thought that it was not alarm, but a genuine wish for peace, which at last brought the Puritan to complain that there 'was no penaltie to represse such lauish ouer reachers 'as offer legends of lies to the presse;' that 'heresay is too 'slender an evidence to spit a man's credit upon;' and that it should come to this, as the most reasonable and Christian course, 'Well, Martin and you professed Mar-Martins, in presence of 'me Perceuall, shake hands and be friendes, meet halfe-way, 'and I standing jump in the middle, will crie aime to you 'both.'—Pp. 11, 12, 20.

One consequence of acting a pretended part is shown in this book: both the style and the matter are in many places so obscure and involved, that it is not possible to make sense of it. We would willingly give some specimens of the author's reasoning, but have found the greatest difficulty in selecting one: Plaine Percevall begins a long paragraph addressing *this* side, then turns to *that*, back again to the first, and so on, equal in his favours, until the reader is most successfully mystified, and so far the object of the author gained. (We would refer, for example, to pp. 16, 17, 18.) The following extract, however, is clear enough, and somewhat to the purpose; addressing (if we are not mistaken) the Mar-Martins. 'Mary who began (say 'you:) Martin cald traytor first, he spake lavishly, and must 'heare as knauishly. Now the blood is vp; he that hath most 'gall in his garbage, thinks to win the goall. And he that hath 'most toong powder hopes to driue the other out of the field 'first. I could tell these eager youngsters how they might be

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'euen with their adversary: giue faire words for foule: *Doe 'good against euill, and heape hoat burninge coales vpon his head.* 'That is a sentence sooner belieud, bicause it is scripture, then 'put in practise, for all it is true.'—P. 7. And one more: addressing Martin or his sons: 'O Martin, honor gray heares, 'during thy nonage: or else looke for dishonor and dotage, if 'thou canst get any competent yeeres on thy backe; be thou 'a young boy or a stale batchellar, learne to reuerence those 'two ornaments of a common-wealth; age and authority. Barre 'this pert bearding of men reputed honest for their behaviour, 'and honorable both for their calling and counsaile.'—P. 13. We would draw our reader's attention to the qualified praise, *reputed* honest and honourable. It was an enemy that did this.

Besides the volumes which we have described, there was published in 1589 a Latin tract against Martin Marprelate, of which we give the full title below.* A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library. It is very sensibly written, and its object to prevent the youths of that day being carried away by Martin's misrepresentations of facts, ill-arguments, and lies. It points out the extent which Puritan violence would reach if not checked; that it would not overthrow the Bishops of the Church only, but the ruling powers of the State. The pretended divine call which many of that faction claimed, and that they had authority given them, are also exposed and denied. The author states expressly in his preface that he aims at arguments, and not persons. We have no doubt that this is one of the rarest books connected with the controversy; being written in a learned language, and for a particular class, it is probable that the original edition was somewhat limited.

There were also at least two, perhaps more, poetical tracts against Martin. One of these '*Mar-Martine*,' was written soon after the '*Hay any Worke for Cooper*,' or the '*Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*.' It begins (we take our account from Herbert)—

'I knowe not why a trueth in rime set out
'Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
'As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about,
'Mar priests, & prelates, and subvert whole states.
'For where truth builds, and lying overthroes,
'One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose.'

The book consists of satirical epitaphs, much we suppose after the fashion of those in the '*Month's Minde*,' alluded to already.

* Antimartinus; seu monitio cujusdam Londinensis ad adolescentes utriusque academiæ, contra personatum quendam rabulam, qui se Anglicè Martin Marprelat, hoc est, Martinum Μαστιγόρχον, ἢ μισόρχον vocat. Londini. Excudebant Georgius Bishop et Radulphus Newbery. Anno Domini 1589. 4to. Pp. 60.

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This production excited the wrath of the Martinists. The author of the '*Just Censure and Reproofe*' says, 'I would have born with 'thee, if thou haddest taken a little paines in ryming with Mar-'Martin, that the cater-caps may knowe howe the meanest of my 'father's sonnes is able to answeare them, both at blunt and 'sharpe. And for thy further instruction against another time, 'heere is a sample for thee of that, which in such like cases 'thou art to performe. ¶ The first rising, generation, and ori-'ginall of Mar-Martin.

1.

'From Sarum came a gooses egge,
'with specks and spots bepatched,
'A priest of Lambeth coucht thereon;
'thus was Mar-Martin hatched.
'Whence hath Mar-Martin all his wit
'but from that egge of Sarum?
'The rest comes all from great Sir John,
'who rings vs all this larum.

2.

'What can the cockatrice hatch up,
'but serpent like himselfe?
'What sees the Ape within the glass
'but a deformed elfe?
'Then must Mar-Martin have some smell
'of forge or else of fire,
'A sotte in wit, a beast in minde,
'for so was damme and sire.'

Sign. D. iij. Quoted also by Herbert. The other poetical tract is, '*A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displaied.*' It begins—

'Since reason, Martin, cannot stay thy pen,
'We'il see what rime will do: have at thee then!'

One stanza bears upon a point which we have already spoken of, and we therefore quote it as confirming our own view:—

'And ye graue men that answere Martin's mowes,
'He mocks the more, and you in vain loose times.
'Leaue Apes to Doggs to baite, their skins to crowes,
'And let old *Lanam* lashe him with his rimes.
'The beast is proud when men note his enditings;
'Let his workes goe the waie of all wast writings.'

Both these tracts are a single sheet each of four leaves, and copies are in the libraries of the British Museum and Bodley.

Another effective weapon was used against the Puritans, but soon forbidden by the government, viz. the stage. The theatrical history of that period is somewhat obscure; and there is not any play now extant which was performed with the especial

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object of ridiculing Martin. There are several allusions to him in plays of the same date; one or two, perhaps, may be traced in Shakspere; but it seems clear that allusions only were not the limits. Martin Marprelate was put forward as a character. We have a proof of this in a passage, wherein the author of '*Pappe with an Hatchet*' complains that these representations had been put a stop to. He says, 'Would those Comedies 'might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure 'he (*i. e.* Martin) would be decyphered, and so perhaps dis-'couraged. *He shall not be brought in as whilom he was*, and yet 'verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfe's bellie, 'cats clawes, &c.; but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel 'he ware the highest day in the yeare, thats neither on Christ-'mas daie, Good fridaie, Easter daie, Ascension, nor Trinitie 'sundaie, (for that were popish,) but on some rainie weeke-daie, 'when the brothers and sisters had appointed a watch for parti-'cular praiers, a thing as bad at the least as auricular confes-'sion.'—*Sign. D. 2. Rev.* In 1589 the introduction of matters connected with religion into plays had become so extensive, that Burghley (who occasionally threw his shield over the Puritans) issued a commission to inquire what companies of players had offended. A very valuable document has lately been discovered, in which Shakspere, and some twenty of his fellow-players, disclaim their having been concerned in any of these objectionable representations.*

We do not think it beside the mark to add, that two volumes came out apparently after the Marprelate tracts had ceascd for some time. The first, by Penry, (but anonymous,) 'A treatise, 'wherein is manifestlie proved that reformation, and those that 'sincerely favor the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies vnto her Maiestie and the state, &c. 1590.' 4to. A copy of this is lying before us, and we have mentioned it, although itself not exactly connected with our particular subject, any more than many other tracts of the same sort which continued to be published, because it seems that it was replied to in the old style of the authors of '*Pappe*,' or the '*Counterouffe*.' The spirit in which they wrote seems to have died slowly away. We do not remember to have seen this answer, and take the title of it from Herbert. 'The first part of Pasquil's Apologie. Wherein he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence: and gallops the fielde with a Treatise of Reformation lately written by a fugitive, John Penrie. Printed where I was, and where I will bee ready by the helpe of God and my muse, to send you the Maygame of Martinisme for an intermedium between the first and the second part of the Apologie. Anno Dom. 1590."

* *Vide* Knight's Shakspere, a Biography, p. 342.

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We have left until now one or two points upon which a few observations seem to be called for; and first the date of these publications. They have been set down as about the year 1590, which, speaking generally, is not incorrect. The *Epistle* and *Epitome* were both published in 1588. The first edition of the *Admonition** before the end of that year, or early in 1590 (as we now compute). Bishop Cooper complains how lamentable a thing it was that such books as the Marprelate's should be in men's hands and bosoms, 'when the viewe of the mightie Navie 'of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight: when the 'terrible sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our eares.'—P. 33. Nor had the winter passed away when Martin's answer (*Hay any Worke*) was published. 'I cannot,' he says,) 'be got to tell them where I am, because I loue not the 'ayre of the Clinke or Gatehouse in this colde time of winter.'—P. 2. The Queen's proclamation, as given in *Wilkins*, 4, 340. against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels, is dated Feb. 13th, 1588, *i. e.* 1589, new style. The '*Countercuffe*' is dated the *eyght of August*, and the *return of Pasquill* 20th of October, in the same year. The intermediate months would be fully occupied with the other pamphlets, and winter was again near at hand, if not already come, when the '*Month's Mind*,' dated 1589, was written.—(Vide *Sign. A.* 2.) At the same time, or shortly after, as we have already said, came out '*Plain Percevall*.'

A far less easy task is it, even to guess at the authors. The tracts on the Marprelate side have usually been attributed to Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner. We are obliged to refer our readers who wish a further account of these writers, to Wood's Athenæ, under *Penry*, to Collier, Strype, and Herbert's edition of Ames. Our limits do not allow us to say more, than that after a careful examination of these and other authorities on the subject, the question remains in our judgment as obscure as before; and that it is very far from clear, that either of the three last named were actually concerned in the authorship of any one of the pamphlets. It is undeniable that they were written by several persons. We say undeniable, in spite of the author of the '*Almond for a Parratt*,' who attributes all to Penry. 'Let all 'posteritie that shall heare of his knauerie, attend the discovery

* The copy which we have used, is a second edition, with a date, 1589. It is almost page for page and line for line, identical with the other. The first is known from two alterations; one in p. 40, where *dare* in the text is pasted over with *can*, and one in p. 135, the assertion *they will not denie*, is modified into *it is not yet proued*, also pasted over. Both these are properly corrected in the second edition. We are indebted to Martin's keen eye for the detection of these (*Hay any Worke*, p. 38), who chuckles and says that he has already 'made the Bishops pull in their hornes;' and indeed the circumstance is very remarkable. Copies of both editions are in the Bodleian.

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'which now I will make of his villanie. Pen. I. Pen. Welch 'Pen. Pen the Protestationer, Demonstrationer, Supplicationer, 'Appellationer, Pen. the father, Pen. the sonne, Pen. totum in 'toto et totum in qualibet parte.'—*Sign. E. 2. Rev.*

We might have expected more certainty with regard to the writers against Martin Marprelate: but as we have already seen, here also we are disappointed; and all that remains appears to be, to prevent, if possible, the connecting them with wrong names. Nash, from general consent, was probably one; John Lilly, the Euphuist, another, upon the authority of Oldys, who allots to him '*Pappe with a Hatchet*;' but if he wrote any of them, we should say not that, but the '*Almond for a Parratt*:' it is much more in his style, and we would refer our readers to the extract from that book, given before (p. 393). The sentence, 'The hu- 'mours of my eies, &c.,' seems conclusive.

Two or three years after the date of this controversy (viz. 1593) a quarrel of long standing was in full vigour between Nash and Gabriel Harvey. The latter published a quarto volume, now very rare, against Nash, entitled 'Pierce's Supererogation, or, a new praise of the old Ass.' Harvey was a learned man: his books overflow from the most queer accumulation which he had made from all sorts of authors, upon all sorts of subjects; he knew something also of the classics; he was a pedant, and absurdly vain. His enemy was a wit; himself an excellent butt. This particular volume, '*Pierce's Supererogation*,' shows how deeply its author had been stung, and exhibits both his own foolery of style in the highest perfection, and a wonderful mixture of originality of thought, with the result of long study. We quote his work now as of no little importance to our subject. Writing against Nash, he charges his friend Lilly with the authorship of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*.' (We doubt much whether Harvey's accusation has not been the chief evidence upon the point.) He then acknowledges that himself had been accused of having written some of the Marprelate tracts, and, much *after Plaine Percevall's style*, complains of the whole affair, speaks in disparagement of Martin, and in more decided language against his answerers, as would be natural, his own enemies, Nash and Lilly, (as the report went,) being of them. He abuses the '*Pappe*' with right good will; but his hatred of the supposed author peeps through as the real cause, together with a strong leaning towards the Puritans. Doctor Perne (of whom we have already said enough) comes in for a fair share of his satire, and both well-placed and well-spoken it is. We would refer our readers for more information to the book; a reprint also of which is in the second volume of Sir E. Brydges's Archaica.

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A much more important point is it, to prove that the Marprelate Tracts were not only connived at (which is acknowledged), but recommended by, and their authors known to the leaders of the Puritan party. In the '*Just Censure*' occurs a passage much to the purpose. It shows that at the time of publication, men were generally used to connect the names of Cartwright, and Paget, and Travers, with these libels. When the experiment failed, however much their then followers, and afterwards their apologists, have laboured to throw off from them so great odium, yet Martin himself allows that *at the time* such was the common report. We have already said, that there is no plain, sincere-looking denial of such connexion in the known writings of those men. In the '*Just Censure*,' the writer makes the Bishop of London say at the table of the High Commissioners, 'My Masters, you must not sleepe in this matter. I 'will be a pursuivant myselfe, rather than abide this tumult. If 'I were, I trowe I would watch about Traverse his house in 'Milke-streete, who go in and out there, and I would know what 'they caried vnder their cloakes too. There is Paget at Hounslo, '&c.—There is Cartwright too at Warwicke, he hath got him 'such a companie of disciples, both of the worshipfull, or other 'of the poorer sort, as we have no cause to thanke him. Neuer 'tell me, that hee is too graue to trouble himselfe with Martins 'conceits.—Cartwright seeks the peace of the Church no other-'wise than his platform may stande. I doe not see of my trothe, 'but that Martin's abettors may be worse than himselfe, and doe 'more mischiefe.'—*Sign. D.* ij. Pasquil tells Marforius also in his Dialogue, that passing by Martin, he must have 'three 'courses of the launce with Th. Cartwright. Hath Martin 'made him his God, and thinketh he to escape my fingers?' The author of the '*Almond for a Parratt*,' sums up a long history of Cartwright, beginning from his disappointment about the Vice-chancellorship of Cambridge, by praying that pride which overthrew Golias, Haman, and Herod, 'will also confound arro-'gant T. C. and all his accomplishes in the Lord's good time.' —*Sign. D.* 2. *Rev.* It is not therefore surprising that when Cartwright was brought before the Commissioners in 1590, among the articles objected were two, accusing him of knowing who wrote and printed 'several libels, going under the name of 'Martin Marprelate.' And it is remarkable that he refused to deny upon oath that he had such a knowledge.

Our readers have now accompanied us through the volumes which are extant of the famous Martin Marprelate and his adversaries. Strype had read some of them: he gives especially a long account of the *Admonition:* Mr. D'Israeli also seems to have read in a cursory way about five or six of the tracts, and has

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written a short paper on the subject in his '*Quarrels of Authors:*'* but the credit which we would at least claim is, that probably for more than 200 years, no one, except ourselves, has either had the opportunity or taken the trouble of examining the whole series. Though each tract separately may not be of much interest, except for the quaint allusions to local customs, and manners of the day, which several of them furnish (and which we have been obliged to omit noticing), yet together they throw very considerable light upon the religious history of the age, and prove equally the extremes to which the doctrines of the Reformation were speedily carried, and the peril in which its genuine disciples soon placed the Church of England. Martin Marprelate was most rapid in his growth; sudden in his attack; novel in his method; we have seen that sober reasoning was powerless against him, and equally so the strong arm of the Privy Council:† but at last he was struck down with almost a like suddenness. Scarcely more than a single year saw both the beginning and the end of his attempt. Nevertheless, it was not only the great controversy of that year, but *the controversy* of the Elizabethan age. We must not so much estimate it by the shortness of the time it occupied, as by the consequences to which it led, and the various events which had been long tending towards it, and of which it was, though monstrous, the matured produce. The Puritans had been making many struggles: working openly, working secretly: losing no opportunities of carrying on to full perfection the fantastic theories, and wild heretical absurdities of the earlier reformers; pouring out their abuse of Catholic practice in private conventicles, in lectures from the pulpit, in exercises, and in more moderate language, by means of the press. At last they ventured upon *Martin:* ventured, if not beyond their own depth, at any rate beyond the sympathy of lookers on: people were amused it may be, but at the first check regained their senses, and took part against them; and Puritanism for some years, until that generation had passed away, received a blow under which it staggered, without a hope of recovery, until fresh strength and energy was again given it, from sources abhorrent to its original design; and by the enlisting among its ranks of a multifarious host, who sought, and with success, to use it as a political weapon for the attainment of other unholy ends.

* We would refer our readers to that paper, because at the end is a reprint of the '*Whip for an Ape.*' The other poetical pamphlet, *Mar-Martin*, is reprinted in the *Censura Literaria*, vi. 236.

† It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Privy Council was sincere against the Puritans: Fuller says that there lay the great strength of that party, even as the Archbishop and the High Commission were their chief enemies; and Strype in his life of Parker tells us that when the '*Admonition to the Parliament*,' was ordered under heavy penalties to be brought in to the diocesan within twenty days, so little attention was paid to it, that not one copy ever reached any of the Bishops.

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I Promessi Sposi. The Betrothed. By ALESSANDRO MANZONI. *A new Translation.* 2 vols. London: Burns. 1844.

IT is too late in the day for a formal critique upon a novel which has been so long before the world as I Promessi Sposi; and we do not want a few rough thoughts which we string together, to be regarded as such. A new translation, however, is a sort of fresh introduction of Manzoni's work amongst us, and naturally recalls some notice to it.

The present translation is spirited, pliant, and nervous, and reflects the original transparently. It reads like a translation in parts; but perhaps that could not well be helped. The difficulty of the choice between a genuine and characteristic style of translation, and a smooth one, is well known. One who prefers the former—and we think it is decidedly to be preferred—must make up his mind to a few roughnesses occasionally. They only come in occasionally in the present translation, and are of very little consequence; while the spirit, force, and liveliness of Manzoni is perpetually seen in it. Easy flowing English and literal characteristic translation in the main combine, and make the want of knowledge of Italian as supportable a regret, as a translation can be expected to do.

We are struck, as soon as we open Manzoni, with the difference of the ground, air, and scenery, and costume of mind and body, from what we have in our own romances. We feel we are in Italy, and not in England or Scotland. There is a peculiar instinct by which the domestic eye sees foreign marks and symptoms; and any thing characteristic of another nationality is detected immediately. The Englishman sees something especially French in the first cart and horse that meets his eye after landing at Calais. Some very broad Italian features come across one in the first pages of I Promessi Sposi. The race of bravoes is especially Italian. In their ease and swagger, flourish and cavalier attire, the single lock of hair—the emblem of the order, their facetious but indomitable rascality, and the air with which they follow at their master's tail, like a set of gay spotted pointer dogs, —these smiling, remorseless, walking stilettoes, display genuine Italian breeding. They answer to the moss troopers and armed feudal retainers of Scott's novels: Christie of the Clinthill, in the Monastery, is an approach to the bravo. But the moss troopers are a very rustic, rough hewn form of the character, and come under the shade and cover of the wild justice of the day, as accredited agents in a way of feudal law. The bravo dispenses with

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any such shelter, and takes more of the position of the civilized pickpocket and cut-throat. There is no doubt in the reader's mind as to the propriety of his being hung at any moment of his career, that it may please the author to inflict justice upon him. In their very best exhibitions, and when the bravo's tricks are most sportive, good humoured, and attractive, the gallows never for an instant deserts the judicial corner of the reader's eye. As Mr. Carlyle describes Robespierre generally as a sort of compound of murder and tallow grease, the bravo mixes the playfulness of the feather and the lightness of the cascade with the same formidable substratum of character. He is a pleasure-ground statue, and ornaments as well as strengthens his master's service. He appears on the staircase and in the anteroom; he ushers the guest politely into the drawing-room, and is ready, with equal politeness, to stick his poniard into him on his exit. He watches his master's eye, and has the real gratification of a faithful animal in pleasing him. We must add, that even his faithfulness is of a humorous and capricious kind, and can never fairly be said to be appropriated. There are, however, large general reasons why the bravo and the master should be friends; and so long as these are in operation, he may be depended on. He is much more of a gentleman, and much more of a scoundrel, than a very insolent debauched London footman. He is a town-bred more than a country ruffian, is familiar with parades and lounges, arcades and squares; and follows his master from the country chateau to the town house at Milan, or Rome, or Naples, with something of the latter's fashionable love of town life, and change of air. The general impression in the public at large about him, and the looks and shrugs of passers by, do not affect him in the smallest degree. His master's livery protects him; he is strong in the inner circle and *imperium in imperio* which the count or the marquis commands, and walks past the street crowd with an inward serene sense of security, analogous to the peace of mind produced by a calm conscience, and the memory of good and beneficent actions. The world thinks he ought to be hanged; but he does not think so; and his opinion is supported by the fact that he is not. On the contrary, he considers himself the very cream of the subordinate and lower region of chivalry, and second only in point of magnanimity and consideration to the crested count, baron, and cavalier. The proclamations of governors pass over his head with the innocence of soft zephyrs, and he is sentenced by a hundred exterminating clauses of which he hardly condescends to acknowledge the existence. In 1583, 'the most 'illustrious and excellent Signor Don Carlo d'Aragon, Prince 'of Castelvetrano, Duke of Terranuova, Marquis of Avola, Count 'of Burgeto, grand Admiral, and grand Constable of Sicily,

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'Governor of Milan, and Captain-General of His Catholic Majesty 'in Italy, *being fully informed*,' &c. &c.; and after him, in 1593, 'the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signor Juan Fernandez 'de Velasco, Constable of Castile, Grand Chamberlain of his 'Majesty, Duke of the city of Frias, Count of Haro and Castel-'novo, Lord of the House of Velasco, and that of the Seven 'Infantas of Lara, Governor of the State of Milan, &c., *being fully* 'informed,' &c. &c.; and after him, in 1600, 'the most Illustrious 'and most Excellent Signor, Il Signor Don Pietro Enriquez de 'Acevedo, Count of Fuentes, Captain and Governor of the 'State of Milan, *being fully informed* of how much loss and de-'struction bravoes and vagabonds are the cause, of the mischief 'such sort of people effect against the public weal; and that the 'number of these people is on the increase, and day and night 'nothing is heard of them but murder, homicide, robbery, and 'crimes of every kind,'—warns them to evacuate the country, on pain of being sent to the galleys three years. Even 'if no crime 'can be proved against the individual, the sole reputation and name of a bravo' is enough: and 'his Excellency is resolved to 'be obeyed by every one.' Time after time, once in about every half dozen years, every Governor is seized with a desire to put an end to the bravoes: '*being fully informed*,' &c. &c. he is, once and for all, 'resolved to extirpate a plant so pernicious.' 'The 'most Illustrious Signor Don Giovanni de Mendosa, Marquis of 'Hynojosa, gentleman,' &c. goes so far as to make a new corrected and enlarged edition of all the proclamations of preceding governors, which is sent to Pandolfo and Marco Tullio Molastesti, associated printers to his Majesty, to be printed for the destruction of the bravoes. Yet they survived even this formidable blow; and very soon after, the most Excellent Signor, the Signor, &c., and then the most Excellent Signor, the Signor, &c. respectively, recorrect and republish these corrected documents, with new admonitions, and severe penalties, &c. 'with a firm 'purpose that, with all rigour and without any hope of remission, 'they shall be fully carried out.' Alas for the farce of proclamations, corrected and enlarged, and admonitions and new penalties added, the race of bravoes still continued to flourish, and the next proclamation laments 'that the greatest outrages 'are still caused by those denominated bravoes.'

It is in the thick of these vehement proclamations that we are introduced to the proscribed, injured race.

'The curate, having turned the corner, and looked forward, 'as was his custom, towards the chapel, beheld an unexpected 'sight, and one he would not willingly have seen. Two men, 'one opposite the other, were stationed at the confluence, so to 'say, of the two ways: one of them was sitting across the low wall,

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'with one leg dangling on the outer side, and the other supporting 'him in the path: his companion was standing up, leaning against 'the wall, with his arms crossed on his breast. Their dress, their 'carriage, and so much of their expression as could be distin- 'guished at the distance at which the curate stood, left no doubt 'about their condition. Each had a green net on his head, 'which fell upon the left shoulder, and ended in a large tassel. 'Their long hair, appearing in one large lock upon the forehead: 'on the upper lip two long mustachios, curled at the end: their 'doublets, confined by bright leathern girdles, from which hung 'a brace of pistols: a little horn of powder, dangling round their 'necks, and falling on their breasts like a necklace: on the right 'side of their large and loose pantaloons, a pocket, and from the 'pocket the handle of a dagger: a sword hanging on the left, 'with a large basket-hilt of brass, carved in cipher, polished and 'gleaming:—all, at a glance, discovered them to be individuals 'of the species *bravo*.' A scene follows, in which they inform him it is their master Don Rodrigo's pleasure he (the curate) should not marry Renzo Tramaglino and Lucia Mondella, 'the 'hero and heroine.'

Their ordinary attendance on their master is characteristically given.

'"And Count Attilio?" asked Don Rodrigo, still pacing the 'room.

'"He left with the gentlemen, illustrious Signor."

'"Very well; six followers to accompany me—quickly! my 'sword, cloak, and hat, immediately!"

'The servant replied by a bow, and withdrew, returning 'shortly with a rich sword, which his master buckled on, a cloak 'which he threw over his shoulders, and a hat, ornamented with 'lofty plumes, which he placed on his head, and fastened with 'a haughty air. He then moved forward, and found the six 'bravoes at the door, completely armed, who, making way for 'him, with a low bow, followed as his train. More surly, more 'haughty, and more supercilious than usual, he left his palace, 'and took the way towards Lecco, amidst the salutations and 'profound bows of the peasants he happened to meet; and the 'ill-mannered wight who would have ventured to pass without 'taking off his hat, might consider he had purchased the 'exemption at a cheap rate, had the bravoes in the train been 'contented merely to enforce respect by a blow on the 'head.'

Griso, the head of Don Rodrigo's bravoes, was the one, to whom the boldest and most dangerous enterprises were confided. Guilty of murder, he had sought the protection of Don Rodrigo to escape the pursuit of justice; and he, by taking him into his

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service, had sheltered him from the reach of persecution. The important scheme of carrying off Lucia is committed to him.

'"Griso!" said Don Rodrigo, "in this emergency it will be 'seen what you are worth. Before to-morrow, Lucia must be 'in this palace."

'"It shall never be said that Griso shrank from the command 'of his noble protector."'

Signor Griso, with his followers, are hovering that night about Lucia's cottage. 'Hastily putting on a slouched hat, with a 'pilgrim's dress of sackcloth, scattered over with cockle-shells, 'and, taking in his hand a pilgrim's staff, he said, "Now let us 'act like good bravoes; quiet and attentive to orders."' The plot fails. By a most extraordinary coincidence, the village bells begin to ring; and they fancy themselves discovered.

'"If the cap fits, put it on," says a Milanese proverb: each 'of the villains seemed to hear in these peals his name, surname, 'and nickname; they let go of Menico's arms, hastily dropped 'their own, gazed at each other's faces in mute astonishment, 'and then ran into the house where was the bulk of their com-'panions. Menico took to his legs, and fled, by way of the 'fields, towards the belfry, where he felt sure there would be 'some people assembled. On the other ruffians, who were rum-'maging the house from top to bottom, the terrible bell made 'the same impression; confused and alarmed, they ran against 'one another, in attempting, each one for himself, to find the 'shortest way of reaching the street-door. Though men of 'approved courage, and accustomed never to turn their backs 'on known peril, they could not stand against an indefinite 'danger, which had not been viewed at a little distance before 'coming upon them. It required all the authority of Griso to 'keep them together, so that it might be a retreat and not a 'flight. Just as a dog urging a drove of pigs, runs here and 'there after those that break the ranks, seizes one by the ears, 'and drags him into the herd, propels another with his nose, 'barks at a third that leaves the line at the same moment, so the 'pilgrim laid hold of one of his troop just passing the threshold, 'and drew him back, detained with his staff others who had 'almost reached it, called after some who were flying they knew 'not whither, and finally succeeded in assembling them all in 'the middle of the court-yard. "Halt! halt! pistols in hand, 'daggers in readiness, all together, and then we'll begone. We 'must march in order. What care we for the bells ringing, if 'we are all together, you cowards? But if we let them catch 'us one by one, even the villagers will give us it. For shame! 'Fall behind, and keep together." After this brief harangue,

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'he placed himself in the front, and led the way out. The 'cottage, as we have said, was at the extremity of the village: 'Griso took the road that led out of it, and the rest followed him 'in good order.'

The faithful Griso appears characteristically towards the conclusion of the story, when the wretched Don Rodrigo has just caught the plague, and entreats to be kept out of the Lazzeretto.

'"Griso!" said Don Rodrigo, with difficulty raising himself, 'and sitting up in his bed, "you have always been my trusty 'servant."

'"Yes, Signor."

'"I have always dealt well by you."

'"Of your bounty."

'"I think I may trust you . . . ."

'"The ——!"

'"I am ill, Griso."

'"I had perceived it."

'"If I recover, I will heap upon you more favours than I have 'ever yet done."

Griso made no answer, and stood waiting to see to what all 'these preambles would lead.

'"I will not trust myself to anybody but you," resumed Don 'Rodrigo; "do me a kindness, Griso."

'"Command me," said he, replying with this usual formula 'to that unusual one.

'"Do you know where the surgeon, Chiodo, lives?"

'"I know very well."

'"He is a worthy man, who, if he is well paid, will conceal 'the sick. Go and find him; tell him I will give him four, six '*scudi* a visit; more, if he demands more. Tell him to come 'here directly; and do the thing cleverly, so that nobody may 'observe it."

'"Well thought of," said Griso; "I go, and return."

'. . . . Don Rodrigo lay down, and accompanied him, in 'imagination, to Chiodo's house, counting the steps, calculating 'the time. Now and then he would turn to look at his left side, 'but quickly averted his face with a shudder. After some time, 'he began to listen eagerly for the surgeon's arrival; and this 'effort of attention suspended his sense of illness, and kept his 'thoughts in some degree of order. All of a sudden, he heard a 'distant sound, which seemed, however, to come from the rooms, 'not the street. He listened still more intently; he heard it 'louder, more quickly repeated; and with it a trampling of foot-'steps. A horrid suspicion rushed into his mind. He sat up, 'and gave still greater attention; he heard a dead sound in the

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'next room, as if a weight were being cautiously set down. He 'threw his legs out of bed, as if to get up; peeped at the door, 'saw it open, and beheld before his eyes, and advancing towards 'him, two ragged and filthy red dresses, two ill-looking faces— 'in one word, two *monatti*. He distinguished, too, half of Griso's 'face, who, hidden behind the almost closed door, remained there 'on the look-out.

'"Ah, infamous traitor! . . . Begone, you rascals! Biondino! 'Carlotto! help! I'm murdered!" shouted Don Rodrigo. He 'thrust one hand under the bolster in search of a pistol; grasped 'it; drew it out; but, at his first cry, the *monatti* had rushed up 'to the bed . . . . He began to shout with loud cries to his other 'servants: but in vain he called; for the abominable Griso had 'sent them all off with pretended orders from their master him- 'self, before going to propose to the *monatti* to come on this 'expedition, and divide the spoil.

'"Be quiet, will you," said the villain who held him down 'upon the bed, to the unfortunate Don Rodrigo. And turning 'his face to the two who were seizing the booty, he cried to 'them, "Do your work like honest fellows."

'"You! you!" roared Don Rodrigo to Griso, whom he beheld 'busying himself in breaking open, taking out money and 'clothes, and dividing them. "You! after . . . . Ah, fiend of 'hell! I may still recover! I may still recover!" Griso 'spoke not, nor, more than he could help, even turned in the 'direction whence these words proceeded.'

So much for the race of bravoes. As there are other personages in the novel besides them, we must not devote too much to them. They are a type, however, of the state of things, and we could collect from the bravo the character of the noble. The character of the Italian noble differs from that of the feudal chief of Scott's novels, the baron, and titled marauder of the borders, much in the same way in which his retainer and moss trooper differs from the bravo. Of course a difference of chronology comes in here, as well as the difference of country. The Italian noble is a more wily, scheming, plotting personage than the rough English or Scotch territorial lord. He has his nets around him, and is engaged in intrigues far and wide; not so much for private ends and projects of self-interest solely, as those of rivalry or hatred. He has a variety of plots on hand, large or small, in proportion to his extent of power, territory, or intellect. These furnish food for his mind and energies, and make life desirable and pleasing to him. The pleasure of circumventing, of hitting blows, of striking in the dark or in the light, of attaining some object by the assassination or injury of somebody, provides a subterranean diplomatic domain for him in his dark castle in

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the Apennines, amidst black ravines, and the frowns of inaccessible mountain tops. Yet the neighbouring court or city see in their visitor a perfect gentleman, with easy smiles and courtly graces, and insinuating small talk for ladies. And though a cloud passes over his face occasionally, and seems to betray internal commotion and something going on that he does not choose men in general to know, he carries his intrigues, in the main, under a fair guise, till he gets back to his castle again, and can be gloomy, ferocious, and bloody in open day. The noble banditti chief, or captain of bravoes, rather than feudal lord, is fit head to fit body; the bravoes look up to him with instinctive and superstitious admiration, as being what in their eyes is the *beau ideal* of human greatness,—a very great bravo. In that capacity he is the lineal descendant of the Macedonian and the Cæsarian line, and the representative of the world's heroes and conquerors. Alexander and Julius Cæsar were only very great bravoes, and represented on a large scale the virtues and aspirations of the class in their classical shape. Achilles was a bravo; he reigned over his myrmidons, *i.e.* he was a bravo-master. The Italian noble of this day had to fight with more difficulties, and was more confined to his walls and secret chambers, than his predecessors, owing to the alteration of manners, and the gradual progress of law. Law was beginning to peep out of her corner, and was regarded by the genuine heroic class with much of the same feeling with which the Epicureans regarded religion: *Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instat.* Her puny efforts at first, indeed, created no more than a feeling and an impression; a suspicion in the world at large that assassins, and robbers, and bravoes were not respectable people: still this was a descent. The castellated noble, with his circle of followers, and machinery of poison and stiletto, had an ambiguous position, and seemed to fly, like an ominous night bird, the approach of morn, and lived under a cloud.

On entering within this corner of Manzoni's ground, the youthful reminiscences—may we say it—of Mrs. Radcliffe and the Mysteries of Udolpho came across us. The old images of the banditti noble, and his forest chateau, with its dark and mysterious recesses, and doors in the wall, winding stairs, silent corridors, and alternation of desolation and riot; the awful clearance and desertion of daytime, and the illuminated hall and riotous banquet of midnight, recur in hazy, forgotten, dreamy outline. The heroine, torn from her home and friends, and awaiting, in the castellated solitude of an Italian marquis's mountain chateau, the issue of some unknown plot, and seeing movements going on which she cannot account for—wandering through empty rooms, with moth-eaten tapestry, and pictures

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of the old counts and marquises of the family, as gloomy and as impenetrable as their present possessor, recur as the suitable traditionary associations of the region, and the development of the *genius loci*. A peculiar shadow and mystery of his own hangs over the motions of the titled Italian, and he is a characteristic portion of the human aristocracy, and has his species side by side with Spanish grandee, English baron, Scotch laird, Highland chieftain, Saxon earl, and, we doubt not, Persian satrap, Argive king, and nobles Mexican and Peruvian, and caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabislon.

We break into the middle of the description of one of this class, who figures prominently in this story.

'During his absence he continued the same practices, not even 'intermitting his correspondence with those of his friends who 'remained united to him (to translate literally from Ripamonti), '"in the secret alliance of atrocious consultations and fatal 'deeds." It even appears that he engaged the foreign courts 'in other new and formidable undertakings, of which the above-'cited historian speaks with mysterious brevity. "Some foreign 'princes several times availed themselves of his assistance in 'important murders, and frequently sent him reinforcements 'of soldiers, from a considerable distance, to act under his 'orders."

'At length (it is not exactly known how long afterwards) 'either the sentence of banishment against him being with-'drawn, by some powerful intercession, or the audacity of the 'man serving him in place of any other liberation, he resolved 'to return home, and, in fact, *did* return; not, however, to 'Milan, but to a castle on his manor, situated on the confines 'of the Bergamascan territory, at that time, as most of our 'readers know, under Venetian government; and here he fixed 'his abode. "This dwelling," we again quote Ripamonti, '"was, as it were, a dispensary of sanguinary mandates: the 'servants were outlaws and murderers; the very cooks and 'scullions were not exempt from homicide; the hands of the 'children were stained with blood." Besides this amiable 'domestic circle, he had, as the same historian affirms, another 'set of dependents of a similar character dispersed abroad, and 'quartered, so to say, at different posts in the two states on the 'borders of which he lived, who were always ready to execute 'his orders.

'All the tyrannical noblemen for a considerable distance 'round, had been obliged, on one occasion or another, to choose 'between the friendship or the enmity of this super-eminent 'tyrant. Those, however, who at first attempted to resist him, 'came off so badly in the contest, that no one was ever induced

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'to make a second trial. Neither was it possible, by maintain-
'ing a neutral course, or standing, as the saying is, in their
'own shoes, to keep themselves independent of him. If a
'message arrived, intimating that such a person must desist
'from such an undertaking, or cease to molest such a debtor,
'or so forth; it was necessary to give a decided answer one
'way or other. When one party came, with the homage of a
'vassal, to refer any business to his arbitration, the other party
'was reduced to the hard alternative of either abiding by his
'sentence, or publicly declaring hostilities; which was equi-
'valent to being, as the saying is, in the last stage of consump-
'tion. Many who were in the wrong, had recourse to him that
'they might be right in effect; many being in the right, yet
'resorted to him to pre-engage so powerful a patronage, and
'close the way against their adversaries; thus both bad and good
'came to be dependent upon him. It sometimes happened that
'the weak, oppressed, harassed, and tyrannized over by some
'powerful lord, turned to him for protection; he would then
'take the part of the oppressed, and force the oppressor to
'abstain from further injuries, to repair the wrongs he had com-
'mitted, and even to stoop to apologies; or, in case of his
'proving stubborn and unbending, he would completely crush
'his power, constrain him to quit the place where he had
'exercised such unjust influence, or even make him pay a more
'expeditious and more terrible penalty. In these cases, his
'name, usually so dreaded and abhorred, became, for a time,
'an object of blessing: for (I will not say, this justice, but) this
'remedy, this recompense of some sort, could not have been
'expected, under the circumstances of the times, from any other
'either public or private source. More frequently, and indeed
'ordinarily, his power and authority ministered to iniquitous
'desires, atrocious revenge, or outrageous caprice. But the very
'opposite uses he made of this power produced in the end the
'self-same effect, that of impressing all minds with a lofty idea
'of how much he could will and execute in spite of equity or
'iniquity, those two things which interpose so many impedi-
'ments to the accomplishment of man's desires, and so often
'force him to turn back. The fame of ordinary oppressors was
'for the most part restricted to the limited tract of country
'where they continually or frequently exercised their oppres-
'sion: each district had its own tyrant; and these so resembled
'each other, that there was no reason that people should inter-
'fere with those from whom they sustained neither injury nor
'molestation. But the fame of this man had long been diffused
'throughout every corner of the Milanese: his life was every-
'where the subject of popular stories; and his very name

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'carried with it the idea of something formidable, dark, and 'fabulous. The suspicions that were every where entertained 'of his confederates and tools of assassination, contributed to 'keep alive a constant memento of him. They were nothing 'more than suspicions; since who would have openly acknow-'ledged such a dependence? but every tyrant might be his 'associate, every robber one of his assassins; and the very 'uncertainty of the fact rendered the opinion more general, and 'the terror more profound. At every appearance of an un-'known ruffian, more savage-looking than usual; at every 'enormous crime, the author of which could not be at first 'pointed out or conjectured, the name of this man was pro-'nounced and whispered about.'

The Italian mob has a character of its own in the same way. Quick, inflammable, and dangerous, ready to aim their poniard where an English countryman would only double his fist; with an appetite easily whetted for blood, and tenderness equally excitable, the lower classes present a peculiar variety of the human mass. They seem literally not to have that horror at blood in their nature, which we English suppose is the necessary property of man. They unclasp their knives in a moment; the sudden insult, or sneer, or inuendo kindles their eye; a fierce look is darted, and they rush with knife in hand upon one another. Their first idea, on such occasions, is to kill. They come to the point at once, and have no flat roundabout beating and bruising work. The character is, after all, capable of a most amiable aspect, where this final catastrophe is happily frustrated. The hero of the story, Renzo, is a regular Italian peasant; full of life, sensibility, good humour, tenderness, with a decided instinct for stabbing when he feels seriously aggrieved. We are really surprised at the vivid glibness with which the action of the knife recurs to his mind, in moments of vexation, and the facility with which a really amiable and devout youth makes his foe a corpse before his mind. He has just heard that it is Don Rodrigo who has prevented his marriage.

'Renzo, meanwhile, walked with an excited step towards 'home, without having determined what he ought to do, but 'with a mad longing to do something strange and terrible. 'The unjust and oppressive, all those, in fact, who wrong 'others, are guilty, not only of the evil they do, but also of the 'perversion of mind they cause in those whom they offend. 'Renzo was a young man of peaceful disposition, and averse to 'violence; sincere, and one who abhorred deceit; but at this 'moment, his heart panted for murder: his mind was occupied 'only in devising a plot. He would have wished to hasten to 'Don Rodrigo's house, to seize him by the throat, and .... but

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'he remembered that his house was like a fortress, garrisoned 'with bravoes within, and guarded without; that only friends 'and servants, well known, could enter freely, without being 'searched from head to foot; that an artisan, if unknown, could 'not put foot within it without an examination; and that he, 'above all .... he probably would be too well known. He 'then fancied himself taking his fowling-piece, planting him-'self behind a hedge, looking out whether his enemy would 'ever, ever pass by, unaccompanied; and dwelling with 'ferocious complacency on this thought, he imagined the sound 'of a step; at this sound he raises his head without noise; 'recognises the wretch, raises the fowling-piece, takes aim— 'fires; sees him fall and struggle, bestows a malediction on 'him, and escapes in safety beyond the borders.—And Lucia? '—Scarcely had this word come across these dreadful phan-'tasies, when the better thoughts, with which Renzo was 'familiarized, crowded into his mind. He recalled the dying 'charge of his parents. The thought of God, of the Blessed 'Virgin, and of the saiuts, returned upon him; he remembered 'the consolation he had so often experienced from the recol-'lection that he was free from crimes; he remembered the 'horror with which he had so often received the news of a 'murder; and he awoke from this dream of blood with fear, 'with remorse, and yet with a sort of joy that he had but 'imagined it.'

In a scene with Lucia:

'"Ah, rascal! wretch! murderer!" exclaimed Renzo, striding 'backwards and forwards across the room, and grasping from 'time to time the hilt of his dagger.

'"Oh, heavens, what a fury!" exclaimed Agnese. The 'young man suddenly drew himself up before Lucia, who was 'weeping, looked at her with an anxious and imbittered ten-'derness, and said, "This is the last deed this assassin 'shall do."

'"Ah, no, Renzo, for Heaven's sake!" cried Lucia; "no, 'no, for Heaven's sake! God is on the side of the poor, and 'how can we expect him to help us if we do wrong?"

'"No, no, for Heaven's sake!" echoed Agnese.'

The riot at Milan, and Renzo's proceedings in it, are vividly given. He plunges into the very thick of the commotion, while, with the most benevolent intentions, he assists in saving the unfortunate Superintendant from the half-famished furious mob. The Milanese mob is just stopped by the appearance of the Chancellor, Antonio Ferrer, in his carriage, who, on the strength of his own popularity and proclamations on the subject of cheap bread, comes to the rescue of his fellow official.

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'The crowds moved onward, before, behind, and on each side 'of the carriage, like the mighty billows around a vessel ad- 'vancing through the midst of a storm. The noise was more 'shrill, more discordant, more stunning, even than the whistling 'and howling of a storm itself. Ferrer, looking out first at one 'side and then at the other, beckoning and making all sorts of 'gestures to the people, endeavoured to catch something to 'which he might accommodate his replies; he tried as well as 'he could to hold a little dialogue with this crowd of friends; 'but it was a difficult task, the most difficult, perhaps, that he 'had yet met with during so many years of his high-chancellor- 'ship. From time to time, however, a single word, or occasion- 'ally some broken sentence, repeated by a group in his passage, 'made itself heard, as the report of a large squib is heard above 'the continued crackling and whizzing of a display of fireworks. 'Now endeavouring to give a satisfactory answer to these cries, 'now loudly ejaculating the words that he knew would be most 'acceptable, or that some instant necessity seemed to require, 'he, too, continued to talk the whole way. "Yes, gentlemen; 'bread, abundance—I will conduct him to prison: he shall be 'punished—*si está culpable.* Yes, yes: I will command: bread 'at a low price. *A si es* . . . So it is, I mean to say: the king 'our master would not wish such faithful subjects to suffer from 'hunger. *Ox! ox! guardaos:* take care we don't hurt you, 'gentlemen. *Pedro, adelante, con juicio.* Plenty, plenty. A 'little room, for pity's sake. Bread, bread. To prison, to prison. 'What?" then demanded he of one who had thrust half his body 'through the window, to shout in his ear some advice or petition 'or applause, or whatever it might be. But he, without having 'time to hear the "what?" was forcibly pulled back by one 'who saw him on the point of being run over by the wheels. 'With such speeches and replies, amongst incessant acclama- 'tions, and some few grumbles of opposition, which were distin- 'guishable here and there, but were quickly silenced, Ferrer at 'last reached the house, principally by the aid of these good 'auxiliaries.'

Ferrer gets the Superintendant into his carriage, and moves off with him through the crowd. 'As soon as Ferrer had seated 'himself, he bent down, and advised the vicar to keep himself well 'concealed in the corner, and not show himself for Heaven's sake; 'but there was no necessity for this warning. He, on the con- 'trary, was obliged to display himself at the window, to attract 'and engage the attention of the multitude: and through the 'whole course of this drive he was occupied, as before, in making, 'to his changeable audience, the most lengthened and most un- 'connected harangue that ever was uttered; only interrupting

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'it occasionally with some Spanish word or two, which he turned 'to whisper hastily in the ear of his squatting companion. "Yes, 'gentlemen, bread and justice. To the castle, to prison, under 'my guard. Thank you, thank you; a thousand thanks. No, 'no; he shall not escape! *Por ablandarlos.** It is too just; we 'will examine, we will see. I also wish you well, gentlemen. 'A severe punishment. *Esto lo digo por su bien.*† A just tariff, a fair limit, and punishment to those who would starve you. Stand aside, I beg of you.—Yes, yes, I am an honest man, a 'friend of the people. He shall be punished. It is true, he is 'a rogue, a rascal. *Perdone usted!*‡ It will go ill with him, it 'will go ill with him .... *Si está culpable.*§ Yes, yes; we will 'make the bakers plough straightforward. Long live the king, 'and the good Milanese, his most faithful subjects! It is bad, 'very bad. *Animo; estamos ya quasi afuera.*"‖

Such are the materials which Manzoni has provided for him to work up. He has, in the peculiar Italian shape, nobles, ruffians, an inflammable peasantry—all the turbulent, dark, and sanguinary elements of character, and all the mixture of generous, passionate, and affectionate ones, which our own novelists have. He has the same field of human wildness and restlessness, audacity, fraud, and lawless energy, to go over, that Scott has—the same irregular landscape, under a more southern sun. But there is this great difference in the respective ways in which Manzoni and Scott treat this raw material. The one represents the wildness of human nature going on by itself and left to its own direction; the other, that wildness brought under the softening control of a power above it. In Manzoni nature has her mistress: nature feels herself under an informing, guiding, restraining, soothing, sympathising, ruling master-hand The Church overshadows the ground, like the cathedral arch; and the groined gothic roof overhangs, from its solemn height, all the stirs and commotions of the crowd below. He takes us into a church interior, and shows a whole mob assembled in it, mightily unfit for the place most of them, and much wishing to be out of it, knocking their heads against the wall, raging, shouting, and hooting, but obliged to own their imprisonment notwithstanding. The supernatural influence of the scene affects the better part more properly, and their hearts yield as they look down the majestic vista, and hear the music of the choir. In Scott the scene is out of doors, in the open air, under a stormy sky, amid rock or moorland. Scott paints a scene of natural rude magnificence, and brings out the virtues, mixed and darkened, of a turbu-

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* It is to coax them. † I say this for your good. ‡ Excuse me, Sir.
§ If he be guilty. ‖ Courage! we are almost out of danger.

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lent age; the generosity of border robbers, the undying faithfulness of clanship, self-devotion, courage, revenge, false honour, all storming and swelling in Saxon and Norman forest, or on Highland mountain. Nature is left to produce her own mixed characteristics in her children, and we admire, and are horrified, and affected in turns. The dark rich juice overflows from the wild plant, and mingles strong sweet, and bitter. Scott introduces the Church, but he does not give it power. He introduces it as a feature in the landscape, as a painter might introduce a rock or a castle: he displays it in its picturesqueness, not in its solid life. We do not find the Church in his pages coming into actual contact with human hearts, and struggling with the individual will, now rebuffed, now triumphing in her efforts. It is as a picture that he treats her. The grey walls of her monasteries, her proud or her crumbling towers, her costumes, her cavalcades and prelatical pomps, are painted on the medieval canvass, and mingle with the baronial and feudal splendours of the times. Manzoni's Church is not a pictorial, but a practical one: conversant with all the busy details of man's heart, insinuating, protecting, persuading, assisting; effective, systematic, and stirring as any police-system. We detect in Scott's picture of the Church, that species of the interesting which time throws over what it destroys. The author's mind has to look out of the living world into the dead, and sees the Church he describes through an historical medium, by the telescope of the past, and not by the naked contemporary eye. He therefore sees her with that artificial colour on her, which belongs to a picture more than to real life. The ruin sleeps, in pleasing roughness or sweetness, upon the green slope, or broad bankside; and the optics of romance show the distant ecclesiastical group moving in still pictorial life within the poet's frame. In Manzoni, we do not see the Church of romance, but the Church contemporary and living: we see a practical machinery going on. She appears as the ordinary, commonplace, matter-of-fact working power of the day; she is as much a part and parcel of the vulgar present, as our own poor low and manufacturing system; and she depends for her poetry on the loveliness of her essential life, and not on that vague sweetness of fancy, and magic of time, which exhibits on one canvass, and brings under one head, feudal castle and monastery, cathedral aisle, dungeon and barbican, moat and confessional and drawbridge, mitre and Lochaber axe, as the vision of a by-gone world, and therefore pleasing because by-gone.

Father Cristoforo is a character in which this influence of the Church is very vividly represented.

'Father Cristoforo of * * * * was a man nearer sixty than 'fifty years of age. His shaven head, circled with a narrow

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'line of hair, like a crown, according to the fashion of the Capu-
'chin tonsure, was raised from time to time with a movement that
'betrayed somewhat of disdain and disquietude, and then quickly
'sank again in thoughts of lowliness and humility. His long,
'grey beard covering his cheeks and chin, contrasted markedly
'with the prominent features of the upper part of his face, to
'which a long and habitual abstinence had rather given an air
'of gravity, than effaced the natural expression. His sunken
'eyes, usually bent on the ground, sometimes brightened up
'with a momentary fire, like two spirited horses, under the hand
'of a driver whom they know by experience they cannot over-
'come; yet occasionally they indulge in a few gambols and
'prancings, for which they are quickly repaid by a smart jerk
'of the bit.'

The father is a Capuchin, and friend of the poor: his order devotes him to a peculiar interest and tenderness in the concerns of the poor. His own private history takes him in the same direction. A quick sense of injustice, wherever he sees it, a public spiritedness, and anxiety to redress all grievances that go on around him, gets him into scrapes in his early life. He becomes an adversary to nobles. A street-quarrel, and an insult from one of this class, is the original occasion which leads him into the monastic life. He regards himself as under a peculiar call, in this change of life, to be the lover, and succourer, and adviser of poor people. He is at home in their cottages, enters into all their domestic plans, is asked for his advice in the family crisis, gets them out of difficulties as if they were his own children, and does it all with the tenderest feelings of intimacy and equality.

The hero and heroine, Renzo and Lucia, are spiritual and almost domestic children of his in this way; and the atrocious attempt of the libertine, Don Rodrigo, to stop their marriage, brings him as their parental counsellor to them, in which office he continues throughout the story. The movements of both in this emergency are directed by him: he gets them out of the tyrant's reach, and sends them away to distant parts. The vehicles of the district are under the command of the saintly Capuchin. Carriage, driver, and the friar stand in the moonlight at the door of the convent church to receive Lucia and her mother; and they are despatched with his blessing over the mountains, with letters to the Capuchin monastery of another town. Father Cristoforo's name is known to all the fraternity, and he has his own particular friends in the different monasteries, ready to assist in executing any of his benevolent plans. Cristoforo's Capuchin friend at Monza has now to think and plan, to know what to do with Lucia and Agnese. He soon hits on an

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expedient, and lodges his charges finally in a nunnery in the place, under the especial care of an influential member of the sisterhood. Renzo is sent off with recommendatory letters in the same way. The Capuchin ramifications afford a most convenient machinery for these arrangements, and furnish universal harbours and lodges for the faithful poor in such cases. A spirit of friendliness and management pervades the order; and the wide-spreading institution acts in this respect as a general benevolent society, and counterbalances the weakness of law, and the petty tyranny of the nobility.

An amusing contrast between the two classes of advisers—the lawyers and the monks—is suggested in the following scenes. The lover, in the first agonies of his disappointment, goes to a lawgiver for redress from the injuries of Don Rodrigo, not thinking in his innocence of the possibility of such a professional gentleman being under any unstatutable influence, as to the exercise of his profession, from a powerful nobleman close at hand, who possessed bravoes and gave dinners. 'A serious case, 'my son,' says Dr. Azzecca-Garbugli to Renzo. 'There are 'laws to the point. You have done well to come to me. It is 'a clear case, recognised in a hundred proclamations,' &c. &c. The doctor treats Renzo with amazing consideration so long as he supposes him to be a bravo, a fact which he took for granted in consequence of his business lying so much among that class; but the moment it appears that Renzo is not a bravo, but a sufferer from bravoes, and especially a complainant touching Don Rodrigo, Dr. Azzecca-Garbugli's sympathies are changed with incredible rapidity. The dread name of Don Rodrigo, in an instant, in a moment, like a clap of thunder, convulses the Doctor, and he shoots poor Renzo out of the house like a bullet from a pistol.

'"Get you gone!" quickly interrupted the Doctor, raising 'his eyebrows, wrinkling his red nose, and distorting his mouth, '"get you gone! Why do you come here to rack my brain 'with these lies? Talk in this way to your companions, who 'don't know the meaning of words, and don't come and utter 'them to a gentleman who knows well what they are worth. Go 'away, go away; you don't know what you are talking about; 'I don't meddle with boys; I don't want to hear talk of this 'sort: talk in the air."

'"I will take an oath . . . ."

'"Get you gone, I tell you; what do I care for your oaths! 'I won't enter into the business; I wash my hands of it." And 'he began rubbing and twirling them one over the other, as if 'he were really washing them. "Learn how to speak; and don't 'come and take a gentleman thus by surprise."

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'"But listen—but listen," vainly repeated Renzo. The Doc-
'tor, fuming all the time, pushed him towards the door, and, on
'reaching it, set it wide open, called the servant, and said, "Be
'quick, and give this man what he brought. I want nothing,
'I want nothing." The woman had never before executed a
'similar order all the time she had been in the Doctor's service;
'but it was pronounced in so resolute a manner, that she did not
'hesitate to obey. So, taking the four poor birds, she gave
'them to Renzo, with a look of contemptuous compassion, which
'seemed to say, "You must indeed have made a grand blunder."
'Renzo tried to be ceremonious, but the Doctor was inexorable;
'and the unhappy wight, astonished and bewildered, and more
'wrathful than ever, was compelled to take back the restored
'victims, and return to the country to relate the pleasing result
'of his expedition to Agnese and Lucia.'

Now for the Church-counsellor.

'Father Cristoforo stopped on the threshold, and quickly per-
'ceived, by a glance at the women, that his presentiments had
'not been unfounded. While raising his beard, by a slight
'movement of the head backwards, he said, in that interrogative
'tone which anticipates a mournful reply, "Well?" Lucia
'answered by a flood of tears. Her mother began to apologize
'for having dared .... but he advanced and seated himself on
'a three-legged stool, and cut short all her excuses, by saying to
'Lucia, "Calm yourself, my poor daughter. And you," con-
'tinued he, turning to Agnese, "tell me what has happened." The
'good woman related the melancholy story as well as she could,
'while the friar changed colour a thousand times, at one moment
'raising his eyes to heaven, the next, kicking his heels on the
'ground. At the conclusion of the recital he covered his face
'with his hands, and exclaimed, "Oh, blessed Lord! how
'long!...." But, without finishing the sentence, he turned
'again to the woman. "Poor things!" said he, "God has in-
'deed visited you. Poor Lucia."

'"You will not forsake us, Father?" sobbed Lucia.

'"Forsake you!" replied he. "Great God! with what face
'could I again make request to Him, if I should forsake you?
'You in this state! You whom He confides to me! Don't
'despair: He will help you. He sees all: He can make use
'even of such an unworthy instrument as I am to confound a....
'Let us see: let me think what I can do for you."

'So saying, he leaned his left elbow on his knee, laid his fore-
'head on his hand, and with the right grasped his beard and
'chin, as if to concentrate and hold fast all the powers of his
'mind. But the most attentive consideration only served to
'show more distinctly the urgency and intricacy of the case,

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'and how few, how uncertain, and how dangerous were the 'ways of meeting it. "Instill shame into Don Abbondio, and 'make him sensible of how much he is failing in his duty? 'Shame and duty are nothing to him, when overwhelmed with 'fear. Inspire him with fears? How can I suggest one that 'would overbalance the dread he already has of a musket? 'Inform the Cardinal-Archbishop of all, and invoke his autho-'rity? This requires time, and in the meanwhile what might 'not happen? And afterwards, supposing even this unhappy inno-'cent were married, would that be a curb to such a man? .... 'Who knows to what length he might proceed? And resist 'him? How? Ah! if I could," thought the poor friar: "if I 'could but engage in this cause my brethren here and at Milan! 'But it is not a common affair, and I should be abandoned. 'Don Rodrigo pretends to be a friend to the convent, and pro-'fesses himself a favourer of the Capuchins; and his followers 'have more than once taken refuge with us. I should find 'myself alone in the undertaking; I should be opposed by med-'dling, quarrelsome persons; and, what is worse, I should, 'perhaps, by an ill-timed endeavour, only render the condition 'of this poor girl more hopeless." Having considered every 'view of the question, the best course seemed to be to confront 'Don Rodrigo himself, and try, by entreaties, the terrors of the 'life to come, and even of this world, if that were possible, to 'dissuade him from his infamous purpose. At least, he could 'by this means ascertain whether he continued obstinately bent 'on his wicked design, discover something more of his intentions, 'and act accordingly.

'While the friar was thus engaged, Renzo, who for reasons 'that every one can divine, could not long absent himself, made 'his appearance at the door; but seeing the Father absorbed in 'thought, and the women beckoning to him not to interrupt 'him, he stood silent on the threshold. Raising his head to 'communicate his design to the women, the friar perceived 'Renzo, and saluted him with his usual affection, increased and 'rendered more intense by compassion.

'"Have they told you .... Father?" asked Renzo, in an 'agitated tone.

'"Only too much: and for that reason I am here."

'"What do you say to the rascal?"

'"What do you wish me to say of him? He is far away, 'and my words would be of no use. But I say to you, my 'Renzo, trust in God, and He will not forsake you."

'"What blessed words!" exclaimed the youth. "You are 'not one of those who always wrong the poor. But the Signor 'Curate, and that Signor Doctor ...,"

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'"Don't recall those scenes, Renzo, which only serve to irri-
'tate you uselessly. I am a poor friar; but I repeat what I
'have said to these poor women: poor as I am, I will not
'forsake you."

'"Ah! you are not like the world's friends! Good-for-
'nothing creatures that they are! You would not believe the
'protestations they made me in prosperity. Ha! Ha! They
'were ready to give their lives for me; they would have de-
'fended me against the devil. If I had had an enemy I
'had only to let them know it, and I should have been quickly
'rid of him! And now, if you were to see how they draw
'back...." At this moment Renzo perceived, on raising his
'eyes to those of his auditor, that the good friar's face was
'clouded, and he felt that he had uttered something wrong. He
'only added to his perplexities, however, and made matters
'worse, by trying to remedy them: "I meant to say I
'don't at all mean .... that is, I meant to say...."

'"What did you mean to say? Have you, then, begun to
'spoil my work before I have undertaken it? It is well for you
'that you have been undeceived in time. What! you went in
'search of friends .... and such friends!.... who could not
'have helped you, had they been willing; and you forgot to
'seek the only One who can and will assist you! Do you not
'know that God is the friend of the afflicted who put their trust
'in Him? Do you not know that threatening and contention
'gain nothing for the weak? And even if...." Here he
'forcibly grasped Renzo's arm: his countenance, without losing
'any of its authority, expressed a solemn contrition; he cast his
'eyes on the ground, and his voice became slow and almost
'sepulchral: Even if they did, it is a terrible gain! Renzo! will
'you trust to me? To me, did I say—a feeble mortal, a poor
'friar? No; but will you trust in God?"'

Here is the genuine power of the Church we were speaking of. Renzo's inflammable spirit is for meeting Don Rodrigo with his own weapons, *i. e.* for assassinating him at once. The friar soothes, shames, and awes him. The native vehemence of the Italian peasant breaks out again and again; and as often as it breaks out, is charmed and subdued. He would do all sorts of vindictive things of himself, only he feels the Church's hold over him. The fury of peasantry is that of anger, not of pride: they are carried away, and are drawn back again: storm, and are hushed: wish, and unwish again: they yield to passion, and are not ashamed of being curbed and mastered by the spiritual hand. The influence of the Church is a friendly, protecting one, and therefore has a claim over them. Thus does she go on dealing with the poor fluctuating crowd within her fold. They

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would be doing indefinite mischief were they not there; but being there, they are kept harmless. They are simple-minded enough to accept her control. She earns, by self-sacrifice, and kindness, the right to be the mistress, and their mistress she is; and she rides calmly over the passions of the simple multitude, and maintains a moral influence, and an empire of mind, peculiar to herself.

But it is in the instances of higher and more extraordinary minds, in the region of singularity and aspiring character, that this influence tells most strikingly. The Church's standard marks the great and the bold class of characters more particularly with its own impress, recalls them from their wanderings, closes in with them immediately, and makes them her own, by the quick appeal, and the overpowering embrace. There is an effect produced upon people's minds instinctively, by having a high spiritual standard always in sight of them: the high spirits among them, if they do turn good, think they may as well do it in right earnest, and go all lengths. A sort of eccentricity in the life spiritual, becomes a regular feature and a part of the system of the day. They are caught and carried away by the examples before their eyes. High perfection attained and going on amidst ever so much corruption, has this effect upon those within its reach: when they do turn good, it is the model which moulds their goodness. So much depends upon the model which a system offers. It is as easy, we may almost say, for a certain class of minds to be good on the bolder, as to be so on the humbler model, provided they have that model put visibly in the natural course before them; provided it is not, according to the tone of the day, unnatural or extraordinary that they should adopt the bolder one. This is an effect of the religious system of Rome acting upon the Italian mind, which comes out strongly in Manzoni's portraits. Italian minds are specially impressible by such influence; they do not feel those restraining motives of caution and reserve acting upon them, to the degree to which some national characters do. They have not that fear of venturing too far, and that nervousness at the thought of being singular and doing anything out of the way, that would affect an Englishman. They are *omnia magna* in their feelings and emotions. There is a hugeness and a colossal air which Manzoni throws over the religious movements of mind in his chief personages; a pyramidical broadness and altitude in his forms of goodness, his impersonations of penitence, humility, charity. He has two magnificent penitents, who come upon the stage like two lions from the desert. Wild beasts are great beings in their way, because they belong to another sphere than our own, and do not feel the civilizing check; they jump to the

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full awful height of their animal will and power, and their demonstrations have an air of illimitableness about them. We do not mean to compare good men and spiritual heroes to wild beasts, but only to transfer the large scale and out-of-the-way shape of the latter, to the spiritual subject matter we are speaking of. The whole atmosphere of feeling in which Manzoni personages move, naturalizes these phenomena. The religious world, as it were, expects them; there are chains of precedents for them; and when men appear in such a character, they only go into the same mould where others have gone before them, and receive the large and bold impress of the system they are in.

Father Cristoforo himself is one of these characters. He figures before us in his early history, as the achiever of an act of giant humility. There is a quaint magnificence in the whole scene of his humiliation before the brother of the nobleman he has killed in the duel, which is exceedingly striking. The Italian feeling is portrayed so remarkably on both sides—the honour and fashionable sentiment of the day on one side, the religion on the other. The nobleman, proud and fussy on the prospect of seeing the enemy of his house humbled, assembles all the scions and cousins of the house, all the cavaliers with their bravoes, all the countesses and belles that can be mustered, to witness the grand triumph of an *amende honorable*, made *in propria persona*, by the perpetrator of the act, to the injured honour of the noble house. Galleries, corridors, and staircases, ante-rooms, and drawing-rooms, are swimming with the light of chandeliers; and a throng of ball-room beauty and fashion receives the corded monk, as Ludovico has now become, as he makes his solitary penitential entrée, and walks, with deliberate downcast eye, up to the feet of the lord of the scene. The extravagant flourish of Italian vanity, and the magnificent feat of Church humility, are both equally on the large poetical scale. But we must give the passage itself.

'Scarcely was the ceremony of taking the religious habit 'completed, when the guardian told him that he must keep his 'novitiate at * * *, sixty miles distant, and that he must leave 'the next day. The novice bowed respectfully, and requested 'a favour of him. "Allow me, Father," said he, "before I quit 'the city where I have shed the blood of a fellow-creature, and 'leave a family justly offended with me, to make what satisfac-'tion I can by at least confessing my sorrow, begging forgive-'ness of the brother of the deceased, and so removing, please 'God, the enmity he feels towards me." The guardian, thinking 'that such an act, besides being good in itself, would also serve 'still more to reconcile the family to the convent, instantly re-'paired to the offended Signor's house, and communicated to

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'him Friar Cristoforo's request. The Signor, greatly surprised 'at so unexpected a proposal, felt a rising of anger, mingled 'perhaps with complacency, and after thinking a moment, "Let 'him come to-morrow," said he, mentioning the hour; and the 'Superior returned to the monastery to acquaint the novice with 'the desired permission.

'The gentleman soon remembered that the more solemn and 'notorious the submission was, the more his influence and im-'portance would be increased among his friends and the public; 'and it would also, (to use a fashionable modern expression,) 'make a fine page in the history of the family. He therefore 'hastily sent to inform all his relatives, that the next day at 'noon they must hold themselves engaged to come to him, for 'the purpose of receiving a common satisfaction. At mid-day 'the palace swarmed with the nobility of both sexes and of every 'age; occasioning a confused intermingling of large cloaks, lofty 'plumes, and pendent jewels; a vibrating movement of stiffened 'and curled ribbons, an impeded trailing of embroidered trains. 'The ante-rooms, court-yards, and roads overflowed with ser-'vants, pages, bravoes, and inquisitive gazers. On seeing all 'this preparation, Friar Cristoforo guessed the motive, and felt 'a momentary perturbation; but he soon recovered himself, and 'said:—"Be it so; I committed the murder publicly, in the 'presence of many of his enemies; that was an injury; this is 'reparation."—So, with the Father, his companion, at his side, 'and his eyes bent on the ground, he passed the threshold, 'traversed the court-yard among a crowd who eyed him with 'very unceremonious curiosity, ascended the stairs, and in the 'midst of another crowd of nobles, who gave way at his approach, 'was ushered, with a thousand eyes upon him, into the presence 'of the master of the mansion, who, surrounded by his nearest 'relatives, stood in the centre of the room with a downcast look, 'grasping in his left hand the hilt of his sword, while with the 'right he folded the collar of his cloak over his breast.

'There is sometimes in the face and behaviour of a person so 'direct an expression, such an effusion, so to speak, of the in-'ternal soul, that in a crowd of spectators there will be but one 'judgment and opinion of him. So was it with Friar Cristo-'foro; his face and behaviour plainly expressed to the by-'standers that he had not become a friar, nor submitted to that 'humiliation from the fear of man; and the discovery immedi-'ately conciliated all hearts. On perceiving the offended Signor, 'he quickened his steps, fell on his knees at his feet, crossed his 'hands on his breast, and bending his shaved head, said, "I am 'the murderer of your brother. God knows how gladly I would 'restore him to you at the price of my own blood, but it cannot

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'be: I can only make inefficacious and tardy excuses, and im-
'plore you to accept them for God's sake." All eyes were
'immoveably fixed upon the novice and the illustrious personage
'he was addressing; all ears were attentively listening: and
'when Friar Cristoforo ceased, there was a murmur of com-
'passion and respect throughout the room. The gentleman, who
'stood in an attitude of forced condescension and restrained
'anger, was much moved at these words, and bending towards
'the supplicant, "Rise," said he, in an altered tone. "The
'offence—the act certainly—but the habit you bear—not only
'so, but also yourself—Rise, Father—My brother—I cannot
'deny it—was a cavalier—was rather a—precipitate man—rather
'hasty. But all happens by God's appointment. Speak of it
'no more . . . . . But, Father, you must not remain in this
'posture." And taking him by the arm, he compelled him to
'rise. The friar, standing with his head bowed, and his eyes
'fixed on the ground, replied, "I may hope then that I have
'your forgiveness? And if I obtain it from *you*, from whom
'may I not hope it? Oh! if I might hear from your lips that
'one word—pardon."

'"Pardon!" said the gentleman. "You no longer need it.
'But since you desire it, certainly . . . certainly, I pardon you
'with my whole heart, and all . . . ."

'"All! all!" exclaimed the bystanders, with one voice. The
'countenance of the friar expanded with grateful joy, under
'which, however, might be traced an humble and deep compunc-
'tion for the evil which the forgiveness of men could not repair.
'The gentleman, overcome by this deportment, and urged for-
'ward by the general feeling, threw his arms round Cristoforo's
'neck, and gave and received the kiss of peace.

'"Bravo! well done!" burst forth from all parts of the room:
'there was a general movement, and all gathered round the
'friar. Servants immediately entered, bringing abundance of
'refreshment. The Signor, again addressing Cristoforo, who
'was preparing to retire, said, "Father, let me give you some of
'these trifles; afford me this proof of your friendship;" and was
'on the point of helping him before any of the others; but he,
'drawing back with a kind of friendly resistance, "These
'things," said he, "are no longer for me; but God forbid that
'I should refuse your gifts. I am about to start on my journey;
'allow me to take a loaf of bread, that I may be able to say I
'have shared your charity, eaten of your bread, and received
'a token of your forgiveness." The nobleman, much affected,
'ordered it to be brought, and shortly a waiter entered in full
'dress, bearing the loaf on a silver dish, and presented it to the
'father, who took it with many thanks, and put it in his basket.

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'Then, obtaining permission to depart, he bade farewell to the 'master of the house and those who stood nearest to him, 'and with difficulty made his escape as they endeavoured for a 'moment to impede his progress; while, in the ante-rooms, he 'had to struggle to free himself from the servants, and even 'from the bravoes, who kissed the hem of his garment, his rope 'and his hood. At last he reached the street, borne along as in 'triumph, and accompanied by a crowd of people as far as the 'gate of the city, from whence he commenced his pedestrian 'journey towards the place of his novitiate.'

But the grand penitential hero in the story, in whom the triumph of Church power over the high thoughts and stubborn will of earthly greatness is most conspicuous, is the 'Innominato,' the great Unnamed. This mysterious tyrant and magnificent robber potentate, is the terror of all adjacent cities, principalities, and baronies; of magistrates, nobles, and peasants. From his mountain fortresses, the secret chains of his influence extend far and wide, and oppress the whole popular mind with a notion of his ubiquity and earthly omnipotence. He is the centre of information, cabal, intrigue: all avenues are unaccountably open to his eye, all the hidden plots and manœuvres of an Italian aristocracy are bare to him as soon as they are formed. The wise take him into their confidence, and become his humble friends and servants: those who do not choose to submit to this position, are sure to suffer from him. Certain to come off best, he is in either case content, and enjoys his iron throne and murderous supremacy. A passage we have already quoted gives a description of the man. His castle is like himself.

'The castle of the Unnamed was commandingly situated over 'a dark and narrow valley, on the summit of a cliff projecting 'from a rugged ridge of hills, whether united to them or sepa- 'rated from them it is difficult to say, by a mass of crags and 'rocks, and by a boundary of caverns and abrupt precipices, both 'flanking it and on the rear. The side which overlooked the 'valley was the only accessible one; rather a steep acclivity, 'certainly, but even and unbroken: the summit was used for 'pasturage, while the lower grounds were cultivated, and scat- 'tered here and there with habitations. The bottom was a bed 'of large stones, the channel, according to the season, of either 'a rivulet or a noisy torrent, which at that time formed the 'boundary of the two states. The opposite ridges, forming, so 'to speak, the other wall of the valley, had a small cultivated 'tract, gently inclining from the base; the rest was covered with 'crags, stones, and abrupt risings, untrodden, and destitute of 'vegetation, excepting here and there a solitary bush in the in- 'terstices, or on the edges of the rocks.

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'From the height of this castle, like an eagle from his san-
'guinary nest, the savage nobleman surveyed every spot around
'where the foot of man could tread, and heard no human sound
'above him. At one view he could overlook the whole vale, the
'declivities, the bed of the stream, and the practicable paths in-
'tersecting the valley. That which approached his terrible
'abode by a zigzag and serpentine course, appeared to a spec-
'tator from below, like a winding thread; while from the
'windows and loop-holes on the summit, the Signor could
'leisurely observe any one who was ascending, and a hundred
'times catch a view of him. With the garrison of bravoes whom
'he there maintained, he could even oppose a tolerable numerous
'troop of assailants, stretching any number of them on the
'ground, or hurling them to the bottom, before they could suc-
'ceed in gaining the height. He was not very likely, however,
'to be put to the trial, since no one who was not on good terms
'with the owner of the castle would venture to set foot within
'its walls, or even in the valley or its environs. The bailiff who
'should have chanced to be seen there would have been treated
'like an enemy's spy seized within the camp. Tragical stories
'were related of the last who had dared to attempt the under-
'taking; but they were then tales of by-gone days; and none of
'the village youths could remember having seen one of this race
'of beings, either dead or alive.'

Scenes of surpassing interest and power surround the spiritual conversion of this dreadful man. It is the centre of the most exquisite, most sweet, touching, and thrilling descriptions. The Unnamed is applied to by Don Rodrigo for assistance in his scheme of getting possession of Lucia; and he gives it. His bravoes seize her as soon as, by a manœuvre, she has been brought out of the convent walls, where she is temporarily residing, and bring her, fainting with terror, at a rapid rate to the ominous castle. Her simplicity and pathetic prayers touch the robber's heart. He is prepared to be affected, by a vague change of mind which has been stealing over him for some time previous. He has felt indescribable sensations for some time within him—a dread of death, and a horror at himself, which were quite new, and which, though they go and return, or do not last continuously, have still undermined the solidity and strength of his wickedness. While Lucia is passing the night in agony and prayer for her deliverance, and has made a vow of perpetual virginity to the Blessed Virgin, if she will save her from present danger, a fearful movement is passing on in the mind of the Unnamed. All night long he is in a tempest of thought, with the horrible image of his past life before him; sometimes just raising himself

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to a resolution of repentance, and determining to ask Lucia's forgiveness and release her, then throwing off the idea as mere foolery, and taking refuge in the thought of annihilation. He would commit suicide, but the image of his dead ghastly body rises up before him, and terrifies him. He goes on alternately snapping and unsnapping the lock of his pistol; and then—what 'if there is really another life!'—'He dropped the pistol and 'lay with his fingers twined among his hair, his teeth chattering, 'and trembling in every limb.' Suddenly Lucia's words recur to him—'God pardons so many sins for one deed of mercy.'—'And lo! about break of day, a few moments after Lucia had 'fallen asleep, while he was seated motionless in his bed, a 'floating and confused murmur reached his ear, bringing with 'it something joyous and festive in its sound. Assuming a 'listening posture he distinguished a distant chime of bells, and 'giving still more attention could hear the mountain echo, every 'now and then, languidly repeating the harmony, and mingling 'itself with it.' They were the rejoicings for the arrival of Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, to hold a visitation in the neighbourhood. In the morning his mind is made up; he shoulders his carbine, and walks in gloomy solitary state past groups of wondering, staring, and shuddering villagers, to present himself to the Cardinal.

Cardinal Federigo is a magnificent character. As a grand poetical portrait of a man, he stands quite at the head of all the descriptions in the book. Nobody comes near him. The genuine bishop and shepherd of souls is exhibited in him. We do not enter into the historical account of him which Manzoni gives: as every body knows, he is an historical character, and the author only draws him as he was in matter of fact. There is a splendour and brightness in his openness and largeness of heart which is absolute daylight; he comes, like the orb of day, majestically upon the scene, and earthly hearts glow and warm beneath the lofty mid-day sun that comes to shine upon them. A love of human souls is the heroic virtue of his character: a love in him which amounts to a universal positive affection. Man is the image and creature of God; he feels towards him like a lover. He clasps to his fervent longing breast all human souls, and expands with an inexhaustible open-heartedness. He is formed on the model of that divine universality which reminds us of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Epistles of St. John. Every one that he sees he can love ardently, without effort, as if it were the order of nature that he should do so, and as if, by simply encountering his mind, as objects encounter his sight, men stood in this relation to him, and dropped into, and were absorbed in the ocean of his charity.

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With that boldness which is the characteristic of true love, Federigo rejoices in the occasion which brings him into contact with this hardened, terrible man. His spirit rises at the thought, and he encounters him with all the frankness and confidence of a master mind, that knows its ground, and feels its own inward strength and inspiration. Love is strength. While the crowd of assembled clergy are feeling more uncomfortable than they dare express in the presence of the dreaded man himself, who has just arrived, and while suspicious looks are thrown on the visitor, and no one knows what to do, and wonders what he wants there, the Cardinal, at the first announcement, brightens up with a humble, tender animation. What a happiness, what a privilege, for an unworthy Bishop like himself to meet a ruffian! He would have gone miles out of his way to find him out; and now he has him without seeking. The robber and ruffian is simply the lost sheep to the eye of Federigo, an object of pity, a poor outcast from the fold, that the shepherd should recall. He springs upon the task of conversion, and feels at home in a moment with the formidable animal—the wild beast whom all are shrinking from. The scene which follows is indeed one of overflowing pathos. The robber fairly subdued, and his iron heart absolutely melted and liquified, by the vivid affection of Federigo: the warmth, the eloquence, the beautiful transparency, and intense emotions of the scene, rise to a perfect climax, and are transporting, at the same time that so true and real.

It is characteristic of Manzoni that the most overpowering display of feeling that he portrays in his novel is not one of human, or chivalrous, but of simply spiritual love; not a scene between the lover and the lady, but between a Bishop and a penitent. We must be allowed a long extract.

'The Signor went forward, entered a little court, where many 'priests were assembled, all of whom regarded him with sur- 'prised and doubtful looks, and saw before him an open door, 'which gave admission into a small hall, where there was also 'collected a considerable number of priests. Taking his cara- 'bine from his shoulders, he deposited it in one corner of the 'little court, and then entered the hall, where he was received 'with significant glances, murmurs, and his oft-repeated name; 'then all was silent. Turning to one of those who surrounded 'him, he asked where the Cardinal was, and said that he wished 'to speak to him.

'"I am a stranger," replied the priest; but hastily glancing 'around, he called the chaplain and cross-bearer, who, seated in 'a corner of the hall, was saying, in an under-tone, to his com- 'panion, "This man? this notorious character? what can he

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'have to do here? Make way!" However, at this call, which 'resounded in the general silence, he was obliged to come for- 'ward; he made a low reverence to the Unnamed, listened to 'his inquiry, raised his eyes with uneasy curiosity towards his 'face, and instantly bending them on the ground, stood hesi- 'tating for a moment, and then said, or rather stammered out: '"I don't know whether his illustrious lordship . . . just now . . . 'is to be . . . can . . . may . . . But I will go and see him." And 'he very unwillingly carried the message into the adjoining 'room, where the Cardinal was by himself.' . . . . . .

'He fixed, for a moment, on the countenance of the Unnamed, 'a penetrating look, long accustomed to gather from this index 'what was passing in the mind; and imagining he discovered, 'under that dark and troubled mien, something every moment 'more corresponding with the hope he had conceived on the 'first announcement of such a visit, "Oh!" cried he, in an ani- 'mated voice, "what a welcome visit is this! and how thankful 'I ought to be to you for taking such a step, although it may 'convey to me a little reproof!"

'"Reproof!" exclaimed the Signor, much surprised, but 'soothed by his words and manner, and glad that the Cardinal 'had broken the ice, and started some sort of conversation.

'"Certainly, it conveys to me a reproof," replied the Arch- 'bishop, "for allowing you to be beforehand with me, when so 'often, and for so long a time, I might and ought to have come 'to you myself."

'"You come to me! Do you know who I am? Did they 'deliver in my name rightly?"

'"And the happiness I feel, and which must surely be evi- 'dent in my countenance, do you think I should feel it at the 'announcement and visit of a stranger? It is you who make 'me experience it; you, I say, whom I ought to have sought; 'you whom I have, at least, loved and wept over, and for whom 'I have so often prayed; you, among all my children, for each 'one I love from the bottom of my heart, whom I should most 'have desired to receive and embrace, if I had thought I might 'hope for such a thing. But God alone knows how to work 'wonders, and supplies the weakness and tardiness of His un- 'worthy servants."

'The Unnamed stood astonished at this warm reception, in 'language which corresponded so exactly with that which he 'had not yet expressed, nor, indeed, had fully determined to 'express; and, affected, but exceedingly surprised, he remained 'silent. "Well!" resumed Federigo, still more affectionately, '"you have good news to tell me; and you keep me so long 'expecting it?"

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'"Good news! I have hell in my heart; and can I tell you 'any good tidings? Tell me, if you know, what good news you 'can expect from such as I am?"

'"That God has touched your heart, and would make you 'His own," replied the Cardinal, calmly.

'"God! God! God! If I could see Him! If I could hear 'Him! Where is this God?"

'"Do *you* ask this? you? And who has Him nearer than 'you? Do you not feel Him in your heart, overcoming, agi- 'tating you, never leaving you at ease, and at the same time 'drawing you forward, presenting to your view a hope of tran- 'quillity and consolation, a consolation which shall be full and 'boundless, as soon as you recognise Him, acknowledge, and 'implore Him?"

'"Oh, surely! there is something within that oppresses, that 'consumes me! But God! If this be God, if He be such as 'they say, what do you suppose He can do with me?"

'These words were uttered with an accent of despair; but 'Federigo, with a solemn tone, as of calm inspiration, replied: '"What can God do with you? What would He wish to make 'of you? A token of His power and goodness: He would 'acquire through you a glory, such as others could not give 'Him. The world has long cried out against you, hundreds 'and thousands of voices have declared their detestation of your 'deeds...." (The Unnamed shuddered, and felt for a moment 'surprised at hearing such unusual language addressed to him, 'and still more surprised that he felt no anger, but rather, 'almost a relief.) "What glory," pursued Federigo, "will 'thus redound to God! *They* may be voices of alarm, of self- 'interest; of justice, perhaps—a justice so easy! so natural! 'Some perhaps, yea, too many, may be voices of envy of your 'wretched power; of your hitherto deplorable security of heart. 'But when you, yourself, rise up to condemn your past life, to 'become your own accuser, then! then, indeed, God will be 'glorified! And you ask what God can do with you. Who 'am I, a poor mortal, that I can tell you what use such a Being 'may choose henceforth to make of you? how He can employ 'your impetuous will, your unwavering perseverance, when He 'shall have animated and invigorated them with love, with hope, 'with repentance? Who are you, weak man, that you should 'imagine yourself capable of devising and executing greater 'deeds of evil, than God can make you will and accomplish in 'the cause of good? What can God do with you? Pardon 'you! save you! finish in you the work of redemption! Are 'not these things noble and worthy of Him? Oh, just think! 'if I, an humble and feeble creature, so worthless and full of

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'myself—I, such as I am, long so ardently for your salvation,
'that, for its sake, I would joyfully give (and He is my witness!)
'the few days that still remain to me; oh, think what, and how
'great, must be the love of Him, who inspires me with this
'imperfect, but ardent affection; how must He love you, what
'must He desire for you, who has bid and enabled me to regard
'you with a charity that consumes me!"

'While these words fell from his lips, his face, his expression,
'his whole manner, evinced his deep feeling of what he uttered.
'The countenance of his auditor changed, from a wild and con-
'vulsive look, first to astonishment and attention, and then
'gradually yielded to deeper and less painful emotions; his eyes,
'which from infancy had been unaccustomed to weep, became
'suffused; and when the words ceased, he covered his face with
'his hands, and burst into a flood of tears. It was the only and
'most evident reply.

'"Great and good God!" exclaimed Federigo, raising his
'hands and eyes to heaven, "what have I ever done, an unpro-
'fitable servant, an idle shepherd, that Thou shouldest call me
'to this banquet of grace! that Thou shouldest make me worthy
'of being an instrument in so joyful a miracle!" So saying, he
'extended his hand to take that of the Unnamed.

'"No!" cried the penitent nobleman; "no! keep away from
'me: defile not that innocent and beneficent hand. You don't
'know all that the one you would grasp has committed."

'"Suffer me," said Federigo, taking it with affectionate vio-
'lence, "suffer me to press the hand which will repair so many
'wrongs, dispense so many benefits, comfort so many afflicted,
'and be extended, disarmed, peacefully, and humbly, to so many
'enemies."

'"It is too much!" said the Unnamed, sobbing, "leave me,
'my Lord; good Federigo, leave me! A crowded assembly
'awaits you; so many good people, so many innocent creatures,
'so many come from a distance, to see you for once, to hear
'you: and you are staying to talk .... with whom!"

'"We will leave the ninety and nine sheep," replied the Car-
'dinal; "they are in safety, upon the mountain: I wish to
'remain with that which was lost. Their minds are, perhaps,
'now more satisfied than if they were seeing their poor bishop.
'Perhaps God, who has wrought in you this miracle of mercy,
'is diffusing in their hearts a joy of which they know not yet
'the reason. These people are, perhaps, united to us without
'being aware of it: perchance the Spirit may be instilling into
'their hearts an undefined feeling of charity, a petition which
'He will grant for you, an offering of gratitude of which you
'are, as yet, the unknown object." So saying, he threw his

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'arms round the neck of the Unnamed, who, after attempting 'to disengage himself, and making a momentary resistance, 'yielded, completely overcome by this vehement expression of 'affection, embraced the Cardinal in his turn, and buried in his 'shoulder his trembling and altered face. His burning tears 'dropped upon the stainless purple of Federigo, while the guilt-'less hands of the holy bishop affectionately pressed those mem-'bers, and touched that garment, which had been accustomed 'to hold the weapons of violence and treachery.'

The scene is over at last, and the Cardinal introduces the new convert to his clergy, and Don Abbondio among the rest. The latter is terribly afraid of the Signor still; the Cardinal sees it, and talks to the Signor, that people may see that he is really a changed man.

'He returned, therefore, to the Unnamed, and addressing him 'with that frank cordiality which may be met with in a new 'and powerful affection, as well as in an intimacy of long stand-'ing, "Don't think," said he, "that I shall be content with this 'visit for to-day. You will return, won't you, with this worthy 'clergyman?"

'"Will I return?" replied the Unnamed. "Should you 'refuse me, I would obstinately remain outside your door, like 'the beggar. I want to talk with you; I want to hear you, to 'see you; I deeply need you!"

'Federigo took his hand and pressed it, saying: "Do the 'clergyman of this village, then, and me, the favour of dining 'with us to-day. I shall expect you. In the meanwhile, I must 'go to offer up prayers and praises with the people; and you to 'reap the first-fruits of mercy."

'Don Abbondio, at these demonstrations, stood like a cowardly 'child, who watches a person boldly petting and stroking a large, 'surly, shaggy dog, with glaring eyes, and a notoriously bad 'name for biting and growling, and hears its master say that his 'dog is a good and very quiet beast: he looks at the owner, and 'neither contradicts nor assents; he looks at the animal, afraid 'to approach him for fear the "very gentle beast" should show 'his teeth, were it only from habit; and equally afraid to run 'away, lest he should be thought a coward; and can only utter 'an internal aspiration:—Would that I were safe in my own 'house!'

The mixture of the grave and the comic is very remarkable in Manzoni. His comic scenes play about his grave ones, and form a kind of outer world, into which the vulgar mind of the reader is not sorry to go occasionally, and enjoy the lightness of the contrast. His comic is particularly natural and genuine, easy, vivid, and well brought out; never far-fetched, or strained.

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It is the comic of character, which does not say sharp things, but simply draws out a man himself as he is, and makes us see him. We laugh at the character all the time; this or that particular thing he says or does, amuses us because he does it. It is so characteristic of him; so like him, so exactly what he ought to do, being the man he is. This is a particularly taking department of the humorous. There is an effect of reduplication produced by the similarity, by the fact of the man acting like himself. We seem as if we need say no more than, How exceedingly like him!—how exactly the man!—the very man himself!—and so on, to prove the intense ridiculousness of the case. A fertile character of this sort is a treasure, either in a novel or in reality. Some definiteness, point, direction, is wanted in him; something that can make us look on him as a whole, and give an individuality to him; and then a comic character has a regular place and position, and enriches the scene wonderfully. He is a cornucopia of mirth and spirits to the circle, perpetually applied to, and never in vain. There is some one or other in most neighbourhoods and societies who kindly takes, more or less, this office, and supplies light-hearted evanescent ideas, and effervescences of spirit to the district. He is, to be sure, generally made responsible for a good deal of legendary matter, and tributary offerings flow in as soon as there is any centre to receive them. But his character moulds and colours the mythical growth around it, and imparts, in a degree, the truth of nature, though not always of fact, to the formation.

The character that performs this useful part in I Promessi Sposi is Don Abbondio. He is always coming in to entertain the reader in the midst of the deep pathetic scenes he has to go through. The tragic group moves off the stage, and enter Don Abbondio. This personage possesses, in the happiest and most unaffected form, the characteristic of thinking about nothing in the wide world but himself, that we ever remember meeting with, either in real life or fiction. He does it without the smallest idea that there is anything wrong or defective in this state of mind. He does it in the innocence of his heart, and in pure obedience to the dictates of nature herself. It would be impossible to him, to act on any other sentiment. He has the tenderest solicitude about his personal comfort and ease of mind and body, and an almost moral objection to see them at all interfered with. He is sentimentally alive to the first approaches, and most distant and scattered scents of coming evil. His neat parsonage, with its walled garden; his housekeeper, Perpetua, who knows all his ways and tastes, and exactly what he likes to eat and drink; his supper, when he comes home from his evening walk, and all the interior of the easy village curate's

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establishment, joined to the pleasant routine of official duty, and good will of his parishioners and neighbours, whom he has never offended in his life on any occasion,—constitute a snug and peaceful whole; a small world, in which he resides with as congenial a grace as a bird does in its nest, or a snail in its shell. The only tremulous feature in the placidity of the scene is caused by that sentimental affection for himself that we speak of, which makes him apprehend danger so acutely,—that tender conscience of selfishness that he bears about him. At the first sound of rude accident, or uncomfortable collision, the sigh of self-pity arises. Why should *he* have fallen in with such a mishap? Mishaps there are in the world, of course, but the idea that one should come to him; that he, of all people in the world, should meet with this particular trouble, and not any one else. What reason is there that somebody else should not have had it instead? It is cruelty, sheer cruelty, in fortune persecuting him. Him, indeed,—why him? 'Me, me! ah me! alas poor me!—I, I, I,—why am I, poor I?' &c. &c. reiterates the disconsolate Don Abbondio. His pity for himself is so affecting, so genuine; his reiterated 'poor me' is like the bleatings of a lamb. It is so disagreeable and so unpardonable that *he* should suffer anything to make him uncomfortable. 'These young 'men, who fall in love for want of something to do, *will* be 'married, and think nothing about other people; they do not care 'anything for the trouble they bring upon a poor curate. Un-'fortunate me! What possible business had these two frightful 'figures to put themselves in *my* path, and interfere with *me?* 'Is it I who want to be married? Why did they not rather 'go and talk with.... Let me see: what a great misfortune it 'is that the right plan never comes into my head till it is too 'late! If I had but thought of suggesting to them to carry 'their message to....'

We remember hearing a remark, in conversation, which struck us, at the time, that selfishness, under certain shapes, was not an unamiable thing; we are not speaking of it as a quality in the possessor, but as an object to the beholder. There is a sort of selfishness that we can amuse ourselves with; we do not say it is morally right to do so, but only that we *can* do it. We could almost take a pleasure in encouraging a man in it, flattering, and gently exciting all the little odd characteristic symptoms of it, as if we had some tame animal playing its natural tricks before us. Real fault it may be, and is, doubtless; right and wrong are essentially different, and selfishness is wrong. Still we do not take the precise judicial view of this particular sort of selfishness; it does not excite that moral vindictiveness in us that some faults do—

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conceit, for example. We can never imagine ourselves liking a regular and mature development of conceit. But selfishness is capable of a greater quietness, domesticity, simplicity, and quaintness of character, and appeals to our taste for curiosities, and to all the moral antiquarianism in our nature; and a certain shape of it amuses rather than provokes us.

Don Abbondio is one of these amusing specimens of selfishness. Poor, humble, good sort of man (if he was not so very selfish), he presents a mixture of garrulousness, amiableness, and simplicity (all centring in number one), which is really moving. He is no 'don;' he is not a 'big' man: he is as indifferent to earthly dignity as an angel; but he likes comfort. He comes in in most amusing contrast to the high characters of the story, whom he regards as a kind of divine monsters; feeling about the same terror at their movements that he would at those of fine generous wild beasts; especially as he suspects them of a design to take him along with them. The conversion of the Unnamed, and the incident about Lucia, brings him into company at which he internally trembles; and the journey he has to take, as Lucia's pastor, to fetch her from the ominous fortress which now holds her, gives him for a *tête-à-tête* companion the Inominato himself. The conversion of this latter is quite an unreal event to his mind; he reposes no confidence whatever in it. He sees his carabine, and the whole scene of the morning vanishes like a dream. The two ride on together; Don Abbondio looking askance at his companion, as if he was looking into a well. A living abyss of mystery is at his side; a black moving tower: he is within a lion's grasp, and blesses himself, every moment as it passes, that he is still sound in limb. The timid traveller who is joined on his solitary road by a large, shaggy dog of the mastiff breed, that keeps close to his heels, feels a twitching in his leg, which every moment seems to be in the act of an invisible escape from an open jaw. Don Abbondio accompanies his ominous guide with much the same feeling, which he keeps alive by a querulous internal chatter; and, Why did the Cardinal send him on such an errand? and, Ah! poor me, and, Poor I! echo through his disconsolate heart, like the complaint of Philomela.

'It is a fine thing, truly, that saints as well as sinners must 'have quicksilver in their compositions, and cannot be content 'with fussing about and busying themselves, but must also bring 'into the dance with them the whole world, if they can; and 'that the greatest busy-bodies must just come upon me, who 'never meddle with any body, and drag me by the hair into their 'affairs; me, who ask for nothing but to be left alone! That 'mad rascal of a Don Rodrigo! What does he want to make him 'the happiest man in the world, if he had but the least grain of

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'judgment? He is rich, he is young, he is respected and 'courted: he is sick with too much prosperity, and must needs 'go about making trouble for himself and his neighbour. He 'might follow the ways of Saint Michael; oh, no! my gentleman 'doesn't choose: he chooses to set up the trade of molesting 'women, the most absurd, the most vile, the most insane business 'in the world: he might ride to heaven in his carriage, and 'chooses rather to walk halting to the devil's dwelling. And 'this man? .... And here he looked at him, as if he suspected 'he could hear his very thoughts.—This man! after turning the 'world upside down with his wickedness, now he turns it upside 'down with his conversion .... if it prove really so. In the 'meanwhile, it falls to me to make the trial! .... So it is, that 'when people are born with this madness in their veins, they 'must always be making a noise! Is it so difficult to act an 'honest part all one's life, as I have done? Oh no, my good 'sir: they must kill and quarter, play the devil .... oh, poor 'me! .... and then comes a great stir even when doing penance. 'Repentance, when there is an inclination to it, can be performed 'at home, quietly, without so much show, without giving so 'much trouble to one's neighbours. And his illustrious Lord-'ship, instantly, instantly, with open arms, calling him his dear 'friend, his dear friend; and this man listens to all he says as if 'he had seen him work miracles; and then he must all at once 'come to a resolution, and rush into it hand and foot, one minute 'here, and the next there: we, at home, should call this precipi-'tation. And to deliver a poor curate into his hands without 'the smallest security! this may be called playing with a man at 'great odds. A holy bishop, as he is, ought to value his curates 'as the apple of his eye. It seems to me there might be a little 'moderation, a little prudence, a little charity along with sanctity '.... Supposing this should be all a mere show? Who can 'tell all the intentions of men? and particularly of such a man 'as this? To think that it is my lot to go with him, to his own 'house! There may be some underwork of the devil here: oh, 'poor me! it is best not to think about it. How is Lucia mixed 'up with all this? It is plain Don Rodrigo had some designs 'upon her: what people! and suppose it is exactly thus, how 'then has this man got her into his clutches? Who knows, I 'wonder? It is all a secret with my Lord; and to me, whom 'they are making trot about in this way, they don't tell a word. 'I don't care about knowing other people's affairs; but when I 'have to risk my skin in the matter, I have a right to know 'something. If it be only to go and fetch away this poor crea-'ture, patience! though he could easily enough bring her straight 'away himself. And besides, if he is really converted, if he has

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'become a holy father, what need is there of me? Oh, what a 'chaos! Well; it is Heaven's will it should be thus: it will be 'a very great inconvenience, but patience! I shall be glad, too, 'for this poor Lucia: she also must have escaped some terrible 'issue: Heaven knows what she must have suffered: I pity her; 'but she was born to be my ruin .... At least, I wish I could 'look into his heart, and see what he is thinking about. Who 'can understand him? Just look, now; one minute he looks 'like Saint Antony in the desert, the next he is like Holofernes 'himself. Oh, poor me! poor me! Well; Heaven is under an 'obligation to help me, since I didn't get myself into this danger 'with my own good will."

'In fact, the thoughts of the Unnamed might be seen, so to 'say, passing over his countenance, as in a stormy day the clouds 'flit across the face of the sun, producing every now and then 'an alternation of dazzling light and gloomy shade. His soul, 'still quite absorbed in reflection upon Federigo's soothing 'words, and, as it were, renewed and made young again with 'fresh life, now rose with cheerful hope at the idea of mercy, 'pardon, and love; and then again sank beneath the weight of 'the terrible past. He anxiously tried to select those deeds of 'iniquity which were yet reparable, and those which he could 'still arrest in the midst of their progress; he considered what 'remedies would be most certain and expeditious, how to dis-'entangle so many knots, what to do with so many accomplices; 'but it was all obscurity and difficulty. In this very expedition, 'the easiest of execution, and so near its termination, he went 'with a willingness mingled with grief at the thought, that in the 'meanwhile the poor girl was suffering, God knew how much, 'and that he, while burning to liberate her, was all the while 'the cause of her suffering. At every turn, or fork in the road, 'the mule-driver looked back for direction as to the way: the 'Unnamed signified it with his hand, and at the same time 'beckoned to him to make haste.

'They entered the valley. How must Don Abbondio have 'felt then! That renowned valley, of which he had heard such 'black and horrible stories, to be actually within it! Those men 'of notorious fame, the flower of the bravoes of Italy, men with-'out fear and without mercy,—to see them in flesh and blood,— 'to meet one, two, or three, at every turn of a corner! They 'bowed submissively to the Signor; but their sun-burnt visages! 'their rough mustachios! their large fierce eyes! they seemed to 'Don Abbondio's mind to mean,—Shall we despatch that priest: '—So that, in a moment of extreme consternation, the thought 'rushed into his mind,—Would that I had married them! worse 'could not befall me.'

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The scene between him and the Cardinal, when the latter lectures him for his cowardly and miserable refusal to marry Renzo and Lucia, is inimitable; Don Abbondio snapping at Federigo, and Federigo wanting to confess and humble himself to Don Abbondio. The latter has, after many parries, at last been pushed into a corner, and obliged to allow that it was sheer cowardly fear of Don Rodrigo, and nothing else, which made him refuse. He then snaps:—

'"It was because I myself saw those terrible faces," escaped 'from Don Abbondio in reply; "I myself heard their words. 'Your illustrious Lordship can talk very well; but you ought to 'be in a poor priest's shoes, and find yourself brought to the 'point."

'No sooner, however, had he uttered these words, than he bit 'his tongue with vexation; he saw that he had allowed himself 'to be too much carried away by petulance, and said to himself, '—Now comes the storm!—But raising his eyes doubtfully, he 'was utterly astonished to see the countenance of that man, 'whom he never could succeed in divining or comprehending, 'pass from the solemn air of authority and rebuke, to a sorrowful 'and pensive gravity.

'"'Tis too true!" said Federigo; "such is our miserable and 'terrible condition. We must rigorously exact from others what 'God only knows whether *we* should be ready to yield: we must 'judge, correct, reprove; and God knows what we ourselves 'should do in the same circumstances, what we actually have 'done in similar ones! But woe unto me, had I to take my own 'weakness as the measure of other people's duties, or the rule 'of my own teaching! Yet I certainly ought to give a good 'example, as well as good instruction, to others, and not be like 'the Pharisees, who "lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, 'while they themselves touch not the burden with one of their 'fingers.' Well then, my son, my brother; as the errors of those 'in authority are often better known to others than to themselves; 'if you are aware of my having, from pusillanimity, or from any 'other motive, failed in any part of my duty, tell me of it can- 'didly, and help me to amend; so that where example has been 'wanting, confession at least may supply its place. Remonstrate 'freely with me on my weaknesses; and then my words will 'acquire more value in my mouth, because you will feel more 'vividly that they are not mine, but are the words of Him who 'can give both to you and me the necessary strength to do what 'they prescribe."

'Oh, what a holy man! but what a tormenter!—thought 'Don Abbondio;—he doesn't even spare himself: that I should 'examine, interfere with, criticise, and accuse even himself!—

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'He then said aloud: "Oh, my lord, you are joking with me! 'Who does not know the fortitude of mind, the intrepid zeal of 'your illustrious Lordship?" And in his heart he added— 'Even too much so.

'"I did not ask you for praise, which makes me tremble," 'said Federigo; "for God knows my failings, and what I know 'of them myself is enough to confound me; but I wished that 'we should humble ourselves together before Him, that we might 'depend upon Him together."'

The scene of the general flight, on the approach of the German army, to the castle of the Unnamed, maintains the character of Don Abbondio perfectly. He is so disgusted at the crowds that join them, especially as they do not leave their goods behind to stay the march of the German soldiers; he having taken good care to bring every article of his own.

'"Every body is hiding, every body carries off his things! 'nothing's left in the houses: so they'll think there must be some 'treasures up here. They'll surely come! Oh poor me! What 'have I embarked in?"

'"What should they have to come here for?" said Perpetua: '"they are obliged to go straight on their way. And besides, 'I've always heard say, that it's better to be a large party when 'there's any danger."

'"A large party? a large party?" replied Don Abbondio. '"Foolish woman! Don't you know that a single German 'soldier could devour a hundred of such as they? And then, 'if they should take it into their heads to play any pranks, it 'would be a fine thing, wouldn't it, to find ourselves in the midst 'of a battle? Oh poor me! It would have been less dangerous 'to have gone to the mountains. Why should every body choose 'to go to one place? .... Tiresome folks!" muttered he in a 'still lower voice. "All here: still coming, coming, coming; 'one after the other, like sheep that have no sense."'

Agnese, the mother of Lucia, is thoroughly well drawn, with her innocent maternal trickery and simple-minded casuistry, which Father Cristoforo has to check, and which she abandons at the slightest bidding, and resumes the next moment. The relish with which she enters into a scheme, and takes the management of it into her hands, and begins to count resources, and puts aside difficulties, and has always an answer ready for Lucia, as soon as ever the latter begins to have conscientious scruples, are highly amusing. "Ah, yes, the Friars; but you know the Friars are obliged to say those things." Then enter Cristoforo, and she has to eat her words again. She thus contrives, by gentle oscillations, to get tolerably her own way often; and also to be the most devoted and humble servant of the Friars at the

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same time. The scheme of the surprise, where the two lovers take Don Abbondio by storm, and attempt to force his ocular testimony to a *de facto* marriage, brings her out exuberantly; and her detention of Perpetua, and full command of gossip, by which she keeps the vigilant housekeeper out of the way at the time, is managed in the first style of diplomacy.

Renzo is a regular Italian peasant, quick as fire, exceedingly sentimental, loving, and furious. The most rapid alternation of ideas colours his flight to Monza from Don Rodrigo's insolent tyranny. He devotes Don Rodrigo a dozen times to death, and a dozen times recants as he kneels before the next image of the Virgin on the road. At Milan, in addition to his riotous proceedings, the author plays very free with the character of his hero. He makes him do many exceedingly questionable things, and, among the rest, drink, one night, far too much wine for poor Renzo's head. Renzo gets tipsy. But Italian tipsiness on native wine is different from English on beer. An English novelist who chose a hero from humble life, however bold he might be with him, would never picture him in a public-house exhibiting the results of several cans of strong ale. The reader's interest in him would be considerably deadened by the display. Manzoni throws poor Renzo about like a shuttlecock: he is sure to pitch right at last, though he goes fifty summersets in the air first. The Italian peasant is a light, elegant form of the peasant character, and Renzo comes out of the scene with an airy, easy leap, which shakes off the association immediately. The wine elicits a more exuberant and excited sentimentality, and an effervescence of native poetry. A curious shrewdness accompanies Renzo's vagaries, and springs up constantly from we know not what corner of his mind. And his sentiments about Lucia's vow to the Virgin are most characteristic. He does not at all relish being sent off in such a sudden, off-hand way. He thought the Madonna was a person that did kind things, and came to people's succour when they were in scrapes, and did not get people into them. Lucia throws him off with that peculiar swing of devotional spirit which regards persons as nothing; and, when she thinks of what she must give up to please the Virgin, her betrothed occurs to her simply under the aspect of a possession of hers; and she renounces her 'unfortunate betrothed' as if he were a thing: a notion which Renzo cannot enter into or appreciate the least.

Lucia is a character of great loveliness and sweetness; but she does not rise above her class. We think of her as a peasant girl throughout, and as a peasant's betrothed; and her sweetness has not those individual lines, and that deep dramatic stamp about it, which fixes or absorbs us. She is a class-

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character, and hardly an individual one. There are all shades and degrees of the interesting, and beauty of character may exist in the more soft diffusive stage, or may be refined and intensified indefinitely. Lucia does not profess to be of—we mean the author does not intend her to be of—the very high dramatic mould; and we must be allowed, therefore, to say, that the scenes which she goes through are almost too highly wrought for the standard assigned to the person herself. She is hardly equal, intrinsically, to the interest which is thrown upon her from without; and we seem to have a latent inconsistency in the case somewhere. The scenes of anguish and terror which she goes through, would have created a more intense absorbing kind of pity in the reader, if she had belonged to the upper region of character. When the height, and grace, and refinement that we have there, come into contact with pain, there is an exquisiteness in the suffering, and an exquisiteness of pity in consequence, which cuts the mind like Damascus steel. And the affection of pity has, in its higher stage, not so much the greatness and external amount of the infliction itself, as the acute realization in the mind of the sufferer; that feels the pain the more in consequence of its own loftiness and refinement. The pity that goes back to the fine internal source, is stronger than the other; and this is the pity that the high departments of tragedy appeal to. Manzoni leads Lucia through agonizing scenes, that require a regular heroine to suit them; and the consequence is, we are not quite prepared with those feelings which should be ready to start out at such occasions. A regular heroine is a person, according to the high tragic rule, of which the reader should have such an impression, that anything which happens to her strikes home instantly, and appeals to a devotional and transcendental pity. Her feelings are those of a higher order of being, and therefore her wrongs have the more bitterness. We have benevolent interest in Lucia, as a most sweet person; but she is a peasant girl after all, and her simplicity appeals to a more ordinary species of sympathy. She is caught and carried off by ruffians, and faints with fright; and the interior of the castle of the Innominato, with its bravoes, almost kills her with horror; and her suppliant appeals have all the eloquence of nature in them. This is a case which appeals strongly enough to common pity, but it does not excite a higher sympathy than that; though it seems to be the author's intention that it should. And the consequence is something like disappointment, the reader finding, on comparing notes, that he has taken a less deep interest in the scenes than their agonizing character seemed to claim from him.

We have a lady, however, in the book who could have been

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a heroine. The Signora in the convent at Monza has the natural rudiments of the character about her strongly. The descriptions of her state of mind, and struggles under the long course of parental tyranny, which at last made her a reluctant, distracted, and incongenial inmate of a convent, display almost greater nicety and refinement of drawing than any others in the book. The picture succeeds in creating most intense pity for her; nor does all the Signora's pride and rebellion wholly efface the first impression which she makes upon us. She is a victim from the first, and never wholly loses the interest which her fate throws over her.

But we must bring our remarks to a conclusion, and one or two general criticisms shall soon dismiss our readers. Manzoni's success and power, it will be apparent to almost any reader, lies in his scenes and characters, and not in his plot. His scenes are wonderfully vivid and stirring, come to a high climax, and bring a number of movements, and all kinds of by-play, into one field. We may instance the night of the surprise of Don Abbondio by the lovers; when that, and the attempt on Lucia having been going on at the two ends of the village at once, Don Abbondio rings the church bells, and all the medley of the scene at once breaks out in a storm. His scenes are most able—not so his plot. The plot of the book is weak. He has not the plastic power over his materials that Scott has, and he wants that centralizing, comprehensive faculty—that perspective of mind, that can draw its invisible line of narrative, and carry it through the mixed and varying crowd of incidents, persons, and characters that fill the area of the story, gathering them up as it goes along, and drawing them into form and texture. Scott has this power in a remarkable degree, and he shows it by the freedom and boldness with which he can leap into a fresh field whenever he pleases, and place the reader down anywhere at a moment's notice. A new chapter begins, and we are miles from where we were the instant before: we are in a scene where we hear people talking, and have gradually to find out what they are talking about, and guess at its relation to the story, take in hint and allusion, and follow the unwinding purpose till we are arrived at a junction with the main road. It is not saying at all too much, that this is a great faculty to possess. The power of moulding and of putting materials into form, giving them their place, working them up, and making a whole of them, is a great gift. It is real power: it is government, control, and mastery. There is a confidence created in the reader's mind, when he feels himself under such direction as this; as if all was sure to be right at last, and every step that he took in the story had its connexion with the distant climax. Every thing tells doubly

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with this presentiment upon the mind. Every spot of ground is oracular, and speaks of more than itself. The mind stretches towards a horizon, and sees a gathering cloud, or brightning sun, in each passing movement, and extends the interest of the final issue over every stage. Connexion and relation have this multiplying exaggerating power over their materials of interest, and invest the story's climax with a sort of overshadowing ubiquity, by their perpetual preparation for it. System is power. Unity is strength in a story, as well as in other things. Converging incidents, ramifications that join the parent stem, connexion and form, are the charm of a story as such.

The novelist particularly wants this power, to produce illusion. Illusion is a great ingredient of success in his work. The state of mind, however it is to be described, which enters into a series of incidents as if they had really happened, suffers itself to be consciously duped, and deepens the painted surface into solid space reality and life, is an important one to gain. It makes a real difference to us in reading a work of fiction whether we have it or not. There is a decided pleasure which attends the mind's hallucination, the magical transparency, the artificial reality, of a tale of fiction. It is a pleasure of a different kind from that produced by the beauty of the characters; but it is a pleasure, and an important one. The latter is the beauty of a moral image, and remains, of course, just the same whether we fancy a real moving person before us, or only view it as a thought of the author's mind. The pleasure of illusion comes in over and above, spreads an air of actual matter of fact over the scene, and makes the whole story, while we read it, look as if it was actually taking place. A defective plot is a great hindrance to this impression. We detect intuitively the artificial introduction of any person or occurrence, and say at once to ourselves, This is not real; this is not taking place; this is only writing. We see the author's pen going, and the illusion falls. A scene hooked on, a character appearing simply because the author chooses it, and not because the story itself brings it in, spoils this particular effect. Unity and connexion, wholeness—a good plot is the historical life of a story. A good plot is not a technicality: it is a reality. It acts *bonâ fide* upon the mind, puts it into a peculiar state, touches it with a wand, magnetizes and mesmerizes it. It is a total mistake to undervalue a plot, and think good characters will do as well without it. They will not. A good plot shows them to much greater advantage than a bad one.

Manzoni's plot, as we said, is not good. He introduces characters in a forced way, and without connecting them at all adequately with the story. The Signora comes in on purpose

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to be described, and for no other visible purpose on earth that we can discover. The connexion of Lucia with her is obviously a mere sham one, and not wanted in the least. The Signora's whole history is simply tacked on, and stuck on to the side, without anything like an incorporation into the main body. In the same way the Innominato himself comes on the scene on purpose to be described. There is no order of events which naturally brings him on the field. The author wants to describe him, and we are suddenly introduced to a new powerful friend of Don Rodrigo, who at Don Rodrigo's instigation sends bravoes to capture Lucia. Not a hint is given of him before he is brought all alive, his castle and all about him, on the stage, for us to look at him. Such an important character as he is, ought not to have been suddenly introduced at the beginning of the second volume. He wants full as much incorporation into the story as Don Rodrigo has, and should have had his place in it from the first. The description of the plague at Milan is awkwardly introduced, and its length converts it into a separate book within a book, instead of a mere background and prelude of unfolding incident, as such a description should legitimately be. In this way characters and scenes, most beautiful in themselves, are brought in without proper connexion, and stand at the side of the plot, and not in it. This does not of course interfere the least with their intrinsic beauty as moral images and reflections of the author's mind, but the living persons are converted into pictures by it. The Innominato, called up as he is instantaneously by the author's nod, is a sort of grand personification of penitence, and does not excite those personal individual sympathies that we should have for him, if he were more of a solid personage in the story, and less of a ghost from the shades.

And this leads us to make another remark, rather connected with what we are saying. It is the most difficult thing evidently for an author, when he gets into the upper region of characters, not to make personifications of them. We ought, by rights, to have persons and not personifications; and we often only get the latter. Southey's heroes are personifications, and so are Fouqué's. Neither of these two intends his characters to be any thing more, and therefore we do not criticise them for it: we only observe the fact. It is of course a very trying point in the flight upwards, not to lose the exact balance which keeps our character one of human and kindred flesh and mind. Inferior characters of comic or ordinary life, are sure to have personality enough in them; but not the higher ones. There the ideas and metaphysical forms of the abstract, the virtuous essences and etherial glows, enclose a being, who does not produce and possess them, so much as simply act as their loca-

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lity, and who wears them as a flag or pennon wears its colours. As soon as we rise to a height, we lose our hold of the substantial and personal, and mingle with the abstract. Shakspeare keeps the personal firmly, and never allows himself to be lifted off his legs. He never leaves the substantial human ground, the personal individual soul. He is the poet of man. He puts him before us; the being of flesh and blood, whom we feel to be one of ourselves: he derives the magnificence and richness of moral life out of the human being himself, and makes the genuine substantial soil produce its own fruits. His pen ploughs the *terra firma* of a man. The man makes the character, and not the character the man; and the solid substratum of a human heart unlocks its living stores to us. We mean, that whatever character he describes, we feel that it is a real person that is before us, and not a personification. By what art and mystery he contrives this we do not stop to inquire: it is surprising often what minute lines and touches a great effect, such as this, may often depend on; and we might analyze a play over and over again, before we caught the real strokes which did it in each case. But this great effect he does produce; and not only his common world, but the very highest world of character, has the real and absolute human substance in it. The genuine man is felt, and operates on us like a touchstone. We bring in the instance of Shakspeare simply to explain what we mean. We think Manzoni's great Innominato wants some touches here and there,—*where* we do not say or know, but somewhere,—to make him more living and human than he is. A very little, a few delicate strokes, might have done it perhaps; but as it is, there is a defect in this head. And with a strong admiration for so grand a phenomenon, we could have wished him less of a ghost and a personification than he is.

These remarks of course do not affect the great splendour of Manzoni's characters as drawings; and in noticing either the want of plot or the other defect, we only mean to give either the place they cover. Manzoni's characters are images that cannot easily leave the mind that has once gazed on them. A true Catholic genius develops itself in 'I Promessi Sposi.' We breathe an air in it we do not get elsewhere. There Poetry leaves its old sphere of nature, and enters into that of grace. Catholic feeling, and the affections of regenerate nature, Christian heroism, Gospel love, the inspired graces of the new dispensation, are impersonated there, as the virtues of nature are in ordinary poetry. The spiritual is Manzoni's field; and he brings out man's spiritual powers and gifts, and makes them the subject matter of poetry, as heathen poetry celebrates natural heroism. He writes as a Christian, and puts his whole mind, not only as

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nature, but as Christianity has endowed it, into his work. Christians have a way of separating themselves into two parts when they write; and they *are* Christians, and *write* from mere natural genius. Books come out into the world, and from noble minds too, and there is really nothing in them to make us say, A Christian must have written this. There may be very much splendid feeling in what they write, but there is nothing to show in them the distinct positive element which Christianity has brought out in our nature: there is nothing to show the Christian type underneath. The fundamental forms of feeling in them are not distinctively Christian; their beauty does not go through the particular mould which Christianity has made. It has been even doubted whether the spiritual is poetical, and whether, as soon as ever we get into the sphere of grace, we do not thereby leave that of poetry. Manzoni has given a bold answer to such a theory, and has directly and distinctly adopted the moral type of the new law, the impress of grace. Love and penitence are absolutely impersonated in Borromeo and the Unnamed. He has made that particular mould and image of character, which is the last gift of revelation to us, and the true development of man, his pattern; and has taken the Church for his guide and inspirer, his genius, and muse.

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ART. IV.—*Parochialia; or, Church, School, and Parish. The Church System and Services practically considered. By* JOHN SANDFORD, M.A. *Vicar of Dunchurch, &c.* London: Longman & Co. 1845.

IF it be true that almost every part of man is the subject of some directly systematic and scientific treatment, the most important part of him, his soul, ought certainly not to be the only exception. The soul requires a systematic and scientific treatment, but does our present parochial system furnish such? We shall attempt a few remarks on this subject in the present paper.

If there is one thing more difficult than another, it is, perhaps, the knowledge of human character, the way to deal with it, the mode of drawing it out, and applying discipline to it; and yet this most important and difficult work is committed to men who, very often professedly, have less ability than other members of their own family; and who look on the care of souls as a kind of sinecure, because the necessary work which it involves in the eyes of the world is so small.

The Priestly office is the one which, of all others, has most connexion with the real things of man. All other intercourse which men have with each other is comparatively trifling;—it concerns their estates or their bodily condition. The Priest's intercourse is with the deepest things of man—the state of his soul and the direction of his character. It is his work to draw out feelings which, placed in him by God for holy objects, often lie dormant and unused till death, unless exercised by God's Priest. It is his work to teach men to 'know themselves'—the hardest of all knowledge—to apply discipline, and to discriminate in the cases where encouragement should be given and where it should be withheld. The very mode of carrying on this intercourse is as difficult and exalted as the knowledge required for it—the highest consistency of life, the greatest retirement from the world, study, and self-denial. And, to fill a position like this, who do we find are the men sent forth? Sometimes, as we have said, men of the least ability and the most undisciplined minds, selected to undertake a work for which they are in the lowest degree unqualified. The consequence is, that, finding the *whole* work infinitely beyond their reach, without an effort, they consider the matter hopeless, and settle themselves down under the comfortable conclusion, that their highest work is to make a dinner-party respectable, or to give a certain tone of gravity to scenes of unlicensed gaiety.

But there are men who go forth to this work infinitely higher in ability and holier in purpose than those we have described, willing to devote their lives to the task they have undertaken.

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They feel the want which they are intended to supply, and they are willing to sacrifice life to supply it, but they are untrained and untaught. They have been bred in no school of human character, and they begin systems and leave them off; they work out schemes and plans which they find practically insufficient, and which leave those over whom they have been exercised worse than they were before—the victims of ignorance and irregularity; while other men, seeing the abuse, attempt to avoid it by merely attending to the secular business of a parish, and leave the wants of men to find their supply from any accidental source within their reach.

The more energetic of those we have described have, in a now passing age, been in many cases the offspring of a school, which has done its own good; these, as a school, are now melting away, and having been, in their day, the witnesses of reality and devotion, call our attention to their mode of teaching. While, in many cases, nothing could be more devoted and persevering than their efforts in Parochial life, nothing, at the same time, can well have been more shallow than their mode of applying discipline and instruction, and few men more ignorant of the real nature of the work they were called to. Naturally enough—for they deny the Apostolic Succession, doubt as to the grace and authority of the Priesthood, hesitate about the power of the Sacraments, depreciate Baptism by denying Regeneration, and the Lord's Supper by repudiating the doctrine of the Real Presence. These facts are enough: of course, they fail in their system of operation. They have laid aside the nerves of their whole work, and attempt to grapple, unarmed, with difficulties which are insuperable, without the arms provided for them by God. The consequence is, they feel the want which they have themselves helped to perpetuate, and attempt substitutions: Preaching takes the rank of Sacraments, constant talking on most unfit occasions displaces confession, and efforts at popularity are used to fill up the vacuum which the grace and authority of the Priesthood was intended to occupy. However energetic, of course they fail; and the very contrary result is brought about to what was needed. Preaching, the substitute for Sacraments, produces excitement, which the Holy Sacraments were given to allay; religious talking brings on boldness and shamelessness, while delicacy and humility were the objects of confession, and the solicited admiration of parishioners invests them with a power of '*Veto*' on all that advice and discipline, which the power of the Priest should have exercised without a dispute. We do not deny their zeal, but it is their very zeal which has tended to perpetuate the evils of their system. They are impelled by right desires, and seek

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right objects, but they seek them by false means, and when they have missed their true object they are not prepared to see their error. They feel strongly that the salvation of souls is the work of God's Priest; that the constant wiles of Satan, and the deceitfulness of man's heart, make it needful for them to be continually and unceasingly working a counteracting influence. They feel that they are willing, and that it is their duty, to devote their whole soul and body to carry out this work; consequently they are never satisfied unless they are bringing themselves personally into contact with it. Their teaching becomes a continual thrusting forward *directly* of certain truths. They have not had the advantage of seeing the right system of the Church in operation, and they do not understand how it can achieve its work. Without using or understanding her system, they imagine that they, individually, and at their own discretion, are to achieve that which only the Church's machinery can perform. They have been taught to suspect all systems, and the Church system in particular. They have been led to view the work of the cure of souls as one very much of individual exertion. The whole tendency of low schools is to individualize, to put forward the individual, to produce individual consciousness. This is the view they take; and of course, the work being one which only the Church with all her machinery could perform, they fail. They have attempted what is beyond their strength, and to aid them in which they cannot expect God's grace to act miraculously. They place *themselves* in the room of Sacraments, of the support of daily Prayer in public, and of formalized confession. They feel that when these are in use, the individual minister is nearly lost sight of. True, as a man he is; but that is exactly what the Church aims at; and surely, thank God, it is the most merciful protection which the Church can give against the pride and conceit of our hearts.

In attacking their system we shall be supposed, in the minds of many, the most candid and fair of their school, to be levelling a blow at all zeal in the spiritual part of a parochial life, and they will consider the attack one which is intended to be made against all devotion and earnestness. It is peculiarly their inclination to attach all reality in religion to certain ways of talking and modes of action, and they so bind them together that they make the line of their own peculiarity the barrier between truth and falsehood, religion and worldliness. There is some excuse for them. They were once attacked by schools which were hollow and unreal, and which offered nothing in the place of what they condemned, which could deserve the name of truth or zeal. Naturally enough, the attacked party looked on themselves as martyrs, and, with the modes proposed by their enemies, they

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mentally associated, as inseparable, the laxity of the actual working of the opposite system, and the looseness of the lives of those who in theory adopted it. But that state of things has passed away. We renounce as cordially as they can the cold, lax school of the 'High-churchmen' of fifty years ago. We speak of them as a school. There was a hidden stream of theology throughout those times, to which we owe much, and which we gladly recognize.

But while we disclaim sympathy with this class of High-churchmen, we are boldly prepared to condemn the mode of carrying on the spiritual cure of their flocks, adopted by the Low-churchmen of this day; and though in doing so we seem to join in common cause with their and our enemies, we must run the risk, trusting to our own sincerity.

What is the history of parochial work? God has given man a moral nature which requires guidance, discipline, and instruction. The world we are in is one suited to keep us in a state of probation, and certain broad rules of religion would be gathered from the general teaching of the state of things in which we are placed. But this is not enough; we want something more. God has given us means of grace, and direct instruction and discipline, and He has given these to the keeping and dispensing of the Church. She, then, through her ministers, becomes the controller and guide of our moral nature. Of course, a work so vast soon began to need systematizing and defining, and this state of things brings before us the parochial and diocesan systems. But it is plain from this that whatever divisions of her labour she might make, the *whole* of her general system of discipline was to be brought to bear through *each* line she had struck out to reach the wants of man. Here was a perfect system, *the system* which alone could do the work, though broken up and divided in its operation. The first division was into dioceses. This was the most ancient and apostolic arrangement for bringing the system of the Church to bear on man. The diocese was arranged according to the civil division of the Roman Empire. For the first three centuries parishes and dioceses were of the same importance, denoting not what we now call a parish, but a city with its adjacent country region and towns. The decrees of the council of Arles, held in the beginning of the fourth century, writing to the Bishop of Rome, say, that he '*Majores Diœceses tenere*,' which refers to the parishes in his diocese. In the fourth and fifth centuries we find both names promiscuously given as well to country parishes as episcopal or city churches. The lesser divisions of dioceses began to be called '*paræciæ*,' distinctively at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, which decreed that in every church such country parishes, ἀγροίκικαι παροι-

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κλαι, as belonged to any bishop of old time, should continue in his possession without molestation. And in the council of Vaison, 442, a decree was made that country parishes should have presbyters 'to preach in them as well as the city churches; 'and so the word "*parochia*" is often used by St. Jerome and Theodoret. So on the other hand 'parish churches' are sometimes called, '*diœceses.*' These churches were a kind of smaller dioceses, and were afterwards called 'diocesan churches,' and the presbyters residing in them were called '*country presbyters.*' Parish churches were called '*Tituli,*' in distinction to the *Bishop's Church,* being such churches as had particular presbyters and deacons assigned them, who, on this account, are said to have '*a title.*' This brings us to the origin of parish churches. They were of necessity established for the convenience of celebrating Christian offices and holding Christian communion with greater ease; and when the multitude of believers increased in large and populous cities so much, that one church could not contain them, there was a necessity for dividing the assembly, and erecting other churches, where the solemnities of Christian worship, and the usual offices of divine service, might be performed, as well as in the mother church, in order to answer the apostolic ordinance of holding Christian communion one with another, which was according to what we read, Acts ii., that 'men should continue steadfastly in the apostolic doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers.' We find in very early writings that several of the Roman '*Tituli,*' or parish churches, were erected for the 'conveniency of 'baptizing great multitudes that were converted from paganism, 'and for burying the martyrs.' Now the necessity of parishes and parish churches for these things will surely imply the necessity of them for all other spiritual uses; for in those days the whole body of the Christian church was used to communicate weekly at least; and it being impossible that one church should suffice in large cities for this purpose, there was a necessity for building more, that Christians might live in communion with one another; so parish churches were exactly coincident with the increased spiritual wants, and the application of spiritual supply to the people. Indeed there is high probability that in some cities there were several churches, even from the days of the apostles; and this is to be gathered from many passages in the Acts and in St. Paul's Epistles. Before the end of the third century there were more than thirty churches in Rome. Some smaller cities had country parishes attached to them; and there are many instances on record of such country regions having churches of their own, and presbyters and deacons residing in them. Thus parish churches had their

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origin in city and country, as the wants of the people required it,—of which the Bishop was always the proper and fit judge. We find country parishes spoken of in France in the beginning of the fifth century. In England we have not so early an account of them; the records which we have remaining of the ancient British Church have no mention of parishes; and after the Saxon conversions began, it was some time before our dioceses were divided into parishes; and longer still before they had appropriated incomes settled upon them. The division into parishes in England seems to have taken place in the archbishopric of Theodore, A.D. 673.

Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the council of Beccancelde settled the arrangement into parishes, by building churches and fixing presbyters in them, and settling incomes on them. These parish churches were served not by particular priests, but by the Clergy of the Bishop's church. They were sent out from the cathedral church for the day and returned. Settled presbyters were fixed in country churches much earlier than in town churches. The being settled in a parish, however, did not immediately entitle a presbyter to the income arising from his cure, whether in tithes, or oblations, or in any other kind; for anciently all Church incomes were delivered into the common stock of the Bishop's church, whence, by the direction and approbation of the Bishop, who was the chief administrator of the incomes of his diocese, a monthly or annual division was made among the Clergy under his jurisdiction. In the Western Church, until the sixth century, the Bishops and city Clergy had still all their incomes from a common fund, which was divided into four parts,—one for the Bishop, another for the Clergy, a third for the fabric and lights of the church, a fourth for the relief of the poor, to be dispensed by the Archdeacon, with the Bishop's approbation. Very soon after this the revenues of country churches were appropriated solely to themselves, with only an honorary acknowledgment to the Bishop.

To St. Augustine of Canterbury, desiring directions from Gregory the Great how the bishops ought to manage themselves with respect to their clergy, and particularly what distribution ought to be made of the effects and revenues of the Church, the Pope returns this answer,—That they were to be divided into four portions, one of which was to be distributed for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; who, as it appears from Bede, lived together with the bishop at the cathedral church. The bishops and clergy living in this manner in common was the custom of the Scotch clergy, no less than of the Roman; and thus, Aidan, bishop of the Northumbrians, lived with his clergy.

To these churches the converts, who lived remote from the

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cathedral, repaired, and made their offerings. Those who were sent by the bishop to preach in the remoter parts of the diocese, were obliged, at their return, to bring the offerings made at the auxiliary churches, and put them into the bishop's hands; for at this time, as we have said, there were none but itinerant preachers, or priests, sent by the bishop from the cathedral, to administer the offices of religion in the country churches. These priests, when they had executed their commission, returned to the bishop, who sent others to perform the same functions when he thought it convenient. That the Church was thus governed, and the instruction of the people thus provided for, towards the latter end of the seventh century, is sufficiently evident from Bede, who tells us that, when a clergyman happened to come into a village, the people gathered about him immediately, to hear him preach: for, as this historian goes on, the clergy had no other business for travelling to any village excepting to preach and baptize, and discharge the functions of their character. And that the same custom was practised, at least in the northern dioceses of England, in the beginning of the eighth century, is plain from several places of the historian abovementioned.

Thus we see the bishops had then their clergy about them, whom they sent abroad, as they saw cause, to those places where they had the best prospect of success; but as yet there was no such thing as fixed cures or titles, all the first titles being nothing else than an entry of the clergy upon the bishop's register; and when the priest stood upon the record, and the relation was thus fixed, he had not the liberty of discharging himself, and removing to another diocese, without the bishop's consent.

The rural churches in England were not thrown into any parochial distinction for some time, but served only for the convenience of the neighbouring converts, who lived at too great a distance from the cathedral. To speak strictly, therefore, these country churches were no more than chapels-of-ease to the cathedral church. We may observe, further, that, in the first foundations of bishoprics among the Saxons, the dioceses, excepting in Kent, had the same limits with the kingdoms. As kings founded cathedrals for the benefit of their whole dominions, so, afterwards, great men founded parochial churches for the convenience of themselves and their dependents; for at that time the great men held large proportions in the country, within the compass of which the bulk of the people were little better than their servants. Upon the spreading of Christianity, therefore, many laymen of great estates provided for the constant residence of some priest among them; that, by this means, the devotion of the neighbourhood might be encouraged, and them-

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selves and their tenants assisted. To this purpose chapels and churches were erected, and a maintenance settled for the incumbent; the bounds of the parochial division being commonly the same with those of the founder's jurisdiction. Some foundations of this kind were as early as Justinian. They are likewise mentioned by Bede about the year 700. The distinction of parishes, as they now stand, appears to have been settled before the Norman conquest; for, in several charters of the latter Saxon kings, the villages of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, &c., are set down under the same names by which they go at present, in Doomsday Book.

This historical sketch of parishes and their arrangements will, perhaps, show this fact, that the whole parochial arrangement was made simply to expedite the intercourse of the Bishop or Priest with the people; that as this became difficult, from the spread of the Church, or the increased population of dioceses, parishes were formed; and that where parishes were not formed till later, it was only because the people were still in connexion with the Bishop and a cathedral church. This was the case in England until a very late date, as we find that for very long in this country, the Bishop's cathedral was the only church in a diocese, from whence itinerant preachers were sent to convert the country people, who for some time resorted to the cathedral for divine worship. Private oratories were first built for the conveniency of those who could not reach the cathedral; but these were within parish bounds.

All this brings before us strongly the fact, that the position of a Priest placed in a parish, with respect to the Catholic Church, is that of one who has a mission to carry out effectually the spiritual discipline of the Church; that the parochial arrangement is merely one accidentally resorted to by the Church to effect more easily this discipline, and that the secular business of parishes, in which Priests become often wholly absorbed, is not their high and paramount duty; and that when they view themselves in the light of men chiefly called to make secular arrangements, they are untrue to their high and holy office, and unfaithful to the call and commission of the Church, whose Priests they are. Many now-a-days really seem to look at the position of a Priest in a parish as that of a man who is to attend and manage a parish vestry, and that his highest office lies in being a sharp ready chairman of various committees and institutions. How little is it remembered, that the application of the discipline of the Church, calling men to confession and preparation for Holy Communion, are the works to which the Priest is called, and for which the parochial arrangement was made; in fact, the carrying out, by a certain number of

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individuals, the arrangement and discipline of the Church universal. The fact is, that now men either wholly lose sight of the strictly spiritual calling of the Priesthood in a parish, or they seek to fulfil it by means which are uncatholic and untrue; while, still more perversely, others consider their highest spiritual calling to be to men beyond the limits of their flock, and while the very smallest number which may be committed to their parochial charge are, alas! too many for them to find time and strength to subdue to the full teaching and treatment of the Church; satisfied with having given them a dry statement of doctrine, they seek on some distant platform or pulpit, to bring the same hollow system to bear on others. All this is bad. Man has a moral nature, which requires a close and intricate management. The discipline and treatment of that nature is the work which the Church is commissioned to undertake, and she has willingly done so. For ease and convenience she has appointed her people to different shepherds, and this work to which she has called and ordained them is the work of their lives—the one absorbing point and object of their existence. There are wants in man which her system can meet; wants which are known to exist by any Clergyman who watches with the slightest degree of interest the people committed to his charge: but men will adopt systems of their own, and not that of the Church,—and the wants are not supplied.

A Clergyman enters on a parish, and finds a number of souls gathered into a community employed in different works and trades, and he sees too plainly that though baptized and instructed to a certain degree in religious truth, they are forgetful, and are living for this world, and, in some respects, are leading lives as careless as heathens. He sees it with pain. It is a fearful state of things. He feels that he is the shepherd to whom their souls are committed, and that he must give account of their state; that he is responsible for their condition to a great degree, or at least that he is bound to do his best to bring them out of it. What is to be done? He begins the work perhaps by preaching earnest and lively sermons to arouse them: at first the work seems to succeed, and numbers come to listen. But it does not tell in the end. The novelty wears away. The same spirit of worldliness exists; and, by degrees, he finds that those who fall under the constant influence of this mode of teaching, are not those who require rousing. What is to be done? He resorts to individual teaching, to reading, and direct instruction in high and holy truths, equally for those who are inclined for it, as for those who are not,—and presses these means continually upon them,—by the mere force of repetition calling back forgotten truths, and striving to arouse the almost dead con-

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science, by repeated and earnest appeals. Of course it fails; nay, more, it does positive harm: men get callous. The constantly reminding them of known truths gives those truths the feeling of an oft-told tale, which soon loses its point, and the conscience being constantly stirred, at length, to save itself trouble, is satisfied to expect external stimulants without making any effort itself, and, by degrees, dies out. Men cannot bear the treatment; they are not so made: it is not true to their nature. They were made to do much for themselves; and, in the nature of things, if everything is done for them, the object will not be gained. In men who adopt this plan, it is a sincere intention which leads them on, but a mistaken judgment.

The system to which the Church would lead us is wholly different. She deals in an entirely different manner with her people: she leaves them to their own hearts; she has nothing to do with them, until they seek her for themselves. Nay, more, she rather forbids them—makes them feel that full communion with her is a privilege so high, that she imparts it but with care and caution. Still she sees the need men have of being reminded, and she meets it. She calls them to daily prayer; she will not let them be forgetful of their souls for one season, morning or evening. But the mode of reminding them is not direct, it is general. The individual conscience is left to its own work and to itself; it is reminded, but not relieved, of individual responsibility. It is roused, alarmed, and stirred up, but not taken off its own energies and resources. It is kept in a keen, living state; and the man is made to feel that there is something terrible in his situation, from the fact of being passed by and cut off from present communion.

There is a power in goodness to compel men, who will most scoff at it, still to fear it, and to long after its approbation. There is always a struggle in a bad man's mind with respect to good external to himself. He must either repress it, and compel it to yield, or he must get its approval. If he cannot succeed in either of these, he is unhappy. The fact of constantly pressing truths on men *directly* gives the object of the attack a feeling of superiority. It is inherent in the nature of things that it should be so, and this is one great reason of the inefficacy of modes of teaching such as we have described. If men would but see that there is sufficient strength in truth itself,—that there is sufficient life in the conscience of the baptized person, to go after and respect that truth—if men have but the patience and faith to believe and wait for this, much more would be done than we usually find is accomplished, and the Church would have a fairer scope for working her system. She carries on her work in a high and independent sphere of action, in the consciousness of

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perfect rectitude and truth; and her witness in a parish, through the facts of Daily service and often Communion, do more to remind men of truth, than the most *direct* appeals to the individual conscience could ever do.

There is another feeling with which a man may have to struggle on entering on his spiritual connexion with his people. He feels an earnest desire to devote his own time and life to the cause to which he is called; and this system of reserve which we have described may seem to give him but little opportunity, apparently, for such devotion. We may say two things in answer to this. Let a man work out the Church system thoroughly; let him allow her to do the work we have described, through him her minister; let him use Daily service and often Communion, and he will find abundant opportunity for the devotion of life and soul; and he will at length feel that he is fulfilling his calling in a higher and more independent manner, than he ever could do by a more importunate personal intercourse. Again: this mode of treatment shows him the force of his own example, and compels him to lead a life more high and holy than those who are around him. We do not say it unkindly; but it is true, that very often a life of energy seems to be considered as a compensation and excuse for a less holy and strict private walk. Let a man feel that he is to make his own life the standard for his people; that he is to go before them in every work of self-denial and devotion, and he will find quite sufficient on which to devote the most ardent zeal and energy which he can possess.

The ministers of the Church have far too much lost sight of the efficacy and duty that lies in their own mode of living.—To feel that the highest part of their office is to order their lives for their people's example, is itself irksome and awful to many. It is much easier and much more satisfactory to most men to lead a life of untiring energy and activity, than one of self-denial and holiness. Men prefer the former, and they adopt it. We cannot wonder at this state of things; it is a part of the spirit of the age we live in—activity in everything; restlessness and energy are the moving powers of the moral as well as of the physical world; but when applied to what we have been speaking of, all this is very sad. Holiness of life in the Minister being the especial part of his office, is to most men, as a theory, too trifling and easy, and in practice, far too high and severe: men try to despise it, and to think that it underrates the ministerial life to say that raising a daily example to the people is its highest work; they affect to despise this, they do not really. The want of scope for the devotion of zeal and

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energy in the life of reserve is supplied, then, by the abundant work enjoined by the Church in carrying out her system, and in the severity of the holy life of denial.

But we have spoken of the parochial life with reference to the great mass of the careless: the earnest-minded, the devoted and real among our people are a still more interesting and important part of parochial cure. Of course the size of this class will vary, but there will always be some belonging to it, and its constituents will be of every shade and degree of character. They require management, they need the most systematic teaching; the smallest number of them are too much for the energies and devotion of any Priest. How slightly and carelessly, how unsystematically is the work done! no distinction made of character! all classed and treated together! Men of the most different stages and degrees of holiness—the most contrary traits of character—are all treated with the same method, and have the same medicine administered, although what is life to the one is positive poison to another; and all this is done with a recklessness and an inconsiderateness of which the meanest empiric in the lowest grade of human science would be ashamed. And here is a subject-matter which unquestionably and undeniably is the very highest and most difficult to which scientific arrangement can be applied—the moral nature of man! The plan frequently adopted is, to preach one style of sermons which only suit one class out of the fifty who are present, and that class, perhaps, the smallest, to whose 'experience' the sermons are addressed. But feeling this to be inadequate to all that is wanted, the next step taken, in default of any better, is to collect persons of this description to a cottage-meeting, where the same indiscriminate system is carried on, by which means presumption takes the place of shame, and vain-confidence rules where distrust alone is fitting. The same system is pursued in visits to a cottage, where the deep and inmost feelings of the soul, which should never be allowed an exit, save under rigid and systematic rule, are made the subjects of familiar and general conversation; nay, to so monstrous a degree has this system crept on, that we have seen annals of parish teaching put forth by men of eminence in a certain school, which unblushingly recommend the encouragement of letters of advice being written from the members of the flock to their spiritual pastor, as to the way in which he should pass his life and instruct his people: in which letters every species of self-commendation and obtrusion of personal feeling is encouraged. What must be the result of this system? A perfect chaos must be produced where the traits of character and natural disposition are unheeded; and every

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tendency of nature, however various and contradictory, cut by one rule and judged by one standard.

> Ὦ φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἰ κάκον,
> Σωτήριον τε τοῖς κάλως κεκτήμενοις.

What system would the Church recommend in place of this? The *want* which this system is intended to remedy is a real one—the effort to remedy that want is right. But what is the true remedy? Be it remembered, we are but saying now that the means used are false—not the object aimed at. True, men of earnestness and reality do want more than the external means of grace. There is a duty which the Priest has to fulfil to them, which a close personal intercourse on his part alone can do. He feels aright when he feels uneasy at knowing nothing of them, beyond his sight of them at church. He judges right when he feels he will have to answer for having no closer knowledge: and that they will suffer for the neglect. Some shape or other of Confession is the only true remedy for this want, and that in immediate connexion with Holy Communion, as our Church contemplates. In opening the heart, traits of character and disposition of course come out, and the advice of the Priest can be given exactly proportioned to the case requiring it. Severity can be used where it is needed—encouragement need not be misplaced—difficulties may be removed and answered. It is not needful to dwell on what must be manifest to all—the infinite advantage this mode of intercourse must give to the minister with his people. Here and almost here alone he can fully realize his position of spiritual Pastor of his people. He is the shepherd of each individual of his flock, and is able to discover and discriminate exactly for each case which comes before him. He emphatically *knows* his people. We do not now speak of the other advantages of this habit. The object that this intercourse offers to strong inward yearnings, which will have their way, and which will vent themselves on bad objects if we do not give them true ones; the assistance it gives to self-examination and self-knowledge, which cannot be thoroughly gained without it; the calling out feelings of shame and compunction for sin;—all these and many others are advantages of confession we are not speaking of here; we simply speak of it as being the proper and appropriate way of such systematic intercourse between the Priest and his people, as will tend to prevent their reverent and uncertain discussion and display of religious feelings and truths on all occasions; a habit fallen into very naturally, and formed by the wish to fulfil what is really a duty—the closer inter-

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course with our people, and their intimate recognition of the Priest as their spiritual pastor.

But not to pursue this subject, the desire for closer and more personal intercourse with our people is satisfied by attention to other systematic plans of the Church, which men too much neglect. Why should not ministers make more point of seeing and preparing communicants for Holy Communion?—a line plainly suggested by our own Church. What a constant intercourse this would give with our people, and that of the most useful nature! and from the fact of the Holy Communion being a *definite* ostensible point, the danger of irreverence which indefinite intercourse produces would be avoided. The same work might be carried on, and the same point gained by the preparation of sponsors for Holy Baptism, thus heightening the reverence for the Sacrament itself—clearing away the very false notions men have about sponsorship, and at the same time increasing our knowledge of souls individually. These modes, which are surely the modes the Church would herself suggest, and in the purest spirit of Catholicity, would prevent the uncertain, indefinite intercourse we have spoken of above. They would be systematic: they would come with all the weight of law and system, working independently of the man who uses them, and would give men what they so much aim at—a closer personal knowledge of their people.

There is an untold power in *system*. Many would shrink from these methods merely because they are systematic. There is, in some men, a dread of system in things to do with religion. When each thing has its own proper place and time, the work itself seems curtailed, and the apparent necessity of neither doing more nor less than their system, leads men to imagine that their usefulness is impaired. The *power of action* does not seem commensurate with the *action marked out*, when men see the one unmeasured by the other. As long as they do not see them measured by settled rule, they think (and they are too willing to think it) that their powers are infinite, and the scenery of action illimitable—a great mistake! Such men really *do* infinitely less. It is proverbial that none find so much time to do things as those who have most to do, simply because they probably work by system. The dread of system is chiefly founded on the curb it seems to give to the unknown powers of a man; "a man cannot do more than he can," and to know *how much* he can *do*, does not limit or enfeeble that power to do it. In parochial matters, some especially feel this; they feel their work is infinite in importance: so it is. They feel that to define their labour is almost to narrow the importance of the truth itself, and too much to narrow their responsibility. But

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let them try system. They little know how much they will do under it; and what an expanded degree of knowledge of men's souls, and intercourse with them, the working of the Church's plans will give them, as contrasted with the most indefinite and seemingly infinite exertions of their own. It is strange how easily men shut their eyes to the failure of unsystematic work. They think these very failures are the result of an unbounded energy; that they are matters of praise rather than blame, whereas they never see that the man who is working on system is doing the very same things they are doing, and much more besides.

But again. Most men set over a parish must feel the difficulties thrown in their way by the utter ignorance of the adults of a certain age among their people. The fact which Lord Ashley brought forward lately, as existing in many of the manufacturing districts, is but too true of many of our own people in the most secluded agricultural parishes, where every attention is paid to the people, and every facility given to the exertions of the Priest. Many of our older people could scarce tell the name of the Saviour Who has redeemed them. It is a startling, but true case. The knowledge of the great principles of our faith—the Articles of the Creed—the rules of Christian practice, are truths of which a large proportion of our adult population are in utter ignorance. Very few could bear the slightest questioning on the points of the Christian faith; and this is the case in parishes where the most devoted men not only are, but have been at work for years. The existence of the Catholic Church—the meaning of Communion of Saints—the mode of the Forgiveness of Sins—the need of the life-giving Spirit—are points on which they are in as utter ignorance as the heathen themselves. The reason of this dearth of deep knowledge in holy things, is not the want of zeal and devotion in the Clergy—not the want of earnest-minded men in the coldest day. There were many such when the aged adults, to whom we refer, were themselves the children of their time. The fault lay in the *system*; the uncatholic custom, and inefficacious system which the religious men of the day used, and which has more or less been in use since the Reformation; viz. the system of teaching by exhortation—the merely telling and reminding men of truths—the giving up and disuse of the catechetical mode of instruction. The catechetical method is the method of the Church; it is the only method which is philosophically sound for instructing men. It draws out a man's own powers, and teaches him to rely on them and exert them. Other systems save him trouble, and every one will be saved trouble if he can. We are so made, that our powers are strengthened and forced into play when we are compelled to exert them.

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The Church of Rome, with her usual wisdom, has learnt this lesson, and works on it. She adopts the catechetical system; and the very poorest, most ignorant, unlettered peasant among her children, could give a better account of the faith that is in him, than many of the so-called enlightened men of our own middling classes. It is matter of fact and experience. The poorest peasant in Ireland, under the teaching of the Church of Rome, will tell you what he believes as a Christian—will have a definite idea of his duties—and of the Christian life, as far as he has been taught it; and will give decided proof that he is not a heathen. There is something *real* in his profession. Amongst us, we may say it safely, there would be many, between whom and the heathen it would be hard to distinguish; nay more, who scarcely distinguish it themselves. There is a want of reality about our system—a want of character and depth. We do not lay hold of our people: they are not *ours*; all we can say is, they belong to no one else. Our system is unreal. We have no system. Of course, we have not spoken of anything beyond the *system* adopted by Rome. We say nothing of the truths which members of that communion hold, considered in themselves; as far as they know, they have a clear, definite idea of what they hold, and what they are; our people generally have not. Their system is one which shows their people not only as not heathen and not Mahomedans, but as Catholics; ours may suffice to show they are not the former, but would leave men in considerable doubt about the latter. It is a negative method only. More than half the points which Anglicans are conversant with are held controversially, and relate to other Christians whom they are not to agree with.

How is a Priest to prevent this difficulty? He naturally longs to do so; it stares him in the face. He goes to a man of fifty, who is sick, and finds him unable to give a clear answer to one question as to the faith that is in him. What is to be done? He feels that if this is the case in a small agricultural population where he may be, what is the fearful responsibility which the ministry are incurring! Of course, the first thing to do, is to work on the children and the young; instruct them catechetically, and thoroughly bring them up as Catholics and as Christians. This is clear. But what shall be done with the adults?

And this reminds us of another point which bears strongly on what we have said. We have found fault with the teaching of the last few years; but we find occasionally some among our own flocks who are relics of a long past day of education—men who benefited by the instruction of schools anterior to the low tone which sprung up sixty years since; and who still had a tinge, or rather had not lost a tone, however faint, of

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Catholicity. We find such persons among many of our aged people, still loving the Church's lessons, and minding her holy days; this shows us how much more the system they were brought up under laid hold of them, than the superficial instruction of later days has of the generation which has come under its influence.

The best course to adopt with adults, surely, in this state of things, is to bring religious truths as much as possible before their minds. Actual instruction seems, at their age, nearly hopeless. But, surely, Daily-service will for such persons do the work of the Church. It will bring constantly before them great truths, the expression of which will be put into their own lips. It will place before them daily the Articles of the Christian faith; and there is a tendency in deep religious truths to sink into the mind—to lay hold of the understanding and affections by their repetition. Perhaps this would be the most effectual means we could suggest for remedying the almost heathen darkness in which many Englishmen are living, while brought up in the midst of unnumbered blessings and privileges. Mere exhortation and announcement of truth will not do. The remedy just suggested, to a certain degree, compels a man to act for himself, and draws out his own powers and energies. He himself confesses and enunciates truth.

Of course, to lead men to Holy Communion still more effects this purpose. But while we find it difficult to remedy so deep-rooted an evil in the minds of adults who have suffered from a lax and superficial method of teaching, our great care should be over children, that their instruction may be real and catechetical, founded on the basis of Catholic and dogmatic truth with which that mode of teaching is peculiarly bound up. It is not our work now to discuss the question of methods of teaching, and their minute details. Much, indeed, might be said, but it is a matter of its own.

Another sadly-neglected line of parish work, already alluded to, is the preparation of sponsors, and the manner in which holy Baptism is administered. So lax have been the customs in many parishes with respect to these points, that the poor constantly consider it a hardship if they may not stand as sponsors to their own children; or, if they do not, they will bring persons of really infamous character to answer for them. We shall often find that a child will be brought to church, with its two parents offering themselves for sureties, and some one for the third whom they have met in the road as they came along, and whom they have persuaded to do a neighbourly act by standing for the child, or perhaps for no higher motive than that he will have something to drink after service. What a fearful contrast this

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shows with the intention and order of the Church, that only communicants shall stand in the place of sponsors; and yet it is to be feared that the practice we have referred to is very common, tending, as it must, to bring the holy Sacrament itself into disrepute, and destroy the respect for it which the tendency of schools in the last century has been considerably to lessen. How much this actual evil would be remedied if attention to sponsors, and preparation of them for their office, were made a regular part of parochial work! Besides the good done in the case itself, it would, as we have said, afford opportunity for a closer intercourse with a large number of our people on matters of high and holy moment, carried on under the rule of system, and in a truly Catholic manner. The mere fact of erroneous conception, as to the office itself, makes this important. Many wholly mistake the work to which they are called. It is a very common thing to find that the surety thinks himself responsible for the sins of the child; or views the whole as a formal arrangement, without meaning or intention at all. These and many kindred errors would be cleared away by making the preparation of sponsors a part of parochial work.

But another important benefit arising from all these modes of carrying into effect parochial training, is the line which they tend to draw between the good and bad in a parish:—the line is marked distinctly and decidedly, and yet *indirectly*. Men are left to draw their own conclusions, and discover themselves to be what they are, from their own conviction, rather than from direct announcement of the fact. As we have said before, the more men are left to themselves the better: and, perhaps, one great benefit of a Priest's residence among his people is the fact that his life and example lead them to form certain conclusions with regard to themselves, although he may be doing nothing else towards personal intercourse with them.

By carrying out plans such as we have referred to, the distinction of character must become more and more definite. Thus, the Priest, in his frequent intercourse with the communicants of his flock, and not with others, makes a separation. Again, he repels certain men when they offer themselves for the office of sponsors, while he always accepts others—this tends still more to make the division wide; and men by degrees feel themselves cut off from all such offices, which, even the worst, have sufficient moral sense left to know and feel are the signs of goodness, and sufficient conscience, perhaps, left to approve and desire to fill. Daily service has the same effect. It tends to stir men up. When they see others going on quietly and regularly attending to a religious duty of this kind, to which the world is compelled to give way; when employments which they have looked

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upon as of paramount importance, are made to yield to an arrangement which they affect to despise, then the very regularity and independence of Daily service must, against their will, compel them to feel their own neglect. Its mere repetition forms a constant witness against them in the parish where they reside. By close attention to systems of this kind a strength of indirect reproof is brought to act upon the careless and lax living, which no direct reproof can equal in the effect produced.

And this reminds us of another point in the parochial life: that amount of visiting the poor at their own homes, which is plainly a duty, but which is very difficult to arrange well, so as to avoid abuse. Indiscriminate visiting, and the use of indiscriminate instruction in such visits, has been already condemned, and the remedy suggested. But there is still a high duty connected with it. The Clergyman should, without doubt, be well known in the houses of his people; the sick and bedridden are, manifestly, the cases which most require this attention, and with these it should be in a more systematic way of duty than we generally find in use. If the Visitation Service were regularly used, it would tend to give great point and system to this branch of parochial visiting: another assistance towards regularity in this duty would be the stated administration of the Lord's Supper to those communicants who are neccssarily confined to their homes. The use of the Visitation Service, the practice of administering the Holy Communion regularly to the old and infirm, the due preparation of such for it, and reading to them at other times—all these things would very much define and extend the rounds of parochial teaching, and bring it under strict system. But still, after this, a large number of persons will be left, who will not fall under these heads; for instance, those in health, whose characters are good, and of whose daily lives we are unwilling to be ignorant; of course anything like a system of instruction in the main points of religion, carried on at their houses, will involve all the harm of which we have been speaking; it will, to their eyes, become a substitute for attendance at church and other ordinances of paramount importance. This is the result, and always has been found to be so, of this mode of instruction. We need not stop to blame it. Perhaps, if any advice could be given on this point, it would be, that such visiting should be more for the purpose of seeing after their temporal estate, or giving them an opportunity of gaining advice on any point which they may need, and from which they may be cut off through any other channel. But no doubt this branch of visiting must be left, in a great degree, to the discretion of the individual minister; and must, to a certain point, be determined by circumstances, for

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which no general rules can be given: but in the case of men of careless, or decidedly irregular lives, the difficulty is greater.

It has been too common a practice to pay frequent visits to persons of this description, for the purpose of reproving them, and urging them to some duty. As we have shown, this must do harm; it weakens the power of conscience by saving it trouble, and by preventing its being called into practice; it makes religion an oft-told tale to an unheeding ear, and blunts the edge of truth, so as to prevent its being felt when the mind would be open to its force; it produces irreverence of feeling towards it, and leads men to imagine that holy things are at their disposal.

We are so made that the mere fact of being obliged to seek a benefit and finding it hard of access, tends to increase our respect, and gives us a higher estimation for it; and so it will be especially with the things of God and the soul. Having them placed within our reach when we are in an unfit state for them, makes us slight them. Besides this, be the *effect* what it may, it is wrong in itself. The holy things of God are deep mysteries, hidden save to the earnest seeker. It is a sin to treat them easily. We might say more on all these, but we forbear at present. We have no reason to expect God will work miracles for us, and if we will not use the means placed in our way, and conform ourselves to His moral system over men, whatever latent power there may be in the letter of Scripture, or in the grace of Ordination, we have no right to expect they will work on us so as to arouse our slothful energies and dead consciences, if we, by sinful neglect, have let them fall asleep. With such persons, the manifest course is invariably to pass them by in going our parish rounds,—to make a point systematically of visiting the well-regulated, and always passing by the doors of the bad. The doing this regularly, and on system, so that they cannot mistake the fact of our intentional omission, will do more than anything else to arouse their consciences and to make them feel rebuked. The systematic neglect will do more than the most persevering open reproof or advice: the latter they think they may repel and despise if they will; the other they know to be a marked censure indirectly given, at which every man, even the most depraved, will be stung. The fact is, they are left to judge themselves and to condemn themselves; they are not saved the trouble by its being done for them, and the energy which would be spent in throwing off a direct reproof, is now spent in feeling the indirect one. There is always a desire in every man for superiority, and one of the first feelings in many on meeting another is to get the better of him. When a man is passed by, and no opportunity given for the struggle, the mere silent neglect implies the inward

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consciousness of superiority in the other party—other feelings and powers are called into play. Of course, such a system as this requires much on the part of the Priest: he must himself be regular in his plan, even to the smallest minutiæ of conduct; he must keep up with the utmost exactness the merest shell of his parochial plans; he must have a particular definite scheme of operation for the very smallest point of his parochial management; he must be as strict in not visiting too much as in not doing it too little; he must visit those who less need it (and that with a carefulness of judgment which is wearisome) in order to have effect on those he does not visit; in fact, he must visit as much for the sake of those he is willing to see, as for those he will not see. The least deviation or error in judgment may be most fatal in its effects: he will be obliged to make much of what seems the most trivial conversation of three minutes with any of his people: he must suit each word and sentence to individual character, disposition, and circumstance. His life and conversation will be one of constant effort of judgment and discrimination; but he is called to it, and sufficient grace is given. Nothing is trifling which a Clergyman does—nothing is indifferent; every word and each action must be weighed, as they are all closely watched, and he is called to bring them all into subjection to his holy calling.

He may seem to be doing little, while, in fact, he is doing much, since the very things he does not do are of hidden yet more real effect, and are taking their part in his general scheme of operation. His omissions must be intentional, and his very silence ought to have a depth of meaning, of which only himself is conscious, and others are left to guess at. Judgment—plan—system—due observation—discrimination of character,—these are the points he should aim at rather than activity or zeal, which lie on the surface. Of course, first and foremost, personal holiness and instant prayer. No opinion must be expressed at hazard, even on minutest points. Everything said and done must form part of his Parochial system. This is not easy. What are called activity and zeal are easier, and have more tangible, ostensible compensation. The one leaves men very much to work out their own inward sense of right and wrong—the other saves them trouble; the former may seem to give less to the Priest to do—but we have shown how false this is; it makes every action of consequence, and his continual presence among his people needful, to act on their minds and consciences.

Of course, this is a long subject to enter on, and we could find much to say. We want some authoritative guidance in the matter, and we have next to none. What light the Professor of Pastoral Divinity may throw on it, we have yet to see. The in-

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stitution of the Professorship was evidently the desire to fill up a want which all must see exists; but whether that institution will in any considerable degree meet it, remains to be proved: we have our doubts. It wants a more thorough authoritative guidance than a Professor is able to give, half of whose life has been spent in the university, and only the remainder in the new and strange scenery of Parochial life. How is he to understand the working of human nature among our agricultural and manufacturing poor; and to dive into the depths of a science, the most intricate and difficult; from the subject-matter of which he has been cut off during the greater part of his life? There is no science so high, no subject-matter so important, as that of human nature and human character, and yet men are sent out to work on them utterly uninstructed; and to spend their whole lives in a sphere of labour without ever having discovered that they were called to that work at all. It is fearful to think that a common saying, however trite, is yet true, that the weakest in mind and general capacity are sent forth to the high and holy task we have referred to. Of course, fearful consequences are the result. The priestly office is but too often debased to the grade of the merest secularity; and the position of an agreeable companion or entertaining guest becomes the highest post occupied in a parish by the Priest of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, who is commissioned with the souls of Christ's redeemed, for which awful trust he must give account at a day which is near at hand. Where are the energies of the Church? Where are the powers she once exercised? Where the voice of the rulers to whom she has delegated authority? Why are her teachers unheeded? Why are not sinners still excommunicated? Why are the Priests of the Church stolen from her by the world, and looked upon as the instruments of parochial secularities, instead of the channels of Holy Ordination Grace?—her Catholicity merged in her establishment? her sprituality forgotten in her temporal estate? Why are not yearning hearts satisfied, by being admitted to confession of some kind or other, and impenitent sinners made to feel that they must seek with earnest prayer and tears to hold communion with Christ's people and Christ's commissioned ministers? Why do not the ministers of the Church move through the earth, in a sphere far beyond the breath of worldliness, with an independence which must at last compel all other powers to yield; a firmness and zeal in the cause of Christ which will meet death without shrinking, and endure life without impatience? Why does not the Church approve herself the only immovable thing existing in the changeable structure of society, unchanged amid the shocks of political revolutions and national convulsions, a bar of iron running through a hill of sand,—a type and resemblance of the sameness of eternity?

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ART. V.—1. *A Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of his Province. By* WILLIAM, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. London: F. and J. Rivington. 1845.

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17. *The People's Duty to the Clergy, in their aim at Ritual Conformity. A Sermon, &c. By the Rev.* Cecil Wray, M. A. London: Rivingtons. 1845.

18. *An Appeal to History; or, the Surplice* versus *the Gown.* Liverpool. 1845.

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23. *Order and Uniformity in the public Services of the Church. The Substance of a Charge by* Edward, *Bishop of Newfoundland, &c.* St. John's: M'Coubrey. 1844.

24. *Reasons why we should not Revise the Liturgy; in answer to 'Revise the Liturgy. By a Peer.' By the Hon. and Rev.* S. Best, *&c.* London: Cleaver. 1845.

It is a trite thought, but whatever the subject be, we seem afraid of facts. Facts, says the proverb, are stubborn things,—hard to get over, hard to get at, but hardest of all to use. Even they whose chief avowed pursuit is the discovery of facts, the physical philosophers, have now and then been biassed in their selection by the irresistible influences of some theory, to the very existence of which they would be loath to plead; some theory which, like other secret enchantresses, is powerful in proportion to its concealment. But, in moral subjects, to know how to use facts fairly, is the very rarest of gifts. Indeed it does require superhuman coolness not to suppress those little, awkward, knotty, unmanageable, incompressible, irreducible facts, which spoil a whole induction,—which break the line of a whole array of precedents, and distort the symmetry of an analogy. Nor is this all: even though we do not warp and wrench facts to suit the private pet theory, yet truths turn up multiform—they are so polygonal—that, like the spider's eyes, which are said to be cut into a thousand planes, we do not know their real and intentional aspect when we first come across them. The present difficulty about rubrical matters in the Church of England seems an especial example of the unmanageableness of a fact. There is no school or party among us—and their name is legion—who

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will quite agree as to the peculiar value and bearing of the fact —not the causes, or the remedies, or the right, or the wrong of it, but the fact itself—of a dislocated and unauthoritative, and if so be, illegal ceremonial, or absence of ceremonial, whichever way it is viewed. None of us seem to know what to make of the present state of things; it will not fit in and dovetail correctly, as far as we see, with any of the sensible, precise, definite, cut-and-dry theories, and lines, which are in vogue. And thus we all seem disposed to bend the fact, and gloss it over, to meet some preconceived theory, rather than consent to let the various abstract views yield to the irresistible and inflexible fact.

The great fact, then, that we ought steadily to keep in sight, meet it manfully, and admit it, is this:—

That admitting that the Church of England has authority and 'power to decree rites and ceremonies;' that it has so decreed; that it has availed itself, on more than one occasion, of the civil power to enforce uniformity in such things, and this with a view, of course, to spiritual edification; and all this apart from any consideration of the abstract nature of the things, which are owned to be in themselves indifferent, but solely as a symbol of authority, and a test of obedience, in matters to refuse which is to 'offend against the common order of the Church, and hurt the authority of the [spiritual] magistrate;' that it has fenced this test of obedience by canons, by rubrics, by oaths at ordination, institution, and induction; that, in the most stringent way, it has claimed by every sanction of law, ecclesiastical and civil, as well as by moral obligation, the most strict and literal compliance with such ceremonial, order, and external uniformity; yet still that at no period of our history has the Church of England ever exacted, or if exacted, compelled, anything like such uniformity.

This, we say, is the stern invincible fact. On the one hand the writers of that most remarkable compilation, the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, neither prove, nor pretend to prove, that compliance with the literal laws of the Church ever was universal; they might find it hard to show that it was ever general: nor, on the other hand, can Mr. Robertson, and writers of his class, show that the Church ever attempted to forego the right, or, in theory, ever seemed to doubt the propriety, of enjoining and aiming at such obedience. On the contrary rather, on each occasion that it did synodically speak, the Church seems to have re-doubled its anxiety on this very point; never did it seem to relax one hair's breadth: even in the most licentious times a ceremonial and orderly form of religion was its aim and expressed spirit.

And there are various ways in which this fact must be estimated. Some claim this undeniable discrepancy, now of three

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centuries' standing, between profession and practice, as a strong argument against the reality of the avowed principles. Never could the Church of England, it is said, have meant much, if any thing, by the high-sounding averment of authority in indifferent things; *or* care would have been taken to enforce obedience. And to such a view ritual nonconformity is made to bear a strong evidence to the awkward impression, that the Church of England is only a voluntary and human association, in which authority neither resided, nor was affected to reside. And we are not sure that this is not a tolerably natural use of the fact. Let it not be thought, however, that all who would acquiesce in this as the moral value of the fact, are at all agreed in their estimate of its propriety. Some—we must abstain from particularizing lines of thought by individual names—in this practical abeyance of authority, would with sorrow discover the most convincing proof that ours was only a Church in name. Such ought not to be in a true Church, they would say, but such has been, and is, in the Anglican communion; and—but the inference is obvious. Others, again, would cheerfully recognise, in the very same admitted fact, a clear proof of the practical embodiment in the *de facto* Anglican system of the common Protestant and voluntary notion of a Church being only an accidental congeries of individuals held together by the tie of accidental and fluctuating agreement in teaching; a body, that is, in which external order was unessential and not enjoined.

Either way, these opposite conclusions would be alike unpalatable to the rigid and technical school of High Churchmen. It is no wonder, then, that from them emanated, and in them have been most conspicuous and persevering, the attempts to compel what has been called 'Chinese exactness' in ritual. With them the question was one of life or death. Laud's line, the most inflexibly and consistently Anglican among us, was most strongly developed in this particular direction, and reasonably so. The true *via media* ceases to be such at the very slightest deflection; that is, if in any real and intelligible sense it becomes a kind of Lesbian rule, collapsing from, or protruding against, opposite assaults or tendencies. Hence it comes naturally that the most formal school among us lays much stress upon the present rubrical controversy. Minds which can conceive nothing more perfect than the abstract Anglican theory, which surrender themselves implicitly to the stern repulsive teaching of the early canons in the code of 1604,—which will admit and conceive neither development nor variation from the compound system of Prayer-book *and* Articles *and* Homilies, reconciled into one consistent whole,—regard, and consistently enough, in ceremonial uniformity the most indisputable triumph of *their*

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theory. To say, therefore, that the rubricians are Popishly disposed, is to show the most complete ignorance, both of men and principles. If any one struggle can be more Anti-Roman than another, it is that embarked in by the Bishop of Exeter.

Again, apart from all these consistent schools, and in various ways there is a compact consistency belonging to them all, remains another body of thinkers, who claim some indulgence, and a more candid estimate than they seem likely to receive; and as we desire to treat this subject historically, and at the same time tentatively, it is but fair to give as unbiassed a view of the various parties in our present divisions as is possible. We preclude ourselves from settling claims: it will be useful rather to state the more hidden sources of action. Such are the men who cannot live upon abstract principles, and who desire something more congenial to daily and present duties than inapplicable theories. It is not all men that can see what ought to be in what is. Inferior to none in devotion, and allegiance, and reverence to the Catholic Ideal, still such cannot help feeling that their duties are with the tangled and dislocated Present, not with the glorious Past, or with the solemn vision of a still more glorious Future. Ours, they would say, is to take the Church, not to make it; still less is it our duty to pretend to see in the Church that which it is not. For first, say what we will,—account for it as we can,—still the Church, is not the Nation, of England; the two rules are no longer harmonious expressions under opposite relations of one and the same Heavenly Government. Every hour is snapping thread after thread, which tied Church and State together. Each seems drawing back into its original attitude of mutual distrust. Under such a condition of society it does seem little short of mockery to act as though that formal and technical Elizabethan system had life in any sense. Take for example, 'Every parishioner SHALL communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one:' or if not, then the whole round of presentation, excommunication, and the rest. Now let any person of the commonest sense take but this one single rubric, and all the consequences that flow from it, and if the favourite phrases of 'carrying out the Church system,' and 'obeying the Prayer-book,' have a meaning, to what tremendous conflicts and duties do they tie us all!' It is not that they disparage ceremonial religion,—the very opposite; it is not again that they undervalue the great blessing of external uniformity as a most engaging help towards spiritual unity; this is not the difficulty which many feel; but it is because such uniformity seems unreal, as things are, that such cannot sympathize with those excellent persons who lay so much stress upon it. As things are, we repeat;—as they ought to be, as the Church

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assumes throughout her services, as in a healthy state of things they would be,—these are not our present conditions of duty and judgment; but, as things are, what would come of universal rubrical uniformity, even if it were practicable? Would the most accurate obedience to the letter of the service-book make England that which, for whatever reason, and under whatever compulsion, it was, or perhaps assumed to be, three hundred years ago, when every man and woman went, or were supposed to go, to their parish Church every Sunday, and to communion duly at Easter? It is from a strong feeling of the inconsistency between promise and performance,—between undeniable facts and a somewhat visionary abstraction,—that many, whose views we are trying to bring out, doubt whether canonical uniformity, were it possible, should be our present primary aim.

Again, they look at the past in some such way as this: Ritual observances they deem but the formal exponents of the hidden mind of the Church; and chiefly the visible shape in which actual doctrine approves itself before God and to man. In the English Church of the last three centuries history shows the existence of at least two main elements,—the Catholic and Protestant,—each with its strong points, its partial successes, its symbolical standards. And from the fact of the varying and constant collisions between these opposite principles, they can account for the very discordant way in which ritual has practically, among us, displayed itself. Unable to assent to the dogmatizing proofs of such writers as Wheatly, that there can be but one unvarying type of the Anglican ceremonial, and for the most part careless of such praiseworthy, but unsuccessful, attempts to reduce facts into anything like historical unity and harmony, they expect to find much variety. They can account for such varieties as the legitimate results of our chequered doctrine. It seems just as natural that some should have differed in excess, as that some should differ in defect from the Anglican ritual. It is quite in keeping, it may be argued, that we should find as much above as below the letter of the rubrical law. Knowing what our doctrine and grasp of antiquity and Catholic truth has been at different periods, they find no difficulty in admitting that Andrewes used incense, and the tricanale for the mixed chalice, and adoration to the altar, and that Laud employed exorcism at consecrations, and that Overall transposed the prayers in the communion office: all this on the one hand, and on the other that Hooper scrupled at the surplice; that fonts have been superseded by white basins, and that a picture exists in which a priest, ministering at the altar, is vested in a black gown. Upon such a view the existence of stone altars, which whether the Church prescribes or permits—and we hold a very strong opinion that

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they are permitted by the Church—it is unquestionable that the diffused temper of the Church has been against, is not a whit less or more remarkable than the absence of copes, which it is equally undeniable the law of the Church has enjoined. Rubrical inconsistency, whether above or below the written orders, is exactly what we should expect in a fluctuating and unsettled state of doctrine. The form aptly expresses the spirit. And until the most important and paramount matters of doctrinal unity is secured, they think it hopeless, if not impolitic, to seek for a general measure of ceremonial uniformity. Till the Church has settled the doctrine of the sacraments, albe or surplice seems but an unprofitable speculation. Before episcopal authority is defined, it seems a waste of time to settle the terms of a Pontifical; and while there is an uncertain voice about such fundamentals of the Christian life as justification and regeneration, some variety may be looked for in candlesticks, and giving out the Psalms. It may be borne with, as one burden among many; submitted to, and endured, rather than welcomed and approved: to say which is by no means to disparage the intrinsic importance of such inquiries. It is their relative, not their positive value, about which doubts are felt.

Once more: supposing that the whole Church of England, in its fifteen thousand Churches, could, by any possibility, return to the strict Anglican ceremonial in all its details, with the most unyielding and uncompromising identity, what could be the positive gain? Would it not be something grotesque, almost to absurdity, for those who deny the Real Presence, to figure in chasuble and tunicle? and for those who confine the Bread of Life to sermons upon Ultra-Lutheran justification, to be forced to offer the daily Matins and Evensong? It does seem something akin to whitening dead men's sepulchres in external splendour and decency, before we have cleansed the bones and rottenness within. To be Catholic in vesture and guise before we are Catholic in spirit and teaching, ought not to be wished for. So, at least, many, and those not the least earnest, argue.

All this, however, it must be observed, only addresses itself to the general question—viz., how far, under present circumstances, it is desirable to wish for a sweeping measure which shall compel a general return, in every parish of England, to the ascertained or ascertainable laws of the Church—the written laws, that is,—making no allowance for the actual spirit and temper of the Church at the present day. At this stage of the argument we may pass over what that law is, and the conflicting claims of positive engagements on the part of the clergy, and what practically is said to amount to a tacit dispensation from canonical vows on the part of the ordinary authority. And here

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certainly the results of the Exeter Injunctions are most noticeable. That they have, in a sense, failed, is precisely what some, and they anything but Puritans, must have wished: because, by compliance with them, the Church would have assumed a most unreal appearance.

A very different inquiry remains as to the duty of an individual clergyman, in reviving or retaining the lapsed observances. On this point we shall say something in the sequel. Whether he is bound scrupulously to follow the letter of the Prayer-book, under every possible condition of his congregation, and with such degree of historical knowledge on every disputed point as falls to the lot of an ordinary parish priest, must, as it seems, depend very much upon the individual conscience. If we are ignorant of a law, we cannot be said, except by an abuse of terms, to violate its legal obligations: technically, we may err and offend the law, but, morally, we do no sin. This distinction must go far to exonerate the past generation. To us, fresh from the study of Articles of Inquiry, Injunctions, Canons, Rubrics, Advertisements, Conferences, and Collations, it may be quite incredible that our fathers knew nothing of these things. Yet the fact remains that they were ignorant of them, and, for whatever cause being ignorant, we are loath to charge them with wilful, that is, sinful disobedience to Church authority. It is a very serious thing to lay against the whole Church of a century and a half, the accusation of deliberate treachery to their solemn oaths. The State in all cases of written law, cannot, it is true, entertain the question of positive and total ignorance of its enactments: it is compelled to assume that every man, woman, and child, in England, is acquainted with the whole body of the Statutes at Large: it is forced never to recognise the plea of ignorance. But the Church is not bound by this rigid canon of punishment. In moral questions, invincible ignorance is a fair extenuation for neglect. Of course, it is quite true that the state of the Church must have been debased in the extreme, when ignorance of its positive laws was so general: we are not apologizing for such a condition of things. But still it was a fact. We will venture to state it as an incontrovertible truth that there was not one clergyman in a thousand, twenty years ago, who ever dreamed that it was his duty to say, daily and without intermission, the offices of Matins and Evensong: or that, by his ordination vows, he had tied himself to this palpable obligation. And much may be urged in extenuation of the existence of such ignorance; though this is not our present inquiry.

Now, however, the case is altered: ignorance no longer exists; the conscience is enlightened; the law has made its formal appeal

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and claim for obedience. Every clergyman now knows his legal responsibilities: can he, any longer, refuse compliance? Certainly not on the plea of ignorance, nor on the absence of a legitimate injunction from the proper authority. It must be admitted that when the Bishops have once solemnly declared, 'that we are no more at liberty to *vary* the mode of performing 'ANY part of public worship, than we are to preach doctrines at 'variance with the Articles of Religion,' a very serious responsibility indeed is laid upon our consciences. With an interpretation so strict, it seems, at first, that the abatements of time, and prudence, and measure, are quite beside the question. Ritual nonconformity and heresy are placed in the very same category. To disobey a rubric is announced to be of the same nature as a deadly sin. If this be so, we have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Benson, who deplores the waste of 'time, 'the study, the legal inquiries, and antiquarian researches, 'which the rubrical controversy entails upon the whole body of 'the Clergy.' In a subject of such vast importance there is no expenditure of industry which is not a positive duty. Either then the alternative is not so fatal to the individual conscience, or the Church is bound, now that it has spoken, to compel instant and complete obedience.

At the very first announcement of this strict duty of unswerving obedience, however, certain limitations were announced, which, to most minds, must have neutralized its apparent harshness; or, indeed, must have done more, must have left things exactly where they stood. The question was put on grounds of policy rather than obedience; it moved out of the region of passionless law into that of practical expediency. The voice of the law to convicted offenders is,—You are a thief, but I cannot ask you to eradicate evil habits by a course of moral training. I will not prescribe to you to cure drunkenness by gradual forbearance, but I must act once and for all. I must punish for the past, and for the very first slip, however trifling, I must punish again. Rubrical obedience might have been enforced by similar sanctions. The Bishops might have instituted proceedings for the most minute variation in ritual. Every one will agree that it is very well that they did not. But, certainly, by adopting a more Christian and politic line of duty, the question is no longer one of positive obedience. To combine policy with strict obedience abates much of the austere duty towards the latter.

As soon as the Bishop of London coupled with the former assertion of a strict principle, the 'duty in particular cases of 'exercising a sound discretion as to the time and mode of bringing 'about an entire conformity to the strict letter of the law;' directly the Bishop of Exeter admitted that the cope was the

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proper legal vestment for the sermon, (we are not assenting to this dictum,) and yet on grounds of policy enjoined the surplice, the dispute was practically at an end, as regarded legal and formal obligation. Henceforth it must range upon a lower base, and must involve more perplexing personal responsibilities; just as questions of casuistry are more difficult than those of statutory prohibitions. There can, we think, be little doubt, that for all practical purposes, the rubrical dispute cannot be argued out to a decision upon any broad and general principles: each case of difficulty must be settled upon its own contingent merits. It does not seem that they all have a common subject-matter. Or if any individual clergyman is prepared to rest his accurate conformity, in this instance, upon the other and higher motive, let him bear in mind to what he ties himself, by announcing and acceding to this duty of inflexible obedience to written Church-law. He cannot stand still with rubrical obedience. Acting upon this line he must ascertain, if he can, in the most minute particulars the law of the Church in every thing: in doctrine, in discipline, in its various relations to his brethren, to the State, to himself, to other Churches, and so on. Unless he is prepared to do this consistently and thoroughly, it seems almost nugatory to profess legal obedience in one class of duties, and to refuse its claims equally stringent in another.

This thought will account for the general success which at first attended the raising of the question of ceremonial conformity. Like all other principles, that of obedience to positive law was very taking when promulgated, as it would be, boldly and definitely. It seemed so simple; it cut through a world of conflicting doubts and hesitations, and reluctances, and scruples. It was grand and striking from its massive plainness; it stood out clear and sharp in outline against the clouds and fogs of indecision, and wavering, and compromise. It was a good answer to silence awkward objections. Say that a clergyman found it needful to revive this or that observance; such, for example, as making the oblation of the sacramental elements himself. What reply so easy to the charge of innovation as '"To the law and to the testimony." I act upon rubric and vows?'—'Then apply this to every other obligation,' was the natural rejoinder.—'So I will,' adds the clergyman. Hence the confident appeal to authority, which is not to be violated nor exceeded, neither added to nor diminished in the slightest particular.

Now, God forbid that we should seek to disparage, or to cast a slight upon this high moral tone. We have lived so long without any recognition of conscience and duty, and the sacredness of law, and the awful majesty of authority, and the duty of

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individual obedience at whatever cost of peace and popularity, that we cannot but augur well from the bare enunciation of a principle so lofty, if we will but be true to it. Men cannot assume this dignity without rising in the scale of morality; that is, if we be sincere in declaring our earnest conviction of such a duty as obedience like this. Ceremonial conformity is not quite the sort of subject, however, to which, could we have ruled the matter, we should, *in the first instance*, have wished a reference to be made to the great abstract duty of ecclesiastical obedience; ritual being in its own nature indifferent, and only binding because of positive and variable injunction, we should have liked the *first* appeal to obedience in matters of eternal and immutable obligation—the sacred truths, and higher mysteries, and great Catholic dogmas and verities of the Faith. Besides, in many cases this appeal to authority looks rather like a make-weight and second thought. Love of imposing and solemn formalities for their own sake—skill in archæological inquiries—taste in propriety and order,—these may have been the first, though not avowed, motives, to which succeeded the perilous invocation of authority on all matters of prescription.

We must not be misunderstood: personally, we hold very strong views, indeed, of the value of ritual observances; but, in treating their attempted revival as, what it also is, a question of history, we are bound to examine the latent causes which have checked it. What the Church of England wants is a revival of spiritual authority; unquestionably. Rubrical uniformity is a subject of authority,—it is no indifferent thing because enjoined,—we admit this to the full. The problem then, the thing to be done, is to compel obedience to such authority. Was the ritual question the most likely ground upon which to enforce a successful claim? We own our doubts; not because the experiment has failed; not because one great event in our own history, the Caroline struggle, clouded the prospect with an inauspicious precedent; but from the nature of the thing itself. It seems like beginning at the wrong end to prefer external uniformity to internal unity. Truly the Church should be arrayed 'in raiment of needlework, in a vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours,' but she must first be 'all glorious within.' Purity of doctrine is a condition and prerequisite of external symmetry. If we could hazard, under present circumstances, to take our stand on the instant duty of reclaiming any treasure once committed to us, which we had lost, or buried unprofitably, we should, in the spirit of faith, have counted upon success, if a Bishop had announced his formal injunctions to compel the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be preached, rather than a surplice to be worn, in every pulpit of

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his diocese. Not that we would venture to cast the slightest reflection on the high-minded Bishop of Exeter,—the single fact that he took the synodical advice and judgment of his Chapter before issuing his advertisements, alone is an undying testimony to the soundness of his judgment, and the vigour of his principles;—but it is the application of authority to this particular subject of difference that we hold to have been premature. The people of England have been tried: in the words of Mr. Henry Drummond—

'It was known that the Evangelical clergy had departed 'from much truth, which had survived the shock of the Reforma- 'tion, and had adopted the errors of the Presbyterians and Inde- 'pendents; but the attempt by the Tractarians to return to 'Church principles has been the cause of showing into what a 'mass of error the English clergy have fallen, denying the 'foundation of the Church, priesthood, Sacraments, and every 'holy rite, as things ordained by God, and resolving the whole 'into a question of the extent that each one in his own private 'judgment considers to be appropriate; so that Bishops counsel 'the Clergy to practise things, not according to what is right, 'but according to what the Laity will tolerate. This witness 'is probably the last, for now the Laity have risen up in a body 'against their Clergy and Bishops; and, as is seen in Devonshire, 'whilst, on the one hand, with hypocritical mockery, they peti- 'tion the Bishops to settle the questions which they cannot com- 'prehend—such as a black or white gown to preach in, a stone 'or wooden altar or table, a weekly or monthly collection for 'the poor,—they peremptorily refuse on the other to be ruled 'by their Bishop, who, with infinite pains and ability, has 'analyzed all these topics for them . . . . No sooner had the 'Bishop of Exeter done so, than their asserted deference for 'episcopal regulation was proved to be a false pretence, and the '*soi-disant* zealous churchmen were shown to have as fixed a 'contempt for a Bishop's decision as the most acrimonious dis- 'senter. Thus an irrefragable proof has been afforded that the 'Church of England, as a system ruled by Bishops, is at an end: 'an anonymous newspaper has more weight with any Church 'of England congregation than both their pastor and Bishop 'together: the congregation judge and excommunicate their mi- 'nister and Bishop; raise a riot in God's house, as indecent as 'when Cromwell stabled his horses there, and create a mob in 'the streets to insult their pastor . . . . The more trivial the 'occasion, the more fully does it establish the point here con- 'tended for, which is, that obedience to authority, the first 'element of corporate existence, has departed from the Church 'of England, and that it has become, in essence, though not in

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'name, merely a congeries of mob-ruled independencies.'—*Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion*, pp. 339, 344.

It was exactly because the circumstance was in itself apparently trivial that we regret its issue being staked on the high and commanding ground of authority: we would have reserved such an appeal for an occasion more dignified and vital. Such would not have failed to present itself. As it is, the game was scarcely worth its candles. Not that we are disposed to acquiesce in Mr. Drummond's gloomy view of the actual results of the late contest. As we have claimed some sympathy for the judicial blindness which obscured plain duty to the Clergy of a past day, so we think considerable allowance must be made for the laity of our own generation. To use the words of a recent sermon—

'I do very deeply sympathize with the perplexities which are occasioned by changes in modes of worship. Abating from the present tumult all that is merely venal and worldly; making allowance for those who swell the cry only because they, consistently enough, hate whatever, assuming even to aim at a religious walk, casts reflection upon their own corrupt and selfish lives; deducting all the mass of Sectarians and infidels, who are now admitted, by the cheap accident of being inhabitant householders, to have a voice in dictating the mode of conducting the Holy Christian Mysteries,—I say, separating off all these most miserable elements in the present popular outbreak, there yet remains, I am glad to think, somewhat, and I would hope, much, of real religious earnestness in those, my brethren of the laity, who look back, when they see the storm lowering, to days which were at least peaceful, and to practices which, at least, caused no dissension. I gladly admit that I sympathize, which is more than to make allowances; because, as I have said, I know the force of early associations and habits. Besides, the practice of our lives, short as they are, becomes a religious tradition to us: and this surely cannot be otherwise than a sacred thing to an earnest mind. If we have never known any other than a debased mode of conducting public worship, and if we have neither a call, nor leisure, nor other helps, to institute an historical inquiry, and to weigh the force of conflicting evidence, then, whatever the mode of Service to which we have been accustomed in itself is, still its change must, and ought to, excite our suspicions. The length of time for which any given practice has obtained is, in fact, unimportant. Anything looks, and must look, like an innovation if it is new to us. And, practically, it is of little use going into a detailed proof, that all that is called innovation is, in truth, but restoration; because the majority of people are governed, and, in a sense, properly, rather by temper than by elaborate proof.

'I own, then, that there is a strong antecedent objection and prejudice to the revival of obedience to the laws of the Church; because any change must look like innovation; and, as far as it goes, this really is a Christian and Church-like feeling.'—*Scott's Sermon*, pp. 27, 28.

Taking, then, the present outbreak at the very worst, what

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does it amount to? A convincing proof that the laity of the Church of England, as a body—that is to say, the mass of people who attend such and such a church, without receiving the sacraments, and only as a piece of once-a-week decency—are ignorant of the first principles of the Christian religion; and that such among them as are in earnest are rabid fanatics. It has come out that ignorance and false doctrine make up the mass of so-called religion in most of the congregations of our parishes, suburban alike and rural. Well: supposing all this proved—no sensible person ever doubted it; none, that is, but that very unwise class who are in the habit of talking about apostolical succession after dinner, and preaching glibly of the spread of Church principles, because they can get an antependium embroidered, or because old Goody Jones, at the Curate's earnest solicitations, has cut the meeting-house: very good results these, in their way, both the frontal and the old dame's conformity, but still absurdly unfair tests of the tremendous amount of sin and evil festering and corrupting and blistering the proud, hard hearts of those who, by a frightful energy of language, are known as 'the masses.' Could we doubt that, as a country, England was apostate; that, as a Church, spiritual authority and obedience only existed in books, and regrets, and in young men's dreams? We are not at all of those who could never have foreseen the events of December 1844: to say the truth, we are not much surprised that the Clergy are hunted, and that even a cathedral city yells from all its alleys upon a provocation so trumpery as the sight of a surplice in the pulpit. Somehow the national conscience began to suspect that a vigorous assault was making in some direction on the national character; and it was right. The Church and the world must come into direct conflict sooner or later; and the little accidents and *πάρεργα* of a system, which offertories and surplices, rating them at the highest, are, present precisely the salient points upon which to fasten a vigorous complaint of Popish innovations. It is the very cry which has always found the readiest echo in an English breast; on the *odisse quem ignoras* principle. Now surplices and offertories every body can understand—*segnius irritant*, &c.—and every body can make a grievance of; prudence, therefore, we think would have reserved these things; at least, would not have enjoined them as *general* observances. It was hardly worth while to raise the storm on such a subject; it was assaulting England in its tenderest point; it was telling the people that they had been miserably selfish and miserably ignorant for the last century. Now, however true such a charge may be, it is by no means pleasant for an irreligious man to be told that he is irreligious; for a mean, covetous man to be told that he has been grasping

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and self-indulgent all his life. And that England is irreligious, and that this charge was the meaning of the proposed weekly offertory and amended ritual, there can be no question. 'What, am I to be told openly that I never said my prayers properly?' is the indignant question of 'the father of a family.' 'Anyhow, I'll show these Puseyites that I won't say my prayers their way. I am not sure that I'll say them at all; just to spite the parson.' But this feeling is so well expressed by a bystander, a clever infidel writer of the present day—for it would be a slander upon Mr. W. J. Fox to call him even a Socinian—that we avail ourselves of a most brilliant sketch of the actual state of practical Church-of-Englandism.

'John Bull is occasionally apt to forget that he is a Churchman in the recollection that he is an Englishman; upholding the feelings of his nature and the tendencies of habit, in opposition to his religious profession. When alterations are made in the form of worship to which he is accustomed, and especially the introduction, though it may be in fact only the revival, of such a custom as the offertory,—yet as it becomes a money-question, it is the very thing to rouse his antagonism. At sight of the Clergyman in his surplice, and the churchwardens with their basins, coming to each pew to collect money, his blood is immediately up. No; he will not stand that sort of thing. He resents the affront to his dignity, and the design upon his pocket. Why should he be taxed in this way? It is true, he is easily caught, as the man who held the plate at Marylebone church the other day well knew, putting three sovereigns into the plate (intending to take two of them back again after the collection), as decoy-ducks to draw larger contributions from those who went out. Resistance to forced alms-deeds is a principle of John Bull's nature; * * * attempt to get money from him by compulsion, and he instantly buttons his breeches pocket and says he will not be humbugged. Nay, he declares (the language has been literally used) that not only will he not give, but none of his family shall; no, not any person connected with his household: he will search his wife and daughters before they go to church, and take care that they have not a sixpence about them to contribute to this abominable offertory. He will have a placard posted on his pew door, "No alms given here!" The Clergyman puts on a surplice; why, a parson in a gown preached to his father; most respectable people have been admonished in gowns; and if a gown was good enough for his father's Clergyman, it is good enough for his own Clergyman. He will not be lectured in white—not he—when he and his ancestors have always been used to black. The "communion-table" was a table in his father's time, and it shall not be an altar in his days. And, then, as to catechising or baptizing children during service-time, that is "too bad." He does his duty in going to church; he sets an example to the parish; he calls himself a "miserable sinner" with the rest of his neighbours; it is quite sufficient for him to do that: he is not going to listen, in addition, to the crying of sprinkled infants, or to hear all those dirty children repeat the ten

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commandments. Is his dinner to be kept back for that? Not it, indeed. So as soon as anything of the sort is going forward, out he marches in the offended dignity of Anglican Protestantism, goes home, and there sits sulky, "nursing his wrath, to keep it warm," by reading the correspondence of the *Times* newspaper. Nay, more; he positively writes to the editor himself: you may know him at once by his style. Here is a letter which the *Times* only yesterday put into its large type:—

'"*To the Editor of the Times.*

'"'How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation.'—1 *Cor.* xiv. 26.

'"Sir,—It is too clear that the above is the unhappy representation of the two dioceses of London and Exeter. I shall not trouble you much. Is this to be borne by the people of England generally? My own opinion, and that of many others with whom I have conversed, is, that the two bishops, the authors of these mischiefs, ought to retire, or, infallibly, episcopacy will have received its death-blow from their hands. What conscientious parent will suffer either of them to confirm their children? None. There is, therefore, an end of one of the indispensable offices of our Church in those dioceses. They now, I perceive, pretend to *permit* those of the Clergy whose consciences will allow them to withdraw the obnoxious innovations. Sir, did they consult or ask the Clergy anything about their consciences when they 'enjoined,' 'authoritatively commanded,' the innovations? Are they not, then, as powerful to command a return to the old practice as to command the violation of it? Eh?

'"Sir, the people of England expect their retirement.

'"I am, Sir, &c.

'"VINDICATOR."'

Lectures to the Working Classes, by W. J. Fox. Lect. viii. 120—122.

Indeed, the mistake, if such it be, seems to have been this: Ritual and ceremonial are aids to devotion; they are sacramental, it is said; they are means to grace, they are helps for men to become religious. Quite true; they are so; but only to those who are already religious in some degree. In themselves, besides their use to our edification, they are for God's glory: they are of the nature of a sacrifice; they are rather part of the Church's offering and incense to Heaven; they are her reverent voice and lowly gesture to her Lord, the anointing of His sacred feet and the wiping of them with all that we hold beautiful and precious. If, therefore, it was supposed that England could be converted by generally restoring rubrical observances, this thought, wherever it exists, shows a fundamental ignorance of the final cause of worship, especially in its richer and more splendid development. For such as the majority of our congrega-

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tions even to be present at the celebration of the mysteries is unspeakably dangerous; and if to bring out the symbolical and more sacred idea of all our services were the object of the revival and restoration of neglected beauty and forgotten propriety, then, in proportion as they assumed a sacramental bearing, and taught with a sacramental purpose, did they become unfitted for such as we have about us. *Ne mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos;* but surely, if the pearls are already dim, and dull and defiled, the irreverence is not so dangerous in trampling upon them, as when displayed in their full lustre; then the danger of causing offences may be infinitely increased. When, therefore, we said that the revival was premature, we might have added that it was incomplete; that is, as a general measure. All along we are speaking of a compulsory restoration, not of the value of ritual in particular congregations. It was incomplete, because other things ought to have accompanied it. If the Bishops and Clergy were prepared at one blow to forbid one-half of our congregations *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ;* if they were ready to preach in the very streets a crusade and never-ceasing appeal against all our popular sins; if they were prepared with a measure for carrying out a system of confession and discipline; if they were equally earnest to restore the canonical election of Bishops, and, with a compulsory restoration of ritual, were as zealous for a compulsory restoration of Catholic doctrine, then no rubrical conformity would be too strict for a Church so reformed; no ritual would be too precise or dignified for such as would then remain the Church's elect children, the sons ever with her.

Indeed, as a Church, we may as well make the confession openly; we have no right whatever to liturgical development, for which some among us seem so anxious; nor yet for a ceremonial ritual as such, to a great, or even to a moderate degree of dignity; nor can we have a right, *i.e.* as a Church, whatever individual congregations may claim, to that modicum of beauty and significant grace which even the laws of our own Church prescribe or permit. Let us take these things as parts of our burden. For an isolated Church, a solitary speech and a confined range of thought and expression, seem not only most natural, but most becoming. For a national Church which makes but a faint appeal against general national corruption, surely other than soiled garments and an unjewelled front would be scarcely fitting. And for a divided Church—split into factions, and burning with suspicions and hatred, as well as actually uncertain about its own laws and authoritative witness,—what so significant with a melancholy appropriateness as the fact of a Prayer-book in so many Churches mangled and distorted to suit prevailing heretical fancies and faithlessness? No: let us be assured that we

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shall have the one Voice when we have recovered the one Faith: we shall be one in attitude when we are one in heart. All these things are part of our calamity; or rather, the one calamity of our state of separation reproducing itself under various forms. It seems but pettish to quarrel with this or that particular link, while we are rather proud than otherwise of the whole chain.

Finally, if it be said, that the whole Church has an undoubted right to reappropriate in its integrity whatever of sacred pomp and holy forms the convulsion of the sixteenth century spared, we apply the same parallel case of doctrine to this argument. It may be quite true, that we can cull from the history of the Reformed Church many noble and beautiful relics of symbolism and hierurgical splendour. But as things have been since the Reformation, these things are but scattered and fragmentary: they have never occurred in unison: they have never combined into one perfect and consistent whole. It is just like the different cathedral services of the present day: each one perhaps possesses its own characteristic propriety; together they might form a grand whole, but singly they are very ineffective. If we could take from one cathedral its Litany chanted by two Priests; from another its custom of bowing to the altar; from another its processions; from another its separation of Matins, Litany, and Communion; from Durham its copes; the intonation of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, from one; a lectern from this; sedilia from another; plate and hangings from another; it would be quite true that all these separate Catholic practices in combination would form *a* cathedral service Catholic in tone, and dignified in details,—one which the Church of Reformation never has witnessed. So is it with the parish churches: altar candlesticks may be found at S. Mary-le-Strand and Allhallows Barking; tapestry hangings may remain at Merton Chapel; wafer bread might have been consecrated, more or less, up to the time of the Rebellion; Andrewes and Laud might have used water for washing the hands before consecration; incense might have been burned; and yet we cannot say that these things were other than exceptions to a very much more debased and slovenly ritual aspect of the general Church. And these things no more fully express the ordinary bearing of the Church than was its ordinary doctrine adequately represented by the teaching of Andrewes, Montague, Thorndike, Bramhall, Cosin, and Johnson, or its ordinary sanctity by Hammond and Ferrar. The real value of the testimonies which, with so much diligence, have been collected, as to the fact of certain observances not having been forbidden—but rather, used—by the greatest divines among us, is more in the way of protection for individuals who think proper, on private responsibility, to revive them, than of general

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imitation for the whole Church of England. While we cannot rebut the fact, that high Catholic doctrine has rather been the exception than the rule, we may well admit that we have, as a Church, fallen short of the rule of external obedience to prescribed laws in exact proportion to our general unfaithfulness to the spirit of our service-books. It is a matter of prayer to recover both; but facts go far to show that we have been a Church of individual, not of corporate, life; and if this seem contradictory, it will better express an anomaly.

We turn now to the duty of individuals; having suggested hitherto cautions as to the right, to say nothing of the expediency, of general and stringent rules about rubrical conformity, as emanating from Episcopal authority, in the actual state of the Church of England, and this, we trust, with due respect to such rule.

At the first view of the question it seems that nothing short of the most accurate compliance with the Rubric can satisfy an enlightened conscience. There are, as has been said, the vows at ordination and at institution, and these publicly repeated at reading-in: there are the State enactments. From all these obligations there is no attainable dispensation, at least, none is sought for from the ordinary, though it is questionable whether even he can formally dispense with them. Whether the Bishop fails in, or discharges, his duty in not enforcing compliance seems hardly to affect the real question; and the excuse of the tacit consent of the whole Church, which is a much stronger reason for irregularity, no longer exists, when compliance or non-compliance is debated in every parish with acuteness almost amounting to ferocity. Few people can now say they never heard of rubrical obedience. Nor has the Church appended an Epinomis to the Prayer-book or Canons for the benefit of tender consciences, after the fashion of that very curious document, of most significantly perplexed Latinity, which is subjoined to the Oxford *Corpus Statutorum*. We have already said that this view of strict compliance upon positive and legal responsibilities found favour in many quarters, because it offers the readiest solution of acknowledged and pressing difficulties. It is the symbol of a very large and, we believe, growing body, especially among High Churchmen of a precise and accurately defined type. Mr. Benson, though of a different school, admits it to the very full; nay, he seems to take something like a malicious delight in exaggerating the force, and in tightening the stringency, of the bonds of individual clerical conformity to the whole Book of Common Prayer. The Master of the Temple has an aim in all this; the tighter he can pull the knots, the greater chance of the cord bursting; if the patient's eyes begin

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to start, his struggles may crack the bowstring; and, as Mr. Benson's curious object is to get rid of all conformity to the Prayer-book, perhaps he is a witness, not altogether unprejudiced, as to the force of its existing necessity. His conclusion is—

'It consequently follows, that every individual member of that body—Bishop, Priest, or Deacon—is bound to a compliance, not only in the fullest extent, but from the very day in which the declaration required of him by the statute is made. He is bound to this in point of conscience, as well as law; and from the duty,—as it respects his conscience, and as he understood it when he entered into the promise,—no official interference can release him, so long as the Common Prayer-book remains sanctioned by law. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that the immediate observance of all the Rubrics is both a legal and a moral obligation.'—*Rubrics and Canons, &c. considered*, p. 17.

'Not only,' says Mr. Benson, with a sly chuckle, 'not only 'are you bound to comply, to the very letter, but you must 'begin to-morrow morning, if you ever mean to sleep on an 'easy pillow again.' The Church, as the successor of Hooker thinks proper to draw it, is a very Jew in Venice: its, or rather his, language is—

'An oath, an oath, I have an oath in heaven:
Shall I lay perjury upon my soul?
No, not for Venice—I stay here on my bond.'

Whether Mr. Benson himself recognises, and acts upon, this extreme view of moral obligation, flowing from his 'sacred and voluntary promise,' we are not aware. If he does not, it might be worth a little pains to discover why he is so anxious and stiff about the matter. Mr. Benson, perhaps, has a real though concealed dislike of this view of moral obligation; and it may be he thinks that the surest way to get it into discredit is to take it up himself; whether he is right or not we are not called upon to say.

But we are not aware that we have seen this view of moral obligation in the individual conscience fairly grappled with. Mr. Oakeley, for example, by far the cleverest writer against universal conformity to the Rubric, in a well-known letter published in the 'English Churchman,' (No. 104,) does not meet it. Why we cannot say, unless it be that by assuming the *imponens* of the obligation to exist in the *de facto* 'executive of the existing Church,' *i. e.* 'his own Bishop,' to each individual Clergyman, he thought that he had sufficiently obviated the difficulty flowing from personal responsibility.

Now we own that we can by no means follow this statement; the obligation to ritual observances does not reside in the fact

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that we have made a promise to an individual Bishop. If it did, the circumstance of his not enjoining compliance with his own imposition of duty would go far, though not completely, to exonerate one who had incurred such an obligation. But the Bishop's power is neither discretionary, nor, as it seems, dispensing, but only ministrative and interpretative in doubtful points; and here, as his interpretation may be wrong, his decision seems liable to be remodelled by subsequent information, and perhaps by the ecclesiastical law courts. For example, were the doubt about the gown and surplice referred to the Bishop of Exeter, and he were to decide in favour of the surplice, and under the same circumstances were the Bishop of Worcester to decide in favour of the gown, we conceive that there exists authority somewhere in the Church of England to set aside one of these conflicting judgments. This practical difficulty leads us to conclude that the *imponens* of individual clerical obligation is not the single Bishop; whether, therefore, he withholds sanction or inhibition of particular observances, his silence does not lessen the strictness of personal obligation, if that obligation, as we argue, arises from a different source. That source we think to be the mind of the Convocation which imposed uniformity; and that mind is to be ascertained by the courts in Doctors' Commons, like all other ecclesiastical questions of fact among us. The existing Church, it is true, as administered by the Bishop of the diocese, does carry on, and concur with, and exhibit, and present to the individual clergyman the original obligation, but the Bishop does not himself originate it. If he did, the question would be a very simple one; each Bishop would be the measure of obligation, and when he did not enforce compliance, it might be reasonably enough assumed that he dispensed with it.

But, by throwing back the authority to a more distant functionary, we may perhaps arrive at something like Mr. Oakeley's conclusion, though upon separate grounds; that is, we may venture to construe with some liberality the alleged duty of compliance as it affects a single conscience. The object of the Church in prescribing strict obedience to positive directions was to *keep* uniformity,—a point supposed to be already adequately secured,—not to *gain* it. Now, however, owing to an obvious change in the circumstances of the Church,—no longer commensurate and coincident with the whole people,—a double duty is laid upon its ministers: as before to maintain uniformity, which was then its only object, but now, in addition to this, to win back apostates and doubtful members. Formerly its office was simply edification for an individual flock; now it has a missionary office also, and this, miserable as such a state is, to its own nominal members. If, therefore, there be any clergyman who is so

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enamoured of the old theory of the Church of England, as in any real sense to believe that his whole flock are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, good and consistent Churchmen, in such a case, his duty is most plain, to follow out the Rubric fully and unconditionally; no other source is left open to him; he has no call to look to other duties than edification of his own, and those, in every sense, the Church's own: their edification will be best consulted by complete obedience. But if, on the contrary, a clergyman finds that a majority of his flock are in truth members of the Church only by a falsification of terms, the final cause of ritual conformity scarcely exists to him, and his obligations to discharge it are very materially lessened, if not impaired. His office is almost reduced to a missionary function; and whether strict ceremonial compliance with the directions of the Prayer-book is the best means to this a totally new end, must be settled upon different grounds. It is certain that to convert souls is a different object from retaining them: to win obedience to authority is not the same thing as to assert it. The Church, it is true, still recognises its first purpose, that of the sanctuary ministrations being confined to the faithful; but when this purpose is clearly unattainable, we must attribute so much to the implied and inherent faith of the Church as to believe that had the present state of things been foreseen, it would have modified its system to meet such an emergency.

Some, indeed, may for the most part, accept this statement; and will argue that even for purposes of conversion—for to this it comes practically—full and unvarying compliance with the written laws of the Church is, after all, the best means. In such a line we cannot concur. Modest reserve and the rules of the Church will teach us the duty, under certain circumstances, of keeping back truths, and if truths then their practical expression in ritual and ceremonial, from those who are not fit for them. There is a deep and chary economy by which the Church must adapt her teaching to those whom she has to instruct. With the holy she will be holy; but with the froward she must stoop to learn frowardness. If men declare themselves unfit for blessings they must not be forced upon an unwilling acceptance. While *volenti non fit injuria* is a received maxim of the law, *nolenti viæ fit jus* seems equally true. Privileges are in no sense withheld when men obstinately refuse them. To illustrate this, suppose that a clergyman has ascertained that the law of the Church is to celebrate a weekly offertory: shall he persist in this when his flock, one and all, refuse to give of their substance? We think not: he will but be following the mind and primary purpose of the Church, which connected with the offer of this privilege, 'the willing

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mind,' by foregoing its offer. It is the people who are in fault, not the pastor; and his conscience need not be harassed by the fears of neglecting an obligation which his people, for whose use, not for whose destruction, it was imposed, will not suffer him to fulfil. So, too, of preaching in the surplice: this, in principle, is also a privilege: it presupposes that those to whom the sermon so delivered is addressed are faithful men. If, by their abhorrence and rejection of this privilege, they own themselves unworthy of it, should it, much to its degradation and insult, be forced upon them? Under such circumstances, we would suggest, that a clergyman should apply to his Bishop for licence to deliver his sermon after the Litany, and then in a black gown, or in no gown, as a simple missionary to the obstinate and self-excommunicated. Then the difficulty would be obviated of preaching in the most solemn service to those who despised it, and of using reproofs by no means suitable to the Christian mysteries. And yet more, the dangers of their spiritual state would be most forcibly realized to the congregation; admitting themselves to be unfit for the vestments of the faith, they should also be excluded from the chief service of the faith. And though a sermon is ordered in the communion office, this does not preclude the delivery of one of a totally different character at another time: as the practice unsanctioned by Rubric, of delivering a sermon after evensong clearly shows. In this way, the rejection of the surplice would prove that the people were wilfully incurring a loss. This distinction of sermons, and exclusion of the irreligious and unthankful from any part of the communion, would be a great step towards reviving discipline. Losing one sermon, they would voluntarily choose another much more fitted to their peculiar needs.

To take another, and less painful, case. Suppose that a congregation is more or less divided. Some, with a glad heart, value and claim the full and more perfect services of the Church: others disparage and reject them. Under such circumstances, we can quite understand that a pastor's *first* duty is towards those who are the Church's 'joy and crown:' for the sake of the unfaithful we must not deprive the children of their heritage. If the better portion of his congregation—better not so much in numbers, as in the practical fruits of the Christian walk—demand their portion of meat in due season, their good must be first concluded. Though, even in this case, some such division of the services as we have suggested, and, perhaps, an early celebration of the Eucharist, might enable a judicious clergyman to provide for, and to meet, the opposite necessities of the two classes.

Rising yet higher,—for Christian prudence, we think, would

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decide each case on its own separate and varying grounds of expediency, thus 'becoming all things to all men,'—we can quite understand that there may be, we know that there are, congregations in which no such cases of conscientious difficulty arise. These are in which the original purpose of the Church in prescribing exact compliance with its laws, still has ample room for its fulfilment. Such we mean in which all, or by far the largest number of the people, are still in full communion with the Church, and walking in all its ordinances, prize them to their souls' health; who value its Creeds and doctrines, and see in its more perfect ceremonial only their due and legitimate expression. Here no difficulty can be entertained, for no objections are urged. And as it will be the pleasure, so it must be the bounden duty of a clergyman under such happier circumstances to make 'full proof of his ministry;' to withhold nothing from those who desire all that the Church can give; to be precise in ritual, to be full in the proffer of all the means of grace; to be unshrinking and unhesitating in doctrine; careless altogether of the cavils and objections of those who are without, and who can have no experience of the blessedness of a system which they refuse to try. And it will be obvious, that such cases deserve what, indeed, we are glad to think that they receive, from our rulers, not a mere cold permission to go on in 'the more excellent way,' but hearty protection and a zealous and frank cooperation and sympathy. Of the remarkable value in present difficulties, of some churches where a solemn and ceremonial religion is observed in the services, as a bar against solicitations and leanings Romewards, it is superfluous to speak.

Much that we have been arguing for may be comprised in a statement like this.—We do not ask for the imposition of a fixed and unvarying standard of ritual observances, which cannot be suited for every case. As the Church of England is at present constituted, it would be highly injurious to recall it at one bound to a standard for which it is undeniable its members are by no means sufficiently prepared; it would be unspeakably dreadful again, on the other hand, to commit all its congregations to a debased rule in ritual matters. We cannot afford to accept, still less to invite, a synodical decision—were it now practicable, which, perhaps, happily it is not—which should forbid services, and observances, and ornaments, which have been either enjoined or sanctioned or permitted at various periods since the Reformation. Either way, we advocate no force. We ask neither to be screwed up nor to be let down. We are quite content with present freedom and flexibility. What we want is a forbearance, varying according to varying emergencies, and a candid and large estimate of present facts: the day of abstract theories, all must admit, is

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gone by, and we ought to be most concerned with pressing and immediate duties. Particular cases, however, must be of constant occurrence, which do not at once fall under the loose and popular classes which we have sketched. Such are those Churches in which the changes are introduced, without any or much opposition or reluctance at the time. Here we think the observances ought at all hazards to be retained. The laity cannot, without gross hypocrisy, plead religious scruples about matters to which they have once assented: the old tradition is already effaced. When recent disputes encourage the noisy and irreligious to clamour, and when even quiet persons are carried away by the torrent, it is the duty of a pastor to resist this spirit, a most irreligious and anarchical one, to the very death. The question resolves itself into one of simple authority. Is the Church to be ruled by a self-elected conclave of lay elders, or by him who is the shepherd of the flock? Is his commission to feed the sheep, or to suffer them to feed or starve themselves? Here the path of duty is so plain, that it would be a waste of words to enlarge upon it. However difficult it may be to form a right judgment as to the duty or expediency of *introducing* an improved order of public service, we can scarcely anticipate a case in which it shall be right to *abandon* it.

Indeed, if anything could make us utterly despair of the Church of England—if the most convincing proof were required that it is a tree which God has not planted, such would be found in the miserably insufficient—the utterly immoral—the paltry and contemptible grounds upon which observances are now relinquished by many who found or made no difficulty in adopting them. Because there is a riot in Exeter, I will anticipate the storm. I will bow before the tempest breaks in London. I will not even wait for clamour. I will not even try whether the changes will be attended with edification. I will prove that I adopted them from caprice, rather than principle. I will abandon them for fear of contingent difficulties. I will show that my only rule of action is to sail with the stream, to secure pew-rents, and to please the newspapers. We cannot translate into more decorous language certain facts which are too palpable to be misunderstood, or misinterpreted; comments on them would be superfluous. We can only express our bitter regret that the improved services were ever adopted in quarters where so little of heart and stability were embarked in the matter. Such temporary adhesion to the order of the Prayer-book has done infinitely more harm to the Church, and to religion itself, than would a consistent, explicit, and intelligible opposition from the first. The one course would have showed a principle—we believe a bad, certainly a mistaken, one; the other proves the utter absence of all principle.

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Indeed, view it as we will, the present is a most awful juncture for the Church. We have already expressed sentiments which will be, in many 'High-Church' quarters, unpalatable, as to the original propriety of making so strenuous a point of rubrical conformity: we have taken the liberty to doubt whether to force it were our first duty. But this matter is already settled. We cannot undo what has been done: and done too, with, generally speaking, a good intention. We yield, however, to none in fears of the ultimate issue to the Church of the growing success which seems to attend parochial opposition to the 'innovations,' as they are called. As things are managed, there is not a single religious element in such opposition. The victory will be that of mob agitation: the defeat will be that of authority, however injudiciously claimed. The contest is strictly between the world and the Church, and the Church is beaten back throughout its whole line. Indeed, the more respectable of the Low-Church writers admit the fatal effects of that successful policy which they themselves were the first to evoke against the Rubricians. Chancellor Raikes was ready enough to appeal to the Churchwardens, by way of a blow at Tractarianism: but we trust that even that most injudicious person has the decency to be annoyed, when his mischievous little pamphlet is sent by the post as a challenge to the sectarians and infidels of a whole parish to rise in open rebellion against the minister who is 'set over them in the Lord.' The 'Christian Observer,' with that honesty which is generally to be found in the better principled Evangelicals, owns—

'A document meets our eyes, which we have perused, with much pain and alarm, when we consider all that it involves. We allude to the letter of the Rev. J. Symonds, Curate of Falmouth, to the Churchwardens of his parish, dated Feb. 20. The Churchwardens say that "Mr. Symonds, under the authority of the Rector, has ceded every point stipulated for by us in our official capacity." This is very remarkable language. The Churchwardens "*stipulate*," the Rector and his Curate "*cede*:" and they "*cede* every point *stipulated* for." And what are these points? Mr. Symonds says, "I purpose to discontinue (1) the chanting of the Psalms; (2) the turning towards the Communion-table by the Priest whilst the Creed is being read; (3) the use of the surplice in the pulpit; (4) the omission of the Collect and the Lord's Prayer immediately before the sermon; (5) and the reading of the Prayers of the* Communion Service when there is no Communion." Here are five points "stipulated for," and "ceded." Is this what any Clergyman—any Churchman—can think a good state of things? There is not one of these "ceded" points which is contrary to the doctrines or discipline of the Church of

* We find, however, that the Bishop of Exeter has expressly commanded this 'ceding' Curate *not* to relinquish this Prayer for the Church Militant, when there is no communion: and with a tolerably significant hint as to this cession.—*Ed. C. R.*

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England, except turning to the east, and that only tacitly; and being an old custom, and by many persons esteemed decent, we cannot see that one man has a right to interfere with another's personal liberty in the matter.'—*Christian Observer*, March, pp. 190, 191.

This is all very well, this palinode, but if the 'Christian Observer' will bear in mind that the clergy of Islington were the first to set this example of an appeal to the ignorance of the laity, the party must not be alarmed at a Frankenstein of their own creation. It is but the old story of Vortigern inviting the Saxons; and this the Evangelicals are beginning to find out: the wishes of the parishioners are much too wide for Calvinism. Some affect to think that Mr. Daniel Wilson and his curates must be a very learned and formidable body, if such results have attended any course of action which they thought proper to pursue. But where a theological air-pump has been at work for a good many years, the Church of England, especially in such places as Islington, is like an exhausted receiver, in which the guinea and the feather have precisely the same momentum and weight. It is not that this clerical body has the slightest intrinsic force: but levity itself becomes an important agent, when the resisting medium of sound doctrine is completely sucked out.

Now that the question is to be settled by popular clamour,* we can look the thing fairly in the face. And there is one aspect of the struggle which must present it under very encouraging auspices. It is just simple folly now, to believe that there is the slightest religious spirit in the present opponents of rubrics and surplices. The better part of the Evangelicals own that they have called up a devil which is not to be laid by their puny Establishmentism. And this state of things of course has its bright side. It cannot but be cheering that the enemies of the Church, under any form, are showing what they are. It is well for peers who write pamphlets such as, 'Revise the Liturgy,' to display themselves. Their aim is not the 'services to which their fathers were accustomed,' but no services at all. We like the Closes and the Raikeses better under their pure character as undisguised Puritans and fanatics. Puritans! it is an insult to the memory of the Prynnes and Cartwrights and Baxters of history, to class their gaunt, starched, amiable absurdities, their folio polemics, and early exercises three hours long, with the unutterable meanness of those who, in these days of unreality, caricature them. These men railed against the bigotry of the Church, only to instal the bigotry of the Conventicle—fierce to

* The most absurd instance of 'religious scruples' occurs, characteristically, in Ireland, where among those who express their opinion of 'alarming changes in the mode of conducting divine service at Hillsborough,' we find two 'Presbyterian Ministers.' Surely *Churchmen* must see whose game they are playing.

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the death against the Pope, they were equally rancorous for that holy man John Calvin: there was something earnest and true in all this; there was religion in it: bad, false religion; but still a sense of responsibility and judgment to come: they made sacrifices and endured the cross for what they believed to be the truth. When their time came to harry the parsons, they harried them with a smack of triumph: but they lost their own ears, and never blenched at the branding-iron, and bore the scoff and contumely right cheerfully, when they were the losing side. But now we find *religious* men, ministers of the Gospel, monopolists of evangelical teaching, calling upon churchwardens and vestries —and this with a peculiar official knowledge of what English churchwardens and vestries, especially in large towns, have come to be—to vindicate the rights of the laity, by refusing to collect alms for the poor! As soon as we are told that 'the ends of 'charity are more directly moved by a faithful exhibition of the 'Gospel, than by a continued exhortation to the duty,' (Chancellor Raikes)—a statement of the most practical Antinomian bearing—we can quite understand how far this person is responsible for the vestry meetings at St. George's in the East and Shoreditch. If the rights of the laity mean that they will not give money for the relief of the poor, and that they think the daily service antichristian, and that they much prefer hearing about faith to being told to practise it—be it so! Only let this be called by some other name than religious scruples.

In a word: Whatever difficulties we may have felt about stirring this rubrical question, as to the propriety of conformity on a general scale, however much we may regret that the great Church revival has taken this merely external form, we cannot but think that the very deadliest blow which has yet happened to the Church of England will be the probable fact, that not one of its ministers can bear up against the *civium ardor prava jubentium.* Surely they who introduced these changes, are bound to show that they are not mere formalists; that they had a real religious object at heart; that they did feel that these things were truths without which they had found their sermons and other teaching powerless, and mutilated and halting: and this they can only do by consistency; by firmness tempered with discretion, but still by consistency. Every possible reason for abstaining from improved ritual observances we could have acquiesced in before the tumults of Exeter: but *now* we cannot accept a single apology for yielding.

It may be expected of us to say something about the specific points which are now subjects of dispute. It is an inquiry which does not, as we have shown, especially interest us; for we think the question rather moral than historical, and, if we

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are so to call it, ecclesiological: yet we have formed opinions—decided opinions—upon the controverted matters of Rubric, and we may as well relieve a disquisition which has hitherto only touched upon abstract views of duty with some facts.

1. As to the prayer for the Church Militant when there is no communion. It really does puzzle us how any person of common sense can doubt what the directions of our Prayer-book are on the subject. Whether it is right, and whether it has the slightest sanction of primitive antiquity, to collect alms from those who are not communicants, some of whom have, perhaps, not been baptized, and some of whom are most probably schismatics and heretics, every Sunday, and to dedicate such alms from such persons upon the altar, and to offer them with the oblation of bread and wine, those more skilled than ourselves in the Canons of the Church must decide. We own to having a very strong opinion on this point. But that the Church of England does require this practice, and does enjoin this prayer of oblation to be read every Sunday, we make no doubt. Mr. Benson—and his bias would certainly not be in this direction—has taken, as we think, superfluous pains to clear this question; and when we cannot recall any higher literary authority for the opposite interpretation than the Bishop of Worcester, we do think an elaborate statement upon it thrown away. We think it right, however, to extract Mr. Benson's most convincing proof, because it applies so clearly to a pamphlet mentioned in our heading, by Mr. Wickham.

'But the Bishop of Worcester* asserts that "upon this point the Rubrics are certainly inconsistent." This opinion has been readily embraced by many individuals, in their anxiety to get rid of a part of the Communion service, which has, in some places, proved so offensive to the Laity, both in its own nature, and, still more, because of the illegal mode in which the collections then made were employed. I confess, however, that I cannot, upon mature consideration, satisfy my own mind that any real inconsistency is to be found. Let us consider the four Rubrics which relate to this subject. The first of these immediately precedes the Offertory sentences in the Communion service, and directs that, after the sermon, "then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of the sentences following."

'The second immediately follows the Offertory sentences, and says: "Whilst these sentences are in reading, the.....Churchwardens .....shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people in a decent bason.....and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table."

'Hence it is clear, that every Sunday, after the sermon, some of the

* See his Charge to Candidates, 1844, p. 9.

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sentences are to be read, alms to be collected, and the product of the collection in due form to be placed upon the Communion Table.

'The third Rubric is consecutive to the last-mentioned, and is expressed in these terms: "And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the Priest shall say" the prayer for the Church Militant.

'Taking this last injunction into consideration in connexion with the two former ones, and with those alone, the conclusion would naturally be, that as the bread and wine are to be placed on the holy Table only when there is a Communion, so, only when there is a Communion is the prayer for the Church Militant to be read. But I have said that there is a fourth Rubric relating to this matter. It is placed at the very end of the Communion service, because it refers not only to the Offertory, but also to the concluding Collects of that service. It runs thus: "Upon the Sundays and other Holydays, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the general prayer (for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth), together with one or more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the Blessing."

'From this it is as evident as words can make it, that the prayer for the Church Militant, as well as some of the Offertory sentences, is to be read on Sundays, even "when there is no Communion." But how is this to be reconciled with the former Rubric, which seems to require the prayer to be read only when there *is* a Communion? Simply and easily, by first saying, and then showing, that it only *seems* to require this, there being in fact no real inconsistency between the two. For the Rubric, which I have placed the third in order, does not merely specify that, after the alms have been collected and placed upon the Table, the Priest shall, when there is a Communion, read the prayer for the Church Militant. Had it said no more than this, I admit that it would have been hard to reconcile it with the language of the fourth Rubric. But it says more than this. It enjoins that after the alms have been placed on the Table, "then the Priest shall, when there is a Communion, place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done," and consequently not until then, he is to go on and say the accustomed Prayer for the Church Militant. Let us, then, keep this remark in view, and changing, for the sake of illustrating the argument, the order in which these two Rubrics stand in the Communion service, see whether they may not be made most entirely to harmonize. The one, which I have numbered as the 4th, requires the Offertory sentences and Prayer for the Church Militant to be read on Sundays, though there be no Communion. This being admitted, then comes the other, which I have numbered the 3rd, and tells the Minister what he would not otherwise have known, and that is, *at what time*, when there is a Communion, he is to put the necessary bread and wine on the Table,—namely, before he reads the above-mentioned prayer. The objects of the two Rubrics are in fact different, and had they been placed together in our Prayer-book, as I

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have placed them here, had that which requires the Church Militant prayer to be read on Sundays, though there be no Communion, stood the first in order, and then that which instructs us as to the time of putting the bread and wine on the Table, no one would ever have been betrayed into a supposition of their being irreconcilable with each other.

'From what has been said, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that, every Sunday morning, after the sermon, the Rubric requires the Offertory sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant to be read. This may be an unwelcome conclusion to many, but I firmly believe it to be inevitable and incontrovertible.'—*Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England considered*, pp. 50—52.

2. The surplice question is by no means so easy; and it was, doubtless, with especial reference to it, that the Archbishop alluded when he spoke of the difficulty of 'determining the intention of the Church with absolute certainty from the records of early practice.' There is one consideration—the preliminary one—to which we have not seen due weight attributed. It is this:—

The reason that many things are not clearly defined in our present Rubric is, because, in framing technical and formal directions for the external conduct of Divine worship, the revisers of the services had both in their minds and before their eyes, a practical system already at work: much of this, as they acknowledge, they intended to preserve. Many things, therefore, they called no attention to, because they foresaw no doubt nor difficulty in the matter. They supposed that all things would go on much in their existing course, except where they ordered a change; and this on the unbroken strength of the old tradition. The reformed Rubrics naturally assumed many things as too plain and too palpable to require formal injunctions and directions. Where the old principles and practices required no change, they thought it superfluous to re-enact them. The revisers of the services in Edward's time did not foresee the Puritan opposition. The only danger which they contemplated was on the ultra-ceremonial side. With these feelings, they were called upon only to prescribe in those cases where they wished a change, and this, of course, in the less formal direction. Nothing, therefore, can be argued from the silence of the Rubrics, any more than it can—we desire the parallel to be taken with reverence—from the silence of Scripture. In either case an existing practice is presupposed and assumed. Orders are given where doubts might be anticipated: but, on matters which presented no difficulty, enactment seems superfluous. Let us illustrate this.

It is quite conceivable that the first Book of Edward VI. might have remained in use without the miserable interferences of Bucer: there can be no question,—we assume this for the sake

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of the morality of the parties concerned,—that the compilers of the Book of 1549 intended it to remain in use, at least when they put it forth. Now in this book there is no direction whatever for the covering of the altar; not a word is there about white linen, or carpet, or silk, or anything else. Now would any person in his senses, knowing what the then practice of the Church in 1549 was, say that because the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. said nothing about the white linen cloth, therefore it was prohibited by that book? Other circumstances occurred; the Book was revised; and then this linen cloth was mentioned. But it is quite conceivable that the first Book might have come down unchanged to the present day, without one single word about this white cloth; because the compilers of the service never anticipated perplexity or hesitation about it. They found the white cloth in use; they intended it to remain in use; and *therefore* they said nothing about it.

Take another case, the bearing of which shall be the other way, but in which the force of the argument, from the silence of the Rubric, or the absence of direct orders, is equally strong. In the second Book of Edward VI., (1552,) the recitation of the Decalogue, with the responses in the Communion office, was first introduced. As at present, the Lord's Prayer and Collect were ordered to be said by 'the priest standing at the north side of the Table,' (1552); but no position is ordered for the saying of the Ten Commandments. The present Rubric, 'turning to the people,' for the Decalogue, was added at 1662; and the subsequent one, prefixed to the prayer for the King, 'standing as before,' *i. e.* at the north side, was also added at 1662. But in the book of 1552 this latter Rubric was, 'the Priest standing up and saying.' No position whatever, in the interval between 1552 and 1662, was enjoined for the 'distinct rehearsing' of the Ten Commandments, only the Priest was ordered to 'stand up' after it. Supposing, from this remarkable omission, and for the equally superfluous direction to 'stand up' at the Collect for the King, that some precisian was to have argued, that as the Rubric said nothing about 'standing up' at the Decalogue, it was to be rehearsed *kneeling*. How would common sense have answered this, but by appealing to the fact that the Lessons were ordered to be said standing, and turning to the people, and that the Decalogue, being of the nature of a lesson, must follow this universal practice and custom?

Both these are cases in which the silence of the Rubric proves no inhibition, although express directions were subsequently introduced; because, in either case, the implied tradition was supposed to be sufficiently strong to rule the order. Unless, indeed, any of those who are to make so much of the silence of the

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Rubrics are prepared to argue that, for the three years before 1552, there was no white cloth upon the altar; and for the 110 years before the Restoration the Decalogue was said by the Priest kneeling.

Again, until 1662, there was no direction about the number of godfathers and godmothers for a single child. The Rubric only speaks of 'children' to be baptized, in the plural, and therefore of 'godfathers and godmothers.' From the entire absence of any prescribed number of sponsors, before the Restoration, with what show of justice might it have been argued, from the silence or ambiguity of the Rubric, that one godfather for a male, or one godmother for a female, would have been deemed sufficient before 1662?

Nothing, therefore, can be concluded from the silence of Rubrics, especially when the custom was supposed to be sufficiently settled from the practice of the unreformed Church without a specific direction. Some things, therefore, have descended to us by unbroken tradition without any rubrical authority; such as the thanksgiving at the Gospel. Some things were at the first revision assumed to be sufficiently fixed, which afterwards were expressly ordered, when the Puritan controversy had caused them to be partly abandoned; such as the bowing at the name of Jesus, by the canons of 1604, and the oblation of the elements to be made by the Priest himself, and the covering of the consecrated bread and wine with the veil, by the Rubrics of 1662. And some things we know to have been practised after 1552, and which have been more or less preserved or lost, but which were neither enjoined nor forbidden by the Rubrics, but solely on the unwritten law of the Church's custom descending from the ante-reformation Church by tradition only; such as the custom of washing the hands before consecration, the mixed chalice, bowing to the altar, rood-screens, stone-altars, (as we believe,) caps, stoles, pictures in churches, and the like.

And as the Reformers could not have foreseen all the Puritan controversy, and therefore could not have intended virtually to forbid whatever they did not expressly enjoin, so neither could they have anticipated an interval of twenty years, the period of the Great Rebellion and Usurpation, in which the offices of the Church were entirely suspended. And we can approximate to an estimate of how many unwritten practices were actually lost at that time, by recalling the fact, that the whole Plain-Song of the Church, which had hitherto existed simply by tradition, was with the greatest possible difficulty recovered at the Restoration. A very brief period of disuse is enough to obliterate ceremonies and uses for which there is no express form in existence, however general and recognised their previous observance, and however

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implied their previous permission and authority. Rather than draw a general canon by saying that the Church of the Reformation intended virtually to abrogate whatever it did not enjoin, we might with more fairness take its principle to have been to permit whatever it did not forbid, provided that the particular observance was in general use before its silence in the Reformed Service-book.

A clear grasp of this principle will help us in the surplice question; and by adopting it, we shall be led to the practice of the ante-reformation Church, as forming, at least, a tolerable presumption of the mind and intention of the reformed services. Bearing this general rule of order in mind, to be applied as occasion offers, we shall ask attention to the distinction of sermons, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Sermons are, and always have been, of two kinds, *ad populum*, and *ad fideles*—for edification to those in full communion, and for warning and conversion to the imperfect members of the body. The two classes of sermon differ in theory and in their final cause. At the time of the Reformation it was thought that the people wanted instruction in the rudiments of the faith; and, consequently, great encouragement was given to preachers, especially as itinerant messengers of a new set of opinions. They were sent about from parish to parish, to preach on the week-days, and as they could get congregations. Hence the petitions of the people for a known preacher to 'bestow a sermon' upon some place, supposed to be particularly destitute of the Church's prophetical office. Hence the class of 'licensed preachers,'—hence the sermons in market-places, at Paul's cross, and the like; instances of which are too familiar to be quoted.

But with all this abnormal and merely occasional preaching, the Reformers did not altogether deprive the sermon of its other and equally, perhaps more, important character. It is true that they encouraged even to exaggeration the office of the Doctor, but the Priest's place was still indicated. This class, and it was only a class, of preaching resembled in kind what is known as a 'mission' on the continent. At the time of the Reformation its peculiar doctrines were propagated in the same way that S. Charles Borromeo reclaimed his diocese, and in which the brethren of S. Vincent of Paul and S. Alphonsus Liguori, preach in Italian villages,—that true way which we might have adopted in the case of Wesley, and of which sectarian revivals are the counterfeit. Now this office, though strictly belonging to the Church, is not a sacerdotal function in any sense. It is the work of an evangelist. The other sermon is the duty of the pastor—when he feeds his flock. And therefore this sermon accompanies the highest mysteries of the faith. Originally the

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sermon* in the public services belonged especially to the Bishop's office; a trace of which remains in the continental practice of the preachers kneeling before the Bishop when present, and even among ourselves in the nomination of Lent preachers in the diocese of London. Of the various classes of sermons (and others might be named) these are the chief:—The missionary sermon to the heathen; the missionary sermon to apostate Christians; both of which might be delivered in the open air, at crosses and the like, or at which if preached in the churches the heathen might be, as they often were, present; catechetical sermons to the candidates for baptism, or the class of hearers; homilies or scriptural exposition to the Church at large; and more particularly the sermon during the Liturgy.

It is obvious that the theory of this latter species of sermon is distinct from that of the others. Its object is different and higher. Its place is either after the Creed or the Gospel; a distinction which, as far as the faithful are concerned, is unimportant, since the Creed is as it were the comment on the Gospel, and the sermon is but a continuation of the same comment by the voice of Faith. The same gift of the Holy Spirit, as the witness to the one faith in the Creed, is appealed to in the sermon; and its position in this place was designed to bring out this. The Roman custom, as is well known, *when a sermon is preached during mass*, (the exception in practice rather the rule,) is to preach it after the Gospel. In the 'Rubricæ Generales,' tit. vi. § 6, Ritus servandus in celebratione Missæ:

'Si autem sit prædicandum Concionator finito evangelio prædicat, et sermone sive concione expletâ, dicatur *Credo*, vel si non sit dicendum, cantetur offertorium.'

Cardinal Bona, however, states distinctly:

'Hic mos nunquam, interruptâ serie ab initio ecclesiæ, usque ad nostra tempora servatus est, ut próxime post evangelium sermo sive homilia vel tractatus ad populum habentur.'—*Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. 7. vol. iii. p. 159.

Our present practice to preach after the Creed has the sanction of the Apostolical Constitutions; viii. 4. Mr. Maskell, in his recent work, p. 111, reminds us from the same authority that, formerly, the Bishop, or rather the Presbyters and Bishop, preached in turn on the same occasion; a practice

* The most systematic treatise on preaching is 'Ferrarius de ritu sacrarum Ecclesiæ veteris concionum.' Bingham, whose account of Sermons is very confused, has borrowed from it largely. In this work are contained the most curious particulars, among other matters, of popular preaching in the early Church: the loud cheers and applause, and clapping of hands, and stamping of feet which a favourite orator met with, remind us strongly of Exeter-hall. One mode of testifying satisfaction was something like the wreaths and bouquets of the Opera House.

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which seems to have the Apostolic authority of 1 Cor. xiv. 27; although, since in the early Church, the catechumens and heathen were allowed to be present at the sermon and lessons, it must be borne in mind that the sermon in that case was before the Creed, as ordered in the present Roman Rubric in the Missal. It is quite certain that none but the faithful recited the Creed: either, then, the sermon must have preceded it, or it was not *this* sermon, viz. the sermon during the Liturgy, (we use the word in its strict sense), at which the inferior classes were present.

It is not a little remarkable, then, that the English Reformed Church changed the position of the sermon. In the Sarum Missal it was ordered after the Gospel; and Le Brun says that it was the custom in England and Germany that the sermon should follow the Gospel. So that, if anything were wanted especially to bring out the sacred character of that sermon which occurs in our present Liturgy, and which alone is ordered in divine service, it would be the fact that the Creed, 'the further 'test of the orthodoxy of those who remained after the dismissal 'of the catechumens, and infidels, and professed to be faithful,'* precedes the sermon among us.

We arrive, then, at this dilemma: either the Reformers, by postponing the sermon to the Creed, did intend to invest the sermon with peculiar sanctity, as especially addressed *ad fideles*, or they must have ignorantly run counter to the whole practice of Catholic antiquity, by permitting the Constantinopolitan Creed to be recited before the profane. We incline to the first and most creditable alternative of the difficulty.

The character of this sermon is further evinced by the place from which it was delivered. Anciently, when the Bishop preached, he delivered his sermon from the steps of the altar, or from his throne, sitting. Consequently the ambo, or pulpit, was placed on the north, or gospel side of the altar; because the sermon, as the Tractatus, or Postil on the Gospel was the Church's authoritative commentary on it. On the Rubric, 'Si 'autem sit prædicandum,' Gavantus notes: 'Hoc loco concionan- 'dum est ex ordine Romano, ut concionator sit quasi interpres 'Evangelii: sed antiquiores post Symbolum concionabantur.' The question as to the right side of the pulpit in parochial churches is thus settled by a consideration of this principle. It varied, however, in cathedral churches, because there, if the Bishop preached, he would preach from his throne; but if any other person preached, he would deliver his sermon from the pulpit placed opposite the Bishop's throne, as it is in our English

* Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, chap. iv. § 6, vol. 2, p. 55.

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cathedrals. This we learn from Prudentius, who, after speaking of the Episcopal cathedra, adds—

'Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
Tollitur, antistes prædicat unde Deum.'

In cathedral churches the position of the Bishop's throne rules the position of the pulpit in the quire; in parochial churches it ought always to be on the Gospel side. The primitive practice of preaching from the altar steps is preserved, at least on some occasions, in the church of Milan, which has never received the Gregorian services, either in their arrangement or in Plain-song.

There is nothing, we conceive, to prevent the Church of England from recurring to this practice; one essentially varying from the Roman custom. And we know few things, as we have already hinted, which would more satisfactorily dispose of the present dispute than for the Liturgical sermon to be delivered from the altar in a surplice, and for another sermon to be ordered, after the Litany, in the pulpit, which is now generally in the nave.* The services would consequently be divided according to their original intention; and the Communion Office, with its characteristic sermon, would be reserved for the communicants only.

From this view of the purpose and place of the Liturgical sermon, we are now enabled to understand the question of its appropriate vestment.

Gavantus, on the Roman Rubric, already quoted, remarks,—

'Si *celebrans* concionari velit sedeat super scamno nudo, in 'cornu evangelii, capite tecto, aut sine casulâ in pulpito—orator 'Romæ non utitur stolâ super *cottam*, ob reverentiam Papæ qui 'extra sacramenta stolâ utitur.'—*Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Pars ii. tit. vi. vol. i. p. 130.

Upon this, Merati's note is very full:—

'Si vero celebrans concionetur ad pulpitum *sine casulâ* ducetur 'a cæremonario. Præpositi et alii Episcopo inferiores ut faci-

* 'The black gown is not an ecclesiastical, but an academical vestment. It is fit for the preacher or evangelist, but not for the pastor. It is a presumption in any one but a member of an University to wear it; and no one who is not, ought to wear it any more than he should wear a military or naval uniform. The office of the evangelist is to convert men by reasoning with those who have fallen away from their baptismal vows, and are no longer obedient to the voice of their pastor. He therefore wears the dress of the *doctor*—the learned reasoner. The pastor, however, addresses only those who know the shepherd's voice, and are obedient thereto; and as he speaks the voice of the Church to faith, he wears the dress the Church gives him. The difference of the dress marks the difference of the thing to be done: but since the Clergy now are ignorant of that difference, and under the term "sermon," confound things wholly dissimilar in their nature, it would be extraordinary if they did not exhibit a corresponding ignorance respecting the vestment in which it is to be performed. Verily, the people need the preaching of the gown.'—*Henry Drummond, Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion*, p. 342.

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'lius audiantur, depositâ planetâ et manipulo, si velint, procedant 'ad pulpitum, et finitâ concione ea resumant.

'Si vero alius a celebrante concionari debuerit, antequam pul-'pitum ascendat, si sit clericus, superpelliceo indui debet; et 'cum stolâ si sit sacerdos (extra urbem tamen, v. s); si vero con-'cionator sit regularis remanet indutus solo habitu suo regulari: 'si canonicus vel dignitas cum cappa vel almutia super rochettum: 'si vero sit Episcopus, et non solemniter celebret, habitu ordinario 'indutus, videlicet rochetto et mozzettâ, additâ stolâ: qui si so-'lemniter celebret Pontificalibus indumentis cum mitrâ, &c. 'Si vero Episcopus extra suum Diœcesim concionetur, non qui-'dem mozzettam sed mantelletam habebit.'

Bauldryus, Manuale Cæremoniarumis. Veneti. 1778. Caput x. p. 19.

'Sermocinaturus antequam pulpitum ascendat cottâ indui 'debet si sit clericus, cum stolâ si sit sacerdos (extra civitatem '[sc. Romæ] tamen, et si sit consuetudo): si vero regularis' [ut supra, in Gavantus] 'si canonicus canonicali, et si episcopus 'celebret, canonicus ipse pluviali debet esse paratus. Si epis-'copus concionem habeat, et non celebret, rocchetto, mozzettâ* et 'stolâ utitur, aut etiam pluviali, et tunc mitrâ utitur cum baculo.'

Quarti on the Rubric says the same.

'Concionator prædicabit si sit clericus superpelliceo indutus, et supra cum stola.'

And then he observes the distinction about the stole at Rome, as a peculiar custom of that Church.

The conclusion, then, is clear. Our Reformers in this matter, according to a principle already laid down at large, adopted, or rather preserved, the practice which they found in use, and which still, according to these great ritualists, (to whom might be added Castaldus, *In Praxi Cæremon* lib. ii. sect. 2, cap. 6,) is the law of the Western Church. If the preacher of the sermon, during the Liturgy, be the celebrant he preaches in his eucharistic vestment, taking off the chasuble, and laying aside the maniple. If the preacher be not the celebrant he preaches in the vestment which he wears during the celebration. But the Anglican vestment required for the celebrant is the albe or surplice, and during the celebration a vestment (*i. e.* a chasuble) or cope: therefore if an Anglican celebrant preaches, he should lay aside the vestment or cope, and preach in his albe or *surplice:* and if one who is not the celebrant, 'a priest or deacon, who is ready to help the priest in the ministration,' preaches, he would be vested during the celebration with 'the vesture appointed for his mini-

* Mozzetta, Birrus, Lacerna (idem) indicat jurisdictionem: so we find from the Index to Gavantus.

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stration, that is to say, an albe with tunicle:' consequently he, following the same rule, would lay aside his tunicle, and preach in the albe, or, as we shall presently show, the *surplice*. If any other clergyman preaches, who is neither the principal minister, who still wears his vestment, nor one of those assisting at the Communion, who still wear their tunicles, he would preach in that vestment which he ordinarily wears in the quire, *i. e.* the *surplice*.

Of all the writers who in

'The one weak, washy, everlasting flood,'

which has been poured out upon this most tiresome subject, the vestment proper for the sermon, Mr. Benson is the fairest and nearest to the truth. In the others we are bound to say, that there has been very little research in the proper quarter; and they have repeated each other *ad nauseam*. The fact may be candidly admitted, that whatever the law was, and whatever its intention was, the illegal use of the gown, in preaching the sermon during the Communion, arose from the encouragement given to the licensed and ambulatory preachers, whose proper dress in which to preach *their* sermons was a gown or priest's cloak. They were the cleverest people, and the most in favour with congregations; and so the humble parish priest thought it a useful thing to adopt their dress, and, as far as possible, to identify himself with them. That they did wear the gown requires no proof; and it is for this reason, that they are delivered by *preachers*, that the University sermons are preached in academical gowns; and, curiously enough, at the only Cathedral in which the sermon is delivered in the black gown, St. Paul's, the morning sermon is that which was formerly preached at Paul's Cross, and the preacher is the sole lineal representative of the licensed preacher of the Reformation. That the Cathedrals are the standard of all other Churches, and that in *them* the sermon during Communion is preached in the surplice, few are prepared to deny.

One question alone remains; for while Mr. Benson and Mr. Robertson, though with considerable reluctance, both admit that the Rubrics of Edward the First's book are still in force, it is quite superfluous to go into that argument: yet, as though to throw discredit upon the surplice, and by a side-wind to attract some favour for the black gown, as being at least not less illegal than the surplice, both Mr. Benson and Mr. Robertson argue that the albe is the only legal vestment for the sermon. The Bishop of Exeter seems to admit this. Mr. Benson, though he does not own it, would perhaps think, that if it be admitted that the cope is the proper vestment for the celebrant in the Communion Service, and also that the sermon is in our service-book restricted to the Liturgy, that the sermon ought to be preached, if by the celebrant, in a cope. We have shown, by

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facts, that the cope, or chasuble, is always taken off at the sermon; and our Rubric, by restricting its use to 'ministrations at the altar,' sufficiently excludes it from the pulpit. The sermon might be preached in the cope, if it were delivered from the altar, but only, we think, in that case. The only question now is, whether the surplice and albe are sufficiently identified so as to allow the ministers in the Communion Service to use either indifferently. Mr. Robertson ('How to Conform,' &c., 2d edition, p. 105, note,) says, 'The alternative of a surplice appears to be excluded by 'the fact, that the albe is the under-vesture prescribed for *all* the 'clergy at communion.' We think that there is not so much an *alternative* given by the Rubric, but an absolute identification of them, or if you will, a complete confusion between the surplice and albe; or, it may be, a feeling that the two vestments were so nearly alike, that it was hardly worth while to make a distinction between them.

Suppose that the Reformers confounded the two, albe and surplice, or admitted an alternative: this is not a whit less remarkable and strange than that they should have permitted an alternative between cope and vestment for the Communion Office, —the cope, the most unmanageable, and awkward, and inconvenient vestment conceivable for the celebrant; and the vestment, or chasuble, the very contrary. And yet, by that strange perplexity which has attended us, the cope is hardly lost; and of the chasuble there is, we believe, no instance whatever since the Reformation. There was no ancient authority whatever for the use of the cope by the celebrant: it was exactly that vestment which he could *not* wear. The cope is a processional vestment, worn by all orders of the clergy; scarcely a sacerdotal dress at all: most properly used in processions, and out of doors, as one of its names signifies, *pluviale;* and as the term cope, in coping-stones, has come to mean among us. And yet a choice was left between this and the most suitable of all vestments, the chasuble,* *(casula* or *planeta,)* which leaves the arms entirely free. Such alternative between vestments so totally dissimilar, will reconcile us to a permission being left between albe and surplice, where there is very little difference indeed. And that there is such an alternative, we argue from the terms of the Rubrics.

'The Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for the ministration; that is to say, a white albe plain, [*i. e.* without apparels,] with a vestment or cope.

* If Mr. Palmer is right, (Origines Liturgicæ,) in assigning a common type, viz, the ancient pænula, to both chasuble and cope, it is quite clear that the one was restricted to, and the other excluded from, the use of the celebrant, on the ground of utility. But we are not aware of any authority for a common origin of two vestments,

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'Though there be none to communicate with the Priest, yet those days, the Priest shall put on him a plain albe OR SURPLICE, and say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper,) until after the Offertory; and then shall add, &c.

'And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.'

We quite follow Mr. Benson, who argues, p. 44,

'Sundays and other holydays are days when "the people be customably assembled to pray." On those days, therefore, whether there be any or "none disposed to communicate with the Priest," it appears, from the two Rubrics taken in conjunction, that the Priest is to "put on him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope," not only for the celebration of the Lord's Supper itself, but in order to "say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper,) until after the Offertory," which includes the prayer for the Church Militant. It seems tolerably clear, that if the sermon be a part of the Communion Service, and if the same garb ought to be worn by the minister throughout, an albe with a cope is the proper vestment to preach in, and not the surplice alone.'

In which statement we certainly coincide, with the exception of reading 'an albe or a surplice:' conceiving that the identification of them in the second rubric governs the interpretation of the other, just as the choice is left between the cope, and vestment or chasuble.

And that there is, strictly speaking, very little practical difference between albe and surplice, is obvious to those who have investigated them. 'The surplice,' we are told in Mr. Pugin's Glossary, 'like the rochet and cotta, is a declension from the 'albe, which was the original vestment used by all who minis-'tered at the altar.' 'The difference between rochet and sur-'plice is, that the rochet has close sleeves, and sometimes no 'sleeves.' We suspect that the surplice, *linea*, was the original garment from which albe and rochet are alike variations. The albe is only the surplice—made as many surplices now are, with only an opening to pass over the head, and not open from top to bottom—girded with a cingulum, and with sleeves, not fastened at the wrist but, free like those of a cassock. Perhaps the worst of our vestments is the episcopal rochet, of which the sleeves, which should not be full, are generally separate: and the rochet itself, instead of being close in front, is fastened up the side. There is ancient authority for what our rubric prescribes for the bishop's albe and rochet; which though similar, are not more so than the dalmatic* or tunicle, with the chasuble, which are both

one of which is nothing but a cloak, fastened in front; and the other, an oval vestment, with a circular aperture to pass over the head.

* Wheatley makes a curious error in calling the tunicle ordered in our rubric, 'a sky-coloured cloak.' It may be of any colour, and it resembles a cope with sleeves,

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episcopal vestments. The most unintelligible vestment is the episcopal chimere, as at present made. It was after the Reformation scarlet. Mr. Palmer thinks it the same as 'mantelletum, a 'sort of cope, with apertures for the arms to pass through.' If so, it answers to what is mentioned in Gavantus, Bauldry, and Ducange, as the mozzetta, an episcopal vestment.

To return for one moment to the supposed difficulty raised by Mr. Benson, that the albe or surplice cannot be worn in the pulpit, because the 'communion service and sermon have dif-'ferent places assigned to them: the one is delivered in the 'pulpit, which stands in the body of the church; the other is 'read at the sacramental board in the chancel.' Admitting that the liturgical sermon is obliged to be delivered in the pulpit, of which we have our doubts, the pulpit as a fact is not in the nave in cathedrals: nor in such places, many examples of which occur in Somersetshire, where the rood-pulpit* remains: and it is quite clear that this difficulty did not exist when Edward's First Book was published, when the rood-lofts were not taken down. Besides the custom on the continent remains for the preacher of the sermon, during mass, to preach in albe and stole, even when the pulpit is not in the quire. As to the discovery made by writers in the newspapers, that the sermon abroad is often preached in other dress than an albe or surplice, this applies either to the case of a monk preaching, or when the sermon, as is usually the case, is not in the ordinary of the mass. For our evening sermon we think the gown the best dress, unless, as in some cathedrals, it is introduced after the third collect.

Our readers will be enabled to connect this vestiary argument with the principles of expediency which we laid down in the outset. It is one thing to ascertain the law of the Church: another to apply it under existing emergencies. Only let us be guarded from this imputation, that we are suggesting the immediate revival of albe, cope and tunicle. Our aim is rather to vindicate truth, than to ask a premature development of ceremonial, for which we are in every way unworthy.

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opened from the bottom at each side. It is also a royal robe, and was correctly made for, and worn by, George IV. at his coronation.

* Mr. Palmer is certainly wrong in supposing that 'the Gospel was read from the 'pulpit in various places where there were several clergy. This was also customary 'in the English Church, and it is recognised in the injunctions of Edward VI.,' *i.e.* if he supposes it to be the present pulpit. The passage to which he alludes is, 'in the 'time of high mass, he that saith or singeth, shall read or cause to be read, the Epistle 'and Gospel of that mass in English and not in Latin, in the pulpit.'—*Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, i. 13. The pulpit—a word meaning any high place—here alluded to, is the rood-loft; which seems very reluctantly to have given way to the present pulpit. There are no Elizabethan pulpits: and even Grindal only issues injunctions to alter, not to destroy, the rood-lofts.

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ART. VI.—1. *Considerations on the New Religious Test. A Circular.* Oxford: Baxter.

2. *The Proposed Degradation and Declaration. Considered in a Letter addressed to the Rev. the Master of Balliol College. By* GEORGE MOBERLEY, D. C. L., *Head Master of Winchester College, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.* London: Rivingtons.

3. *An Earnest Appeal to the Members of the Oxford Convocation, on the proposed Assumption of Ecclesiastical Powers by the University. By* HENRY ARTHUR WOODGATE, B. D., *Rector of Belbroughton, late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College.* London: Burns.

4. *Heads of Consideration on the Case of Mr. Ward. By the Rev.* JOHN KEBLE, M. A., *late Fellow of Oriel College.* London: Parker and Rivingtons.

5. *Reasons for Voting against the Measures to be proposed in Convocation at Oxford, on February* 13, 1845. London: Burns.

6. *The Proposed Oxford Statute. A Letter in the "British Churchman." By* M. A., *of Magdalen College, Oxford.*

7. *Mr. Ward and the New Test; or, Plain Reasons why those who censure Mr. Ward should not Vote for the New Statute, which limits the Thirty-nine Articles.*

8. *Observations on the Propositions to be submitted to Convocation, on February* 13. Oxford: Baxter.

9. *The Month of January, Oxford. By* WILLIAM WINSTANLEY HULL, M. A., *of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of Brazenose College.* London: Seeleys.

10. *A Letter to the Members of the Venerable House of Convocation in the University of Oxford. By* RICHARD CLARKE SEWELL, D. C. L., *Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.* London: Richards.

11. *Some Observations on the Jurisdiction of the House of Convocation. By* JOHN P. NORMAN, M. A., *of the Inner Temple, Special Pleader.* Oxford: Vincent.

12. *A Letter from* Mr. PALMER, *of Worcester, to the Churchman's Newspaper, in Justification of the New Test.*

13. *The University, the Church, and the New Test. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Chichester. By the Rev.* J. GARBETT, *Prebendary of Chichester, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.* London: Hatchard.

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14. *Case as to the Proposed Degradation and Declaration in the Statute of February* 13. *Submitted to Sir J. Dodson, Knight, Queen's Advocate; and R. Bethell, Esq., Queen's Counsel; with their Opinion on its decided Illegality. Accompanied with Notes on the History and Nature of Academical Degrees, and on the History of Subscription in the University of Oxford.* Oxford: Macpherson. London: Pickering.

15. *A Letter to the Hebdomadal Board on Mr. Ward's Case, and the New Test. By the Rev.* WILLIAM BRUDENELL BARTER, *Rector of Burghclere and Highclere, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Burns.

16. *A Letter to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, on the Measures intended to be proposed to Convocation on the* 13*th of February. By* A. C. TAIT, D. C. L., *Head Master of Rugby School, late Fellow of Balliol College.* Edinburgh: Blackwood.

17. *The New Statute and Mr. Ward. A Letter to a Non-resident Member of Convocation. By the Rev.* FREDERIC D. MAURICE, *Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and Professor of English Literature in King's College, London.* London: Parker; and Rivingtons.

18. *Thoughts on the Rule of Conscientious Subscription, on the Purpose of the Thirty-nine Articles, and on our present Perils from the Romish System. In a Second Letter to a Non-resident Member of Convocation. By the Rev.* FREDERIC D. MAURICE. London: Parker; and Rivingtons.

19. *The Subject of Tract XC. Historically considered,* &c. *Second Edition. With a Preface relating to the Measure, about to be submitted to the Oxford Convocation. By the Rev.* F. OAKELEY, M. A., *Fellow of Balliol College.* London: Toovey.

20. *An Address to Members of Convocation in Protest against the Proposed Statute. By the Rev.* W. G. WARD, M. A., *Fellow of Balliol College.* London: Toovey.

21. *A Reply to some Part of Mr. Ward's Defence, justifying certain Parties in recording their Votes against him. By the Rev.* E. M. GOULBURN, M. A., *Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Perpetual Curate of Holywell.* Oxford: Graham.

22. *The Oxford Crisis. A Word to the Wise. By a Member of Magdalen College, Oxford.* London: Ridgway.

23. *A Defence of Voting against the Propositions to be submitted to Convocation on February* 13, 1845. *By* W. F. DONKIN, M. A., *Savilian Professor of Astronomy.* London: Parker.

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24. *Reasons for Voting upon the Third Question to be proposed in Convocation on the 13th instant. By* ROBERT HUSSEY, B. D., *Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.* London: Parker; and Rivingtons.

25. *A Short Appeal to Members of Convocation upon the proposed Censure of No. XC. By* FREDERIC ROGERS, *Fellow of Oriel.* London: Burns.

26. *The proposed Decree on the Subject of No. XC.* Oxford: Baxter.

27. *A Letter in the "Times" of February. By* J. R. HOPE, Esq.

28. *A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. By the Rev.* C. P. EDEN.

29. *Some Answer to the Question, "How did you Vote on the 13th?" in a Letter to a Friend. By a Junior M. A., one of the* 386. Oxford: Graham.

30. *A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor (February* 13). *By the Rev.* W. G. WARD.

31. *A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor (February* 14). *By the Rev.* F. OAKELEY.

32. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, on a Subject connected with the recent Proceedings at Oxford. By the Rev.* F. OAKELEY.

33. *Various Papers and Circulars.*

THE prefixed list of pamphlets and papers is a sufficient memento, if any were wanted, of the important and rousing character of those attempts of which the University of Oxford has, during the last three months, been the stage. The proposal for the abolition of subscription to the Articles in 1834, and the censure of Dr. Hampden in 1836, each called forth its body of pamphlets: the Hebdomadal Board's declaration against No. XC. in 1841, the Hampden question revived of 1842, the suspension of Dr. Pusey in 1843, and the Theological Statute of 1844, all produced their demonstrations: but the commencement of the year 1845 has exhibited a vigour in this department, extraordinary even for Oxford. The promulgation of the New Test, and the measures against Mr. Ward, produced a rapid and copious stream from the press, which no former occasion has equalled. The collective issue of six weeks gives nearly a pamphlet or paper *per diem*, and the pile continued to swell up to the very day of Convocation. The withdrawal of the Test stopped the line of comments in that direction; but the sudden substitution of the attack on No. XC. for the withdrawn measure, was responded to instantaneously, and the emergency was met in eight or nine pamphlets or papers in the course of the week. It is a remarkable circumstance, that nearly all these

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demonstrations are on one side. We do not mention this in any spirit of boasting, but we say that it ought to be observed as a fact. It is a very striking and significant fact. Time after time have the Hebdomadal Board issued their legislative propositions; and there has been plenty of writing against them, and hardly any at all for them. The proposition, whatever it may be, comes forth, and it is answered by a dozen pens. Answer upon answer speaks,—the proposition is dumb: it says nothing; it stands quite still, and is answered. The Hebdomadal Board rest upon the strength of that prescriptive weight that attaches to all Boards and Corporations of long standing as such, and which the institution has entirely independent of its members. Undoubtedly this is a source of strength which the Board has, and of real strength, too, so long as it lasts. But that is the point. Prescriptive weight is no eternal, immoveable piece of property. It does not support itself; it wants support from the expression of surrounding opinion, and, if it does not get it, it declines. The authority of that Board and that Corporation totters, whose members think the fact, that they see their own faces round a table, a pledge of absolute strength and perpetual duration. The expression of opinion outside of them has its effect. Each tide of publications undermines some old stay, effaces some old impression, affixes a colour, creates a point of view. A mass of opinion expressed in type has force. It is far from being the only element of influence, but it is one, and a very important one. It cannot absolutely make no difference to a side whether it has it or not. Consequences of some sort or other flow from it. And when that opinion is not the opinion of one school, or one party only, but a gathering from all quarters,—when one person for one reason, another for another, but nearly the whole of the writing world, for some reason or other, objects and censures, the symptom is still more unfavourable. A Board may repose upon an old prestige, and may, and doubtless will, be supported by it, so long as that prestige last. But the inevitable tendency of such demonstrations as these is to undermine its prestige. It is a fact, that the Hebdomadal Board are hardly represented in this department, and, with the exception of Mr. Garbett, we know of no regular champions that they have. And now to our subject.

It is undeniable, that the occurrences of the last few months have placed the Oxford Hebdomadal Board in a particular position, and a very formal, fixed, and definite one towards the Catholic movement in our Church. It has long taken its side; indeed, it has had no new position to assume; its line has been clear from the first; but the last half year has fully matured, completed, and manifested it. It is a remark that any reader of

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history must make, that every movement, religious or political, that takes place in the world, finds the opposition to it, sooner or later, centering in some one particular spot. The movement creates vague sensations at first, hurried fears and sharp disgusts; but these feelings are scattered over a surface, and break out unconnectedly and casually. One person objects here, another there; the feeling spreads over a large field enough, and a broad diffused animus expresses itself as it can. This continues for some time, and the opposition goes on more as irregular appetency, than as actual force. It has no centre, no channel, no form, or body. It acts by disjointed efforts and ebullitions, and speaks through scattered mouths, and beats the air. But, by degrees, this opposition grows into shape, and comes to a point. Some knot, that there happens to be somewhere amid the loose mass, affords a beginning to concentration, and acts as a nucleus. It does not much signify what the knot is, so long as there is one. It does for a centre. Persons, here and there, begin to consider themselves represented by it, and to attach themselves and their influence to it. It attracts attention, and its operations are watched. People ask one another what this knot is doing, and a sort of tacit consent points to it as the agent and executive in the cause. In the course of a few years, the antagonistic feeling, from being a rambling and diffused one, has found a local habitation, and we look round, after an interval, and find that a particular Board, or knot of some sort, is occupying a regular post, and considered to be carrying on matters against the opponent. A regular movement, of whatever kind, is sure to evoke, sooner or later, its regular antagonist; and of the Catholic movement in this country, the Oxford movement, or whatever name we give it, the formal antagonist that has been evoked is the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. Whether or not their functions in the matter will pass, as time goes on, into higher hands, and some future stage in the struggle elicit some even more formidable centre of opposition, we do not now inquire. We are speaking of the time present. The Hebdomadal Board is the first nucleus which the chances of things have brought into action against our Church-revival. It has assumed a definite position, and the Church cause knows who its present antagonist is.

The proceedings that have recently taken place, we say, have brought out and consummated this feature in the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. A signal, formal, and mature theological antagonism is certainly given, when one side tries openly to expel the other by a Test. This boundary has been crossed. This overt act has been taken. The stage of mere controversy is over. The Hebdomadal Board stand in the very ultimate atti-

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tude which opposition can assume. A new test has been positively proposed by them, the evident and obvious object of which was, the removal of persons of the theological school which they oppose from the University. The Board has made a distinct attempt, in the direction of actual *force;* and has aimed at getting a power into its hands which would end the struggle without appeal, so far as the Oxford field was concerned. Without going into details, we only observe this fact at present; and we repeat that, whereas the Board has taken a course against the Church movement from the first, and shown its feeling time after time in definite measures they have proposed to Convocation; the late project of the New Test has brought this line to a climax, and exhibited the Board as that movement's formal and regular antagonist.

And now, who is this antagonist? we must ask. We see an agent—the next step is to make some inquiries about him. With these facts before our eyes, and with this undisguised attitude which the Board have taken before us, it becomes a most important preliminary point to ask what that Board is. What do we mean when we say that the Board does this, and the Board does that? What is the Board? When the Board does its work, who is it that does it? what is it that does it? What is that influence from which these measures have proceeded? What is that actual *animus* which these attempts represent and embody? What are the heads at work? What is the real agency to which these proceedings are to be attributed? The Hebdomadal Board has acted, but who is the Hebdomadal Board?

It is quite necessary to have a clear understanding on this point, in order to put the real truth and matter-of-fact before persons' eyes. A plain statement of any proceedings, as they really are, should include in it some information about the agents. The agent is part of the fact itself; as the motive of an action is part of an action. We are extremely apt, however clear any line of proceeding may be, to have mistaken or hazy views of it, till we know from what quarter it really originates. The men are part of the measures; and when a thing is done, it is certainly only a fair question to ask who has done it. The rule holds good, especially in the present case. Such a prestige accompanies—and quite properly so—an old-standing institution like the Hebdomadal Board, that, however persons may suspect the actual measures which issue from it, they feel it difficult to believe that such a Board can be the opponent of Church principles. The imagination is impressed by an array of academical dignitaries; and the coalition of High-Churchmanship and university station has been taken for granted so long as a natural and necessary one, that it is difficult now

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fairly to sever it in our ideas, and to believe that a Board of twenty-four Doctors of Divinity can take positively the side of Low-Churchmanship and latitudinarianism against a Church movement.

The question is solved without much difficulty. We talk about a Board acting, and a body doing things; but the fact is, that in every Board, or body of any kind, it is always some one or two who do the work; and the Board, when it acts, represents their agency. No public board, council, or committee that ever existed, ever acted as the genuine aggregate of the members which composed it. And to suppose that the resolutions which the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford come to, proceed in an equal ratio of confluence from every head round the table, and are the proportionately-contributed product of the opinions and wishes of the twenty-four component members, is about as unreal a view to take of the operations of the Board, as to suppose that an act of Parliament represented the equally contributed and collective sagacity of the 568 members of the House of Commons. Nature, when anything practical is to be done, dislikes numbers. They stand in the way. If they are there, they must be managed; but they are so much material of difficulty to be disposed of. Twenty-four members of an acting and working Board are almost twenty-three too much. Boards, councils, committees, are made to be managed: that is their natural destination. Their functions are not very much more than those of machinery. They are instruments, engines, in the hands of those who can work them. They rise up and take their stand on the public field for the purpose of giving effect to the aims of some one or two, and investing the designs of the sharper heads with the pomp and circumstance of authority. Authority is wanted: the constitution of a Board gives it; and the weight of its sanction makes up for cumbrousness of its machinery. We are stating nothing new. All the world knows the truth of what we say. Boards always have performed this office, and they always will. We think it quite proper that they should. We are finding no fault. Their utility depends upon this character. It is the only aspect in which they can be favourably viewed, and in which practical good can be expected from them. If all the members of Boards thought for themselves, the result would be that they would never act at all. It is quite necessary, upon general principles, that somebody should tell them what to do, and that they should attend to his suggestions. We are speaking of the general principle; we may lament the result in particular cases. The business of the world would be at a stand-still, if boards and bodies had not this habit.

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Now we are only stating what is very well known throughout the University, a piece of almost as ordinary intelligence amongst Oxford men, as any common political fact in the world at large, when we say that Dr. Hawkins, with one or two other members of an academical name, have the great directing influence at the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. It cannot be imagined that we mention this fact out of any feeling against Dr. Hawkins individually. He can have no objection to have a point, so creditable to his talents and activity, stated in the simple way in which we are now doing; though we have no doubt a sense of politeness to the Board at large will induce him to deny our complimentary accusation, should it ever meet his eye. It is, however, as perfectly understood that Dr. Hawkins is, to use the common expression, at the bottom of much that proceeds from the Hebdomadal Board, as that the Board meets on Mondays, and meets in the Delegate's-room. There is a certain class of facts, which have no official warrant or judicial evidence connected with them, but which are as fully and familiarly known as if they had; or more so. This is a fact of this sort. The University at large knows it, and it is appealed to in common conversation. We must confess ourselves rather surprised that he should retain such influence, after the plain mistakes into which he has more than once led the Board; but a clever, acute, argumentative person can afford to make mistakes of real policy; his influence depending, as it does, not at all on the success of his plans in the trial, but on his own skill and readiness in recommending them before hand.

Will those High-Churchmen and others, who have been hurrying up to Oxford lately to protect the University from the influence of new opinions, refresh their memories, and attend to some points which seem to show what school, under the idea of protecting orthodoxy, they have really and in truth been supporting: and what influence, and whose call, under the name of the Oxford Hebdomadal Board, they have really been obeying?

Dr. Hawkins has occupied, we believe, from the very first commencement of his theological life, a definite and marked, though subordinate, place in a select and distinguished circle, of which Dr. Copleston and Dr. Whately in the University, and, latterly, Dr. Arnold and the Chevalier Bunsen out of it, were the great ornaments; a circle, we may add, from which much of our hodiernal latitudinarianism has emanated. One who remembers Oxford some years ago, or, if his memory should not stretch so far back, the reader of Arnold's Correspondence, will know what theological prospects animated them, and the line which they had before them. As the first, and most intellectual University circle of that particular time, they fully appreciated and

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felt their position. They seemed to have the world before them, and they theorized with all the ease and freedom of minds that saw in the English Church no restraining system whatever, but simply the image of themselves, and of what they intended to make it. They had a latitudinarian type in their minds which they fitted on to the system in which they were, and they viewed the whole Church as gradually coming over to them, and waited philosophically for its certain development upon their standard. The members of this circle, indeed, were far from being all of them of the same complexion of liberalism. Dr. Arnold held a warm enthusiastic eclecticism, and had a passion for comprehension; Dr. Whately and Dr. Hawkins approached more to ordinary utilitarians. The residence of Dr. Copleston and Dr. Whately at Oxford formed a literary nucleus for the time, and dispensed sunshine and patronage to the rising school. They left the scene, however, and Dr. Hawkins became the representative of their influence in it.

Throughout the stirring and eventful period which followed, Dr. Hawkins sided actively and uniformly with the liberal movements in the place. In 1835, the great tide of liberalism which had been threatening the country, showed itself in the University in the shape of an attempt to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles at matriculation. The Provost of Oriel was the great supporter of that attempt. The Subscription question was followed by the Hampden question. The Provost of Oriel was the great supporter of Dr. Hampden. Since that time the liberalism of Dr. Hawkins has acted under the shelter which an opposition to an unpopular theology affords. But with respect to the whole tractarian controversy, it must be remembered, that *his* opposition to those principles, whatever that of others might be, was a liberal one. There may have been much to cover, but there has been nothing at all to undo the plain original basis upon which Dr. Hawkins started. The plain, latitudinarian direction of his first movements, which every one of his subsequent steps has followed up, must supply the hypothesis to explain *his* course, however others may feel that they have opposed upon a different one. The revival of the Hampden question six years after the act of censure had passed, came in as if on purpose to show the continuous liberalism upon which he and his circle had been proceeding all along, and let out the secret of their real theological direction and scope. This constant recurring connexion with Dr. Hampden is a significant feature. Such is the state of the case as regards Dr. Hawkins. He has never concealed his bias, and line of opinions; and we are only stating here what he himself would be quite willing to allow. His public line has

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been that of a theological liberal, and this is all that we want to say of him.

Dr. Hawkins, it is well known, has been aiming at some Test for a long time. He has been feeling his way to one. He has used one—so far as an unauthoritative use of one could be made—in his own college for some years; and the candidate for the fellowship, the tutorship, the college-living, has been made to undergo a previous scrutiny as to his agreement or disagreement with No. 90. And he has been the only head of a college who has done this. A Test has been his particular "hobby;" if we may call it so. Now comes the more mature and open stage of the policy. The Hebdomadal Board has been made to adopt it, and propose it to Convocation; and the project has left the interior of Oriel, to try its chance on the open field of the University.

We do not think, if the members of the Hebdomadal Board, who voted on the occasion of the New Test, had voted independently of that influence which encountered them in their room of meeting, had voted simply upon the feelings which they had as private persons, and given their opinion from the privacy of their studies or firesides, and not from the Delegates'-room, that they would have promulgated that measure. Many would have been prevented from doing so by those natural, common feelings of kindness, which pre-eminently belong to them in the private sphere of their own colleges, and by that indisposition to commotion and stir which men in station have, and should have. We are certain that the majority of them—their characters, now so familiar to the University, speak for the fact—would not of themselves have been inclined to so strong and violent a course. But a body of twenty-four heads of colleges and halls, is not exempt from the general laws of corporate organization. They fall into a prepared arrangement, they yield to those who will take the trouble to get up a plan and arguments beforehand. They accept propositions which come framed and whole from the inner circle of debate, and which present at once the claims of a definite paper existence to their eyes. They may feel certain objections, but they cannot state them half so readily as the others can answer them. A person who can talk connectedly and pointedly must always have great power at a Board. It is unpleasant to engage in dispute with such an arguer, and persons unconsciously fall back, and allow the wedge to make its way.

Let the plain truth, then, be known. "We come up to support the Board," persons say; and the Board is the shield which covers every attempt which proceeds from this quarter upon the doctrine of the Church. An academical council, an

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array of dignitaries, forms an image in men's minds to which they accommodate themselves, and which acts as an impressive and satisfying rationale of the case. A vague pictorial notion of a Board possesses them. Such persons should know what the Board is, and how it acts. If it is a real Board, and not a picture of one, it has some real way in which it acts. It moves in one fashion or another. Its operations go on upon this influence or upon that. Somebody moves it, or somebody does not move it. Wherever there is action, there must be a way in which it takes place. A man walks; and he walks in some one way or other: he stands; and he stands in some one position or other. There is no such thing as abstract walking or standing, apart from the mode of it: as a board acting, and not having its mode and process of acting. Such is the mode and process in the present case. Such has been the *principium motus*, the spring of action, from which the Hebdomadal Board's course has proceeded. Dr. Hawkins has been very successful in making it express his own theology, adopt his views, and act as his organ. As we say, Boards, naturally act as organs, they admit some influence or other into them, which becomes predominant, and makes them expressions of itself; and the consequence is, a particular *animus* of the Board, as such, distinct from that of its individual members, taken separately. Here is the influence, here is the *animus*, in the present case. Let those who are satisfied with the feeling that they support established authority, be told what influence they are really following, under the surface of the Board. In following the latter they are following that which moves it; and that which moves the Board has been a direct positive liberalizing influence, intimately connected with the school of Dr. Whately and Dr. Hampden, and with the regular formed latitudinarianism of the day.

Our Oxford readers will excuse us for explaining a state of things which they understand so well, and clearing the view for the benefit of those whose distance from the scene makes one mixed hazy object of the whole. The cause of the Church and of orthodox doctrine has laboured under a disadvantage in the opposition in which it has been placed to an old and respectable University institution; and has acquired, in consequence, among a number of quiet persons, a revolutionizing character—a character for unsettling Church orthodoxy, instead of maintaining and defending that orthodoxy which it is its especial vital aim to do. But a view of the real influence at work in that Board at once turns the tables on this head, and shows at once who are the true representatives of the old spirit in the Church and the University, and who are its opposers.

We turn now to the measures themselves that have proceeded

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lately in such thick succession from the quarter we are speaking of. These are the censure and degradation of Mr. Ward; the proposal of the "New Test;" and lastly, the attempted censure of Mr. Newman and No. 90. The history of these proceedings is so fresh in our readers' minds, that it is hardly necessary for us to repeat it; and we shall content ourselves with a general comment upon them.

With respect to the censure and degradation of Mr. Ward, the simple remark we have to make is, that it was altogether a one-sided and harsh proceeding. It was one-sided to call up a Convocation for a censure of his book, when members of the University on the other side were allowed to say whatever they pleased, and to contradict the Articles of the Creed without a word being said. Still more one-sided was the degradation. That was a new feature to introduce into University contention. The University has censured, indeed, of late, but it has not punished; for it is absurd to call the little nominal marks in Dr. Hampden's case a punishment. Dr. Hampden was punished so far as a censure itself was a punishment, and no more. The marks attached to him were only an indirect mode of expressing the censure. But degradation is serious, is positive. That Mr. Ward should be degraded while Dr. Hampden sat and looked on in his professorial chair, is indeed, let him have been ever so much in the wrong, an unequal distribution of University justice.

One important feature of this proceeding should be noticed. The House of Convocation, by performing an act of punishing, claimed the character of a court. Punishment is a judicial step, and therefore the act of a court of some kind. Is Convocation a judicial court? Let us hear a lawyer. 'That such 'a tribunal,' says Dr. Sewell, 'would be a mock tribunal, is 'quite clear; for the House of Convocation is a deliberative 'assembly, analogous to the House of Commons. It knows 'neither judge, advocate, code of laws, nor any one requisite of 'a court; and if it be not a court, then has it no power to try 'or to condemn; and, by necessary implication, it can have no 'authority to punish one untried and uncondemned; and this 'Mr. Ward must be till declared guilty by the sentence of a 'competent tribunal.' As Convocation had assumed, however, the power of punishing, Convocation was obliged to put on, in some way or other, the look of a court. It put up Mr. Ward in the rostrum, and told him to make a speech and defend himself; and he made a speech accordingly. In the total absence of the whole constitution, and all the requisites of a court, it was obliged to simulate them: it was made to ape the manner of a court, and pretend to be what it was not. It was turned into a sham court. Before the question, 'Placet ne,' &c.

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is put, the Vice-Chancellor 'will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of answering,' &c.; and if this proposition is affirmed before the other question, 'Placet ne,' &c., is put, the Vice-Chancellor 'will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating,' &c. The first 'placet ne,' and then a speech; the second 'placet ne,' and then another speech—how could this make Convocation a legal court, if it was not one? These arrangements had as much effect in making Convocation a court of law, as would the device of the Vice-Chancellor and the circle of Doctors sitting in wigs, with ermine tippets; or of a bedel attending in the costume of a sheriff, with twenty-four javelin men after him, have had for that purpose. An outside and a surface, which simulates the reality, only reminds more completely of its absence. The Hebdomadal Board saw that if Convocation inflicted punishment, Convocation was or should be a court, and that this was or should be a trial. A sort of trial, therefore, was extemporized for the occasion; and the twelve hundred gentlemen in the theatre were supposed to be jurors, and Mr. Ward, as his own counsel, to be addressing them. Every body must have seen that a difficulty was confessed, and that this was an attempt to meet it; but the attempt only showed the confession, and did no more. If the House of Commons, upon the fact of a proclamation to instigate a Canadian rebellion, from Mr. Roebuck, or of a treasonable Chartist manifesto from Mr. Duncombe, called one or other of those gentlemen before its bar, and, after telling him to defend himself by a speech, proceeded immediately to a sentence, it would be an assumption the same in kind with that made by the late Oxford Convocation. Parliament and Convocation are deliberative bodies, and not courts of law. It may be said that all societies have the power of ridding themselves of disobedient members. So they have: but they have it according to the constitution of the society, and not against it. A club expels without judicial form, because it has no judicial basis. A university has a judicial system, and must punish by means of it. If its judicial system is defective, it should be enlarged by means of those powers which are open to the University for enlarging it; but the University should not place itself outside of its system altogether.

One remark on the parallel which is drawn between the proceedings against Mr. Ward and those against Dr. Hampden. The former is by no means a similar case with the latter. Without mentioning the enormous difference in the respective punishments of the two, one of which drives the condemned person from his position in the University, and the other leaves him only under a mark of disapprobation, the circumstances of

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the two cases are plainly different. The one is a proceeding against an official person, the other against an individual: the one against a public, the other against a private man. Dr. Hampden was not a mere individual in the University: he was thrust upon her as a teacher. He was placed over the faculty of theology, and invested with the positive instruction of young men of the University, on their way to ordination. The University, in proceeding against him, was guarding its own public teaching. Mr. Ward had no theological professorship: he only wrote a book. Has the University been called on to condemn all men who have written books of suspicious theology? If a book-writer, as such, on the other side, had been condemned, that would be an analogous case; but that has not been done. With the vast number of such cases that there have been, and are continually, on the other side, Mr. Ward's is the only one of which notice has been taken.

We have said only what we think due in common justice to Mr. Ward. We do not profess to understand the precise view which either he or Mr. Oakeley takes of the English Church. We wish we could discern in them some more hearty sympathy —we do not even say with the English Church, but with the Catholic element in the Church, than we do. It would be a pleasure to us, if we could see that they really sympathized with the Church, so far as she was Catholic. But we hardly see even this conditional sympathy with her. Mr. Oakeley, in some of his later letters, seems to give up the language of his pamphlet two years ago, and to rest the whole evidence of the Catholicity of the Church upon the sole consideration of the devotional minds he sees within the circle of his own acquaintance. He speaks as if the English Church had hardly produced one Catholic, one devotional mind since the Reformation. We do not understand a real member of the English Church not liking to acknowledge the good that there has been in her. We do not say how much or how little it is; we only want it to be fairly acknowledged, and allowed where it is. Let a man condemn the bad as much as he will; but let him sympathize with good where he sees it. Mr. Oakeley and Mr. Ward do not seem to treat the English Church fairly in this respect; to treat her with less candour than they would if she were a regular dissenting community. We do not think they do it consciously; but they have written sometimes in a tone, as if they were so much more glad to see any good among Dissenters than they were to see it in the Church. Mr. Oakeley writes, *e. g.* as if he thought the Puritans, in the struggle two centuries ago, were much more right in rejecting Church ceremonial, than the Catholic party were in their mode of pressing it upon them;

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and his sympathies seem to be so far with the Puritan party in the contest. Puritan goodness and dissenting goodness are allowed with great ease and courtesy; but not Anglican goodness; and the generosity which concedes much to quarters where there is no pretension to be a church, draws in and looks cold where there is one. We must be permitted the remark that, even allowing Mr. Oakeley's and Mr. Ward's Roman predilections, there seems to be a certain formalism in this view. Human nature is catholic, and even Pagan religion is catholic, as far as they go. We discriminate everyday in history and in poetry, a Catholic spirit from the particular system it may be mixed with. We presume that our Church system is a rise in this direction, at any rate, from a state of nature. Why cannot Mr. Oakeley see the many beautiful and saintly characters that our Church has, as an undoubted historical fact, produced, though they do not exactly fall under the Roman model?

One word more before we leave this subject. We must express our regret that Mr. Oakeley should have felt himself called upon, in consequence of the vote on the 13th, to challenge the immediate attention of the Vice-Chancellor, his own Bishop, and we may add the London press, successively, to his own case. We have no doubt that, whatever Mr. Oakeley did, he did because he simply felt himself bound in conscience to do it. But how his conscience could feel bound to this particular course we do not quite understand. There is a large general rule against gratuitous steps, against things done which need not be done. Need Mr. Oakeley have done this? A challenge has an irritating effect upon opponents, and often forces a harsher line upon them than they might be inclined to of themselves. Such a step is unfair to them. It is also unfair to many whom public opinion more or less identifies with Mr. Oakeley, and who are considered to be implicated in the steps he takes. And it is no sufficient remedy against this impression, for the person to state formally that they are not, that he acts merely as an individual. The impression remains notwithstanding. The line of a person who has relations to others, and who acts as if he were an individual only, is an essentially unfair one. He cannot act so without injustice. He may be ever so ready to take all the *onus* on himself; but he cannot prevent it from falling on others besides himself. We are speaking of the line as such; the individual may take it conscientiously, but the line itself is essentially unfair. The sincere respect and gratitude that we entertain for Mr. Oakeley's services in the Church, enable us to make these reflections without any fear of being misunderstood. And we feel sure that he will take them in the spirit in which they are made.

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But these proceedings against Mr. Ward were, after all, only a very preliminary, subordinate, and narrow part of the scheme which issued from the Hebdomadal Board. They ushered in along with them a further measure of much greater magnitude and importance. Mr. Ward represented no regular school or body of opinion. He occupied a position which he had chosen entirely on his own responsibility, and one out of the main channel of the Church movement. He was an individual only, while that which was aimed at was a school; and this measure only hit him, and left the school untouched. The school, the body of opinions, the general Church movement among us, was to be got at by another blow: and that blow was a new general test. We must anticipate and say, that when that test was obliged to be given up, the attack embodied itself afresh instantly, and rose up again in the shape of a gratuitous attack on No. 90.

All attention was immediately turned to the New Test, which was proposed to be placed in the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, and to be applied by him, *pro arbitrio*, to all members of the University whom he should ever suspect of unsound theology. The suspected person, on a summons from the Vice-Chancellor, was to be compelled to make the following declaration:—"I, A. B., being about to subscribe the Articles of Faith and Religion, and also the three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon, do profess and pledge my faith to this University, that I will subscribe all those articles, and each of them, *in that sense in which, from my heart, I believe they were both published originally, and are now proposed to me by the University, as a sure and indubitable symbol of my opinions.*" This new proposition told its own story; and the University had actually before its eyes the phenomenon of a new religious Test in black and white. The phenomenon was a startling one. Persons looked at the paper, and read the declaration over and over again. There it was, beyond a doubt, as plain as words could make it. There was a new Test,—there was a real living fresh Test, the creation of the month of December 1844. We acquire, from habit, an idea of a religious Test, as having an institutional existence apart from actual production; as something that always had been, and never really had an actual contemporary hodiernal birth amongst moving living things. A particular interest and lively curiosity attached to this new theological phenomenon, on this very ground. There was an anxiety to *see* a new test—to see what it looked like. *Quid es?* the first elementary question of primeval curiosity, came in—What are you—you, the thing, the Test?

Τίς; πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις, ἠδὲ τοκῆες;

And with the feeling of the cautious respondent in the exami-

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nation schools, who, on being asked what a predicable was, replied that he did not know, never having seen one, eyes were looking hard upon the printed thing itself—that day's issue from the University press, simply under the aspect of a visible production of present time.

A paper, which came out immediately after its appearance, simply put forward the plain matter-of-fact character of the new proposition:—

'1. That the proposed statute institutes a new religious Test 'in the University.

'2. That a local Test, thus instituted, places the members of 'the University in a religious position different from that of all 'other members of the Church, and the whole body of the clergy.

'3. That the imposing any new Test of doctrine beyond those 'which rest on the authority of the Church is a serious innova-'tion, and alters at once the constitution of the University, and 'its relations to the Church.

'4. That a great difference of opinion has always been per-'mitted among those who subscribe the Articles, and that it is 'now proposed to introduce a new limit and restriction to that 'difference.

'5. That the Test proposed, being itself liable to different 'interpretations, is likely to cause perplexity, and to operate as 'a snare to consciences.

'6. That it is not right or safe to rest on the supposition that 'this Test will not be applied; since the obvious presumption, 'from its being proposed, is that it is meant to be used.

'7. That a Test not applied to all, but liable to be imposed 'upon suspected individuals, according to the will of the Vice-'Chancellor for the time being, is an objectionable form of test; 'likely to encourage a system of secret and underhand informa-'tion, and to destroy mutual confidence and freedom of inter-'course in the University.'

The fact of its being a Test at all was, indeed, most strenuously denied by its proposers; and Dr. Hawkins especially, as we hear, was not only surprised at the mistake, but actually incapable of understanding how it could be made; how any person of common sense, of common candour, could so distort his mind as to think that a test was intended. The fact was as sharply disputed on the one side, as it was calmly assumed on the other; and the world in general was talking about the Test, and the New Test, and the chances of the Test being withdrawn, and the probable majority against the Test, if persisted in; and referring to the New Test under a thousand aspects, in that regular satisfied way in which plain facts are referred to, all the time that there was, as it appears, no such fact at all, and no new Test

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had ever been in existence. It is rather remarkable that, in this state of the argument, a pamphlet should issue from the great champion of the measure, Mr. Garbett, entitled, 'The University, the Church, and the *New Test.*' There is something exceedingly provoking in calm assumed stupidity to the acute arguer, where an impression pervades a mass, and cannot be unseated. It is in vain that you repeat over and over again your own certainty that they are in the wrong—your absolute knowledge of that circumstance. In vain the subtle line is drawn with irresistible clearness time after time, and a demonstrating process gone through, which ought to disarm opposition, and to shame every reasoning faculty. The impression, the mistake, goes on. An unconscious basis is formed in the public mind, and in spite of distinction, point, and argument, still, still the error works. We notice this denial of the fact of the Test itself, this objection to it being called a test, because it is, in truth, part of the phenomenon itself—part and parcel of the spirit and view which suggested the measure.

So much for the fact and the phenomenon of the Test. We shall now ask our readers to follow us, while we take one particular view of it, and place it before them. We feel ourselves incapable of evolving all the argumentative absurdities contained in its construction; they admit of indefinite expansion, and inexhaustible combination. A rich, unfathomable fund of contradiction lies imbedded in it, which it requires the powers of the mathematical faculty adequately to appreciate and embrace. 'The words of the Articles,' says Dr. Moberly, 'the usual and grammatical sense, are no longer to be thought of; the sense of Church and State, discoverable by the grammatical sense, is not to be regarded. A certain compound, complex sense, made up of two profound obscurities, involving endless ancient researches, and modern guesses, but incapable of true discovery or authoritative decision, is substituted for the theological test under which we have hitherto lived; and this dark, inquisitorial, senseless rule is to be applied secretly, on suspicion, *before subscription*, as a snare to conscience, not as a vindication of right.' But there is one assertion which the Test makes, which, whatever be its obscurity, as bearing on the tested party, can have but one sense, as bearing on the testing one. There is one expression in it, which, though it decides nothing on some points of controversy, decides very clearly upon others, and which, however unobjectionable a ground for one party, we should have thought beforehand an exceedingly dangerous, and slippery one for another. There is a missile in it, which passes harmlessly enough over the heads that it was directed at, but does seem to rebound with intense force upon those who aimed it. We allude to the

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clause which imposes what, for brevity's sake, we shall call the '*Primitus Editi*' sense of the Articles. The introduction of this clause gives the point of view at which to look on this whole proceeding of the Test, and we shall examine it for that purpose.

The very first thing, then, the Test does is resolutely to impose this sense. It declares that the Articles must be taken in exactly the sense in which they were originally published, and that in that meaning, whatever it was, in which the Church first imposed them three centuries ago, in that same meaning is every subscriber to accept them now; that he is to attach in his mind, at the moment of subscription, that identical force to every statement in them which the Church three centuries ago attached to them. That is one fact; the other is, that the parties whose instigation, persuasion, concurrence, and sanction either actually carried, or certainly accompanied, this Test through the Hebdomadal Council, were Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Hampden, and, acting as a kind of *amicus curiæ*, the Archbishop of Dublin. The latter, though not a member of the Board, wrote a letter to it, strongly urging the application of some such means for getting rid of a certain religious party in the University. That letter was openly read at the Board; and the simple, natural impression, which it produced, was that which we have mentioned. Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Hampden, and other liberal members of the Board, then, have committed themselves to the assertion, that they subscribe the Articles in exactly the same sense in which the Church, three centuries ago, at their first publication, held them. We take it for granted that they did not intend to impose a discipline upon others to which they did not submit themselves; and, having declared that all persons should subscribe the Articles in this sense, they must necessarily be understood to assert that they themselves actually do so.

Now there is one doctrine which, if plain, simple, and definite statements are to be of any weight at all, our Church certainly holds. It is not a secondary, a partial, or incidental doctrine which we mean; for we should not think of testing any one's adhesion to this sense of the Articles by such; but, confessedly, a most important, a critical, and a fundamental one. It is a doctrine, the holding or not holding of which admits or rejects a great theological system. It is the doctrine that, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith: and that, except every one do keep that faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." The whole dogmatic system of theology rests upon this doctrine: the latitudinarian system rests upon the denial of

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it. Whichever is the right or the wrong system of these two, it cannot be an unimportant matter which is held; and it cannot be an unimportant matter upon which to adhere to, or depart from, the legitimate sense of our Church formularies.

We are aware indeed that explanations are given of our Church's language in the Athanasian Creed. The anathema is not uncommonly disjoined from the Creed itself; as if it were simply one verse among others, and might be supposed to have been left there by accident, and were something perfectly separable from the whole system of doctrine. But nothing can be more untrue, or, if we think for a moment, more plainly absurd than this view of it. The enunciation of Catholic doctrine, and the condemnation of its opposite, was one and the same process in that Church system, under the influence of which our formularies were constructed. Doing one, implied doing the other. Formally to state a doctrine, and to allow at the same time its opposite to be held within the same pale of salvation, and the same bosom of the Church, was an idea which the Church never entertained. The enunciation of a truth, of course, and as its correlative result, condemned and excluded the opposite error, and those who held it. That was part of the meaning of the enunciation of the doctrine; that was the very point of the system. It would have been nothing at all for the Church simply to have stated her views of Christian truth, and left anybody to think differently from her that pleased. Any individual can do this. An individual can think another wrong; the Church condemns him: that is the difference. The anathema was the very point and hinge of the whole system. It was the cardinal, distinguishing, essential claim that the Church made; and without it the most majestic fabric of doctrine appeared an airy erection, and a dream. That was the very symbol of authority which marked the Church. To enunciate truth, and to impose it, was one and the same proceeding with her: the creed and the anathema went together. Persons have a confused idea of the anathema in the Athanasian Creed being simply connected with that document, and with no other: as if the Athanasian Creed condemned its opponents, and the Apostles' and Nicene Creed did not. This is unreasonable. The Creed itself, the system of belief laid down in the Athanasian document, is exactly the same with that in the Apostles' and Nicene. They are not three different Creeds, but three different expressions of the same Creed. A Church can have but one Creed. An anathema appended to the Creed contained in the Athanasian document, is also appended to the Creed contained in the Apostles' and Nicene; for this simple

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reason, that the one is positively the same identical Creed that the other is. An anathema once had, once having a place in the theological system, it signifies little where that place is, because wherever it is, its power extends over the whole. Whether it is in the beginning of the Prayer-book, or the middle of the Prayer-book, or the end of the Prayer-book; or whether it is appended to the Athanasian Creed, or to the Apostles' Creed, or to the Nicene Creed; it is all one. The Creed is one, and the anathema is appended to the Creed.

Again, it is said that our Church cannot intend any really exclusive principle in these words, because she cannot mean absolutely to deny the possibility of salvation to all who do not hold the Catholic faith. But a plain answer to that is, that on the same view the Church of Rome might be maintained to mean nothing exclusive by such words; for the Church of Rome does not deny the absolute possibility of salvation to all who do not hold the Catholic faith. The instance of the Church of Rome proves that the fact of stopping short of that assertion, does not at all prevent a positively, definitely, exclusive sense from accompanying these words. The assertion that whosoever will be saved must hold the Catholic faith, which faith is contained in a definite written creed, cannot be supposed to leave things precisely on the same ground as if the assertion had not been made at all. There must be some difference between making this assertion, and not making it: and the Church cannot be supposed to have had exactly the same meaning in adopting such a proposition that she would have had in not adopting it. Without going into the question of salvation out of and beside the regular covenanted one, this sentence, if it asserts anything, must assert that that covenanted salvation is attached to one definite faith—the Catholic one, and to no other.

We may add that, differ as the Church of England may from the Church of Rome, as to what is or is not Catholic faith on some points, and hold as she may some doctrines to be not Catholic and necessary ones, which the Church of Rome holds to be so; on the point that the Catholic faith supposed is necessary to be held in order to salvation, the Church of England uses exactly the same language that the Church of Rome does.

We turn to history, and we find that this meaning, so obviously attaching to the words in themselves, was the meaning which the religious tone, temper and opinions of the day as a matter of fact gave to them. The theologians of the day in which our Articles were framed, had not positively yet formed a conception of that latitudinarian sentiment which later times have brought out, and did not even understand the state of mind that

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could wish to explain away the damnatory clauses, as they are called, of the Creed. They had no desire to take them in any other sense, and they did take them in no other sense; and when they gave them to others to subscribe, they gave them to subscribe in no other sense than the one which the words do *primâ facie* bear; viz. that a belief in the Catholic creed was a necessary condition of salvation. The theologians of that day shut out of the Catholic Church, from Christian communion and the pale of the covenant, those who departed from the articles of that Creed. The heretic was excommunicated, and the disbelief of an article in the Creed constituted heresy. In other words, the dogmatic principle was fully recognised at that time. We are speaking of what the case was at the time that our Articles were framed; of the actual state of opinion under which they first came to light.

Moreover, we have a very substantial and tangible proof of their sentiments on this subject, in one circumstance which should be mentioned, viz. in the fact that they were prepared to burn alive those who dissented from the articles of the Creed. Is an instance wanted? On the 2nd of May, 1550, at the time that the very Articles which enforce the Athanasian Creed, with its damnatory clauses, upon us, were in process of construction, Archbishop Cranmer caused Joan Butcher to be burnt for denying that article of the Creed which declares our Lord to have been '*incarnate* by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,' and holding the Valentinian heresy on that subject. 'Whereas,' runs the document in which the Archbishop hands over this woman to the secular arm, and the jurisdiction of the court of King's Bench—'Whereas our holy 'mother, the Church, hath nothing further to do or execute 'towards so rotten a member of her, we deliver the said per-'tinacious heretic Joan for punishment to your royal highness, 'and the power of the secular arm.'* The sentence was executed.

Now we do not mention this as if we thought that the belief in the lawfulness of burning heretics was at all imposed by the Articles. That is not what we say. What we say is, that the

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* The *Reformatio Legum ecclesiasticarum*, a body of ecclesiastical laws which was drawn up at the very time that our Articles first came out, and which conveys the ideas of the Reformers on this subject, lays down in terms as express as could be used the persecuting principle. The third title, which treats of the process against heresy, orders that heretics should be formally cited before the Ecclesiastical Court. 'And, pro-'vided they renounced their heterodoxy within sixteen days, they were first to give 'public proof of their repentance, to swear against relapse, and then to be absolved. 'But, in case excommunication was despised, and the discipline of the Church made 'no impression, they were then to be delivered into the hand of the secular 'magistrate, and they were to suffer death by the law.'

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belief in it proves, beyond a doubt, that the theology of that day was dogmatic—that damnatory clauses had really a damnatory sense then. A dogmatic theology may exist most decidedly without the practice of burning; but the practice of burning for heresy could not well exist without a dogmatic theology. The two are perfectly separable; but the latter is certainly to be taken as a sign, where it exists, of the presence of the former. That is the view, simply, in which we regard it. The practice of delivering over to the secular arm for heresy was the mode in which the dogmatic theology of that day expressed itself. There *was* then that theology. That theology is stamped upon the Articles, whatever becomes of that particular expression of it.

Let it be remembered, it is not we who are forcing this particular view of the Articles upon the party we have in our eye. They have taken the matter out of our hands. They have been beforehand with us. They have voluntarily come forward to declare their adoption of the very first original sense of the Articles; and with the whole range of the *ordo sæclorum*, since the Reformation, before their eyes to choose from, they have expressly chosen its very commencement. They have felt a determination to be quite early, quite primitive. They have intentionally bounded over the whole intervening period, for the very purpose of pitching at once on the earliest point of time at which the Articles could date their existence; and they have overlooked and overstepped all for the sake of the pure native fountain-head of Reformation antiquity. The very original '*primitus editi*' sense is their dictum. Be it so. Here it is. Do they accept it? Here is the plain '*primitus* sense' of the Articles, as to the very basis of Christian theology. The Articles rivet the Athanasian Creed. The Athanasian Creed is, by the force of language, and by the testimony of history, dogmatic. The Articles, as '*primitus editi*,' impose an unquestionably dogmatic theology upon the subscriber. Do they receive this theology? Do they believe, in the sense which the words literally demand, and which was attached to them three centuries ago, that, 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith?'

If they reply to this question, by saying, that this theology was the remnant of an old system, which was in course of time to disappear: our rejoinder is perfectly simple, viz., that whether it was to disappear or not afterwards, there it was *then*. They have referred to a period. We give, from history, the theological sentiment of that period. We have to do with *it*, and not with a subsequent period. That is the very point on which they lay stress. What was, and what was not afterwards, may go.

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There, then; they particularly said—then: when the Articles were '*primitus editi*,' what was their sense *then*? We give it them; here is the '*primitus*.'

Will it be said that the '*primitus editi*' is qualified by the expression added to it, '*et nunc ab universitate propositi*?' This would be a more unfortunate answer than the other. An addition takes nothing away from what it joins, but only adds something else to it. The Articles are to be taken as '*primitus editi*:' and also as '*ab universitate propositi*.' The former is still simply categorically asserted, and is not a bit changed by the fact of some other sense being coincident with it. They are still committed to it simply and absolutely. The difficulty can only be escaped by contradiction. The University's sense of the Articles, and the original historical sense, either coincide or they do not. If they do not, it is plainly irrational to impose them both at once. If they do, the '*primitus editi*' sense retains its strict integrity, in spite of the addition. We leave the suggestors of the New Test to choose which they like of the two horns of a dilemma, of which one makes them confound reason, and the other contradict fact.

The truth is, the party we are now alluding to, have up to this moment taken the exactly opposite view to this, of their own position in the Church. So far from pretending to appeal to the exact *original* meaning of our Church formularies, as the precise era of the Reformation adopted them, they have expressly had recourse to a certain advanced and '*developed*' sense of them —to a developed sense as contrasted, specially, distinctly *contrasted*, to this original sense. They have taken their whole stand, and rested the very point of the defence, as to their Church position, upon the exact total and diametrical opposite of the '*primitus editi*' theory. The recognised theory among liberal theologians has been, that the Reformation went a certain way towards shaking off the old Church and dogmatic system, but that it did not literally do so: that it laid the foundations, and the foundations only, of the great change, and sowed the seed which was afterwards to rise up in the shape of theological liberalism. The actual age of the Reformation has been allowed, by general consent, to have sat under the shade of the old system; and to have retained those very prejudices itself, of which it had given others the answer and refutation. The common language has been, that the Reformers did not know the extent of the change which they were ultimately bringing on, and that they held principles, which, if argumentatively pursued, ended in the modern system, but did not hold that system itself. The latter existed in elementary shape, latently, unconsciously; and we are to take up, it is said, and bring out this element.

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The age must advance, the march begun must go on, the seed must rise into the stem, the human mind must expand. Religious philosophy and science must advance and unfold, just as other sciences do. Another step follows. The system in which the Reformation was to issue, was more *really* its system, even when it did not actually hold it, than the one which it held actually but for the time only. The theological liberal lays claim to having the real marrow and spirit of the Reformation; he agrees with what the Reformers intended to think, with what they should have thought: with what they actually did think, he does not; but he says that that is matter of minor consequence; that the one is the shell, the other the kernel; that the world had not indeed gone so far in the sixteenth century as it had in the nineteenth; but that the developed sense is the true sense after all.

This has been the theory he has advanced, as distinct from one coinciding with the Reformation. The actual opinions, the positive ways of thinking, the documents themselves of that age, being disclaimed, the refuge has been in a prospective interpretation of them,—an anticipatory sense. The rejection of the sense original has been the very starting point; and the reflected meaning of their future development has regarded the '*primitus editi*,' and contemporary one, as its special contradictory and rival.

Let us take the point of view in which Dr. Hampden puts the Articles, in his Bampton Lectures and other publications. He goes on in the most deliberate way, as if it was quite a matter of course, supposing that the Articles were the relic of a dark, dogmatic age, and wanted alteration in their whole basis to accommodate them to the spirit of the present one, and the improved state of theological science. He goes on saying this over and over again: so deeply is he impregnated with the view, that he is obviously quite unconscious that he is expressing it in a way at all to offend people. He takes it up as a philosophical line. He treats the Articles just as he would treat a scientific treatise of Galen's, and he thinks the one as clear a case of antiquarianism as the other. 'The speculative language of the 'Creeds,' he says, 'was admitted into the Church of England, as 'established by the Reformers, before the genius of Bacon ex- 'posed the emptiness of the system which the schools had 'palmed upon the world . . . . . The notions on which the 'several expressions of the Articles at large, and in particular of 'the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are founded, are both un- 'philosophical and unscriptural, belong to ancient theories of 'philosophy, and are only less obviously injurious to the sim- 'plicity of faith than those which they exclude.' Articles of

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religion, as such—all creeds, formularies of belief—all positive expressions of theological opinion—he would, in principle, reject altogether. 'The positiveness of doctrine, arising from the very nature of systematic statements, is an evil.' He tolerates it, because it has gone on so long that it cannot be got rid of now, and to soften and modify it is all that is possible; but, in principle, he rejects it altogether. 'To exclude theological opinion from 'religious profession—to endeavour to sweep away the accumu-'lation of ages—would be but the vain attempt suddenly to 'change the face of the world. Our next best alternative is, 'to modify it—to correct its improper application—and so to 'obviate its mischievous effects.'—'In truth,' he sums up, 'I say, 'it ought not to exist. Theological opinion, as necessarily 'mixed up with speculative knowledge, ought not to be the 'bond of union of any Christian society, or a mark of dis-'crimination between Christian and Christian. Wherever 'speculative truth is involved, there must be presupposed an 'opening for improvement; whereas articles of religious com-'munion, from their reference to the fixed objects of our faith, 'assume an immovable character, fatally adverse to all theo-'logical improvement. Were it not for the intrinsic sublimity 'of the subject, the case of adherence to such unvarying formu-'laries, would forcibly strike the minds of men, as no less in-'congruous and injurious in religion, than, in medicine, would 'be the case of a society of physicians, who should make 'the maxims of Hippocrates or Galen the unalterable basis of 'their profession. Surely our Reformers had no such view in 'drawing up our Articles. They did what they could in those 'times, as prudent men. We all know that in changes affecting 'the prejudices of men, measures must be framed according to 'what can be carried, not according to what may be wished. 'And the moderation of our Articles shews that the Reformers 'acted on this principle. How can it be right to chain down to 'the fixedness of abstract theory, and invest with the character 'of eternal truth, a series of propositions expressly adapted to 'an accidental state of public opinion?'

Scholasticism, in short, is, according to Dr. Hampden, the bane of our Church formularies. He discovers scholasticism lurking under them in whole and in part, in principle and detail. 'The spirit of scholasticism still lives among us.' Scholasticism is, according to his view, the 'presumption of the human understanding;' 'the pride of man;' 'the intellect insinuating its own conclusions into the body of the revelation.' And, with scholasticism bearing this meaning in his mind, he sees scholasticism everywhere in our Church. He begins early in his discovery, for the very position of the doctrine of the Trinity in our

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Articles is pronounced to be scholastic. 'Our Reformers, in 'giving the first place to the doctrines relating to the Trinity, 'were influenced by the discipline of the modern Church of 'Rome, whose bonds they had thrown off . . . . Dialectical 'science . . . established that peculiar phraseology which we now 'use, in speaking of the Sacred Trinity, as *Three Persons* and '*One God* . . . . The reality of those sacred facts of Divine 'Providence which we comprehensively denote by the doctrine 'of the Trinity in Unity, is not to be identified with the theories 'couched under a logical phraseology . . . . Revelation teaches 'us only that God has manifested himself *relatively to us*, as the 'Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' He goes on to other articles of faith. 'The language of the Article on original sin 'bears the impress of the scholastic theories . . . . The orthodox 'ought to have contented themselves with the *name* of original 'sin to designate the moral *fact* of the *tendency* to sin in human 'nature . . . . A positive deterioration of our carnal nature is a 'scholastic notion . . . . The idea that the corruption of human 'nature exists in infants is the result of theory.' On the subject of justification by faith: 'The priority, which is ascribed in 'such strong terms in our articles to faith among the acts of the 'Christian life, is accounted for by the physical notion of faith, 'as an *infused* principle, the origin of a new life, held by the 'schoolmen . . . . The notion that faith is a source of the 'knowledge of God is derived from an eclectic philosophy, in 'which the mysticism of Plato was blended with the analytic 'method of Aristotle.' On the doctrine of grace—'The posi- 'tive sense of grace is derived from scholasticism . . . . To 'regard grace as something infused into the soul, by virtue of 'which the sinner is justified, and the operation of which on 'the heart is to be traced through the stages of its process, is 'part of the scholastic system.' On the subject of the Sacraments—'The ready reception of the theory that Christ, as the 'sole primary cause of grace, conveyed that grace through the 'Sacraments, as subordinate instrumental causes by which the 'Divine agency accomplished its ends, is sufficiently accounted 'for by the general belief in magic, in the early ages of the 'Church . . . . The notion that the Sacraments are visible 'channels, through which virtue is conveyed from Christ himself 'to the mystical body, the Church, is part of the theoretic view 'of the scholastic philosophy . . . . The assertion of a real and 'true presence of Christ in the Eucharist resulted from the 'original Platonism of the Church.' The Church of England doctrine of the Sacrament he admits to be founded on the views of an author who asserted this real presence: 'It has, though in 'a modified form, preserved the fundamental idea of the scholastic

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'doctrine.' On the Baptismal Service—'The inquiries in our 'Baptismal Service, "With what matter was this child baptized;" '"with what words," &c.; because some things, it is said, essential 'to the Sacrament may happen to be omitted, are derived from 'the subtle speculations about *matter* and *form*, introduced to 'establish and perfect the theory of instrumental efficiency, 'ascribed to the rites themselves . . . . The use of the expres-'sions, "being made a member of the body of Christ," or, "being 'incorporated" ("engrafted into the Church"), as equivalent, is 'owing to the confusion of ideas prevalent in the early Church 'on the subject of Baptism.'

Such is the language that has been held respecting our Church Articles and formularies. Dr. Hampden has only put in a systematic and scientific shape the current ideas of the school to which he belongs. They come with more boldness and positiveness in this shape; but the ideas are, at the bottom, the common popular ones of the party. What have we been hearing of for the last twenty years and more, but of the objection to the remains of dogmatism in our Church; of the Athanasian Creed, and people's scruples of conscience which arose about it; of longings that 'we were well rid of it;' and of proposals to leave it out in the next Church Reform Bill. What was the one pervading strain of that whole series of Church Reform pamphlets that came out some twelve or fourteen years ago, but the wish to empty the Church of its dogmatism? It was the one note which ran through the liberal movement of that day. The Church was pronounced to be behind the rest of the world, and to be retaining an old and antiquated system, which the age had long cast off. There were more definite reasons given. The Church, it was said, was losing the services of valuable men in consequence, who were stopped on the threshold of ordination by the obstacle of a subscription to the Athanasian Creed. This reason was formally and distinctly alleged. A look into Dr. Arnold's correspondence will show what view young minds, at that serious period of their life, were naturally inclined to take of its meaning and force, and the principle involved in it. We see him employed in pacifying the conscientious scruples of such. 'I do not believe,' says Dr. Arnold, in answer to a correspondent on this subject; 'I do not believe the damnatory clauses in the 'Athanasian Creed, under any qualification given of them, 'except such as substitute for them propositions of a wholly 'different character.' He adds, 'But I read the Athanasian 'Creed, and have, and would again subscribe the Article about 'it, because I do not conceive the clauses in question to be essen-'tial parts of it, or that they were retained deliberately by our

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'Reformers.' He has recourse, that is, to an *explanation*, and an explanation of a very solid and formal kind, to get over what he acknowledges to be a great difficulty. We say nothing more of it, than that it is a decided case of explanation. The fact is unquestionable indeed: the dogmatism of the Church has been an open, notorious, acknowledged *crux* with all shades of liberals and latitudinarians always—and a *crux* which has been uniformly solved by appealing from the literal contemporary sense of our formularies to a reflected developed one of the present day.

Now comes the change: a new theological line has now for the first time made its appearance. The very persons who have been holding this language all their lives, now come forward and assert with all imaginable ease, that they have no *crux*, that they never felt any: that all is plain and easy; that our Articles and formularies, in their exact literal original sense, as the age of the Reformation held them, are the *verum indubitatum signum* of their opinions: that they feel themselves completely represented by the theology of three centuries back, and that the orthodox reformation standard exactly fits them. No development—no innovation—no modernism—no philosophy: the old original '*primitus editi*' sense suits them, and they love the good old paths in which their fathers walked. Such is the last declaration of Dr. Hampden, Dr. Whately, and Dr. Hawkins. The very school who have essentially singled out the '*primitus editi*' sense for rejection, now as signally and prominently adopt and impose it.

Such is the brief history of the New Test. Its advocates saw passages in the Articles the tone of which their opponents did not strictly adopt, and for which they demanded a latitude of interpretation. They demanded no more than what their predecessors in the Church had left them as their distinct right and inheritance. It was no favour; it was a right which was demanded. Those Articles had passed through and through the interpreting processes of high Church Convocations; Convocations over which Laud, Juxon, Cozens and Thorndike, Taylor and Ken, either in person or spirit, presided. They came down from the first Convocation that adopted them with the solemn interpretative notice appended to them, that nothing was to be taught in the English Church but what agreed with the doctrine of the Catholic fathers and doctors. 'The Articles 'were framed to admit Catholics, and now-Catholics would not 'be excluded.' The Catholic school had every right that prescription, usage, high names, a whole body of recognised divinity, and a whole past history can give, to a catholic interpretation of the Articles. But the wording in this and that

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place bore popularly against them. A party in the Hebdomadal Board saw that. They pushed the point eagerly, and drove the wedge in. They wished to look at nothing, and they did look at nothing, but the popularly weak spot in their opponents' side. They said nothing, and they would hear about nothing else. They allowed no comparison of parts, no enlargement of data; they stopped up every line of argument but one; they would let no side but one be seen. With that one topic in their hand, no other was even allowed to be introduced. The very entrance upon the real field of argument was precluded by one single pre-occupying dictum. They assumed the whole question in dispute, and then went on singly and determinately upon that assumption: no backward look was tolerated: the assumption was made—that was enough. It was simply assumed that their opponents had no right to sign the Articles: the fact of their dishonesty was assumed. Dishonesty assumed, but one step took them to the conclusion,—viz. that dishonest men ought to be got rid of. Was it objected that the Test was inquisitorial; and the only answer made was,—Is it inquisitorial to make men subscribe the Articles honestly? Every attempt at discussion, every call for evidence, was met with the simple original assumption repeated. And the simple charge of dishonesty began and ended the argument on which the Test was based.

This was the line taken with respect to their opponents. And meantime, what did they say of themselves? How did they defend, upon this line of argument, their *own* position in the Church? How did they explain their subscription to a scholastic and anathematizing creed? to a sacerdotal and sacramental Church system? They said nothing—nothing in defence—nothing in explanation—nothing at all. They left all that side of the subject simply untouched. They omitted it: they relied on the simple power which belongs to the arguer, of mentioning what he likes to mention, and not mentioning what he does not like. The human mind has this discriminating power. It can choose its subject. It can take up one topic, and need not take up another. There is nothing to compel a man to allude to what he does not choose to allude to. He has the physical power of using his tongue upon one point, and holding it on another; and the ample field of negation is at the command of any one who thinks a subject better untouched, than touched. This faculty of negative defence is one inexhaustibly copious, unfathomably deep, unanswerably potent; and it has the advantage of being the simple function of the human will. It is always at hand, ever ready for use.—Is a subject an unpleasant one? don't mention it. Have you no answer to make? then don't

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make one. Does the argument which you level at another apply with ten thousand fold force to yourself? it may, but then you *do* apply it to another, and you do *not* apply it to yourself. That is the very advantage which this process possesses. Your argument recoils ever so powerfully on you; it does not hurt you if it does not hit you; and you take care not to hit yourself. You charge another with doing what you habitually and publicly do in your own case. Never mind: you object in his case, and you do not in your own. It simply comes to that, and you do not let that rob you of your argument: if you make the accusation, why, the accusation is made; and that is done. And so the case rests.—There is a term which we apply to this style of argument, when we meet with it in ordinary life; we do not call it a modest one. In this way, however, the recommenders of the Test covered their own position under an attack upon the Church party, and ruled the point by sinking one whole side of the question, viz. their own.

Surely this is an artificial state for the argument to rest in. It is plainly absurd to suppose that the facts on one whole side of the case are unmade because they are suppressed; for men to put a cover on their eyes, and imagine that nobody sees them; to suppose that, because they do not look their own difficulties in the face, that they have none to look at; to dream that omission on one side annihilates perception on the other; to think that data are subject-matter of monopoly, that an argument itself gains exclusiveness from its application, and that Reason herself is partial because she is defrauded. What change has come over the organs of human nature of late years, that the persons we allude to can suppose they can use the line of argument they do? In what recent obscuration of the human vision do they think themselves secure? What has happened to men's eyes and ears? What veil has suddenly appeared between them and the rest of the world, that makes them suppose that they are not objects of sight? One man sees another man, when he meets him yet. We see things as we did. We see sun, moon, and stars, as usual—the earth, sea, and sky—the human race. The world goes on still, and we see it. The Thames continues to flow, and we see it also. Society and human life, the literary, the scientific, the theological worlds, present phenomena to our eyes, and we see them. We see the Church; we see different parties in the Church—schools—standards in it. We see one or two great and leading theological divisions among us. We see a latitudinarian school, who have been writing for years against the dogmatism of our Church—remains of popery left in her—and spiritual claims untenable in the present age. We see a regular understood set of views held by this party, a recog-

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nised aim and direction, philosophy, system, in it. All this we see. Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures we see. What does this party (we mean those of them who have done it) mean now by telling us that they hold the whole of our Church system and formularies as '*primitus editi*,' and exactly as the theology of three centuries ago entertained them? Do they think it possible that we can believe them in saying so? *Possible*, we say. It is not a question of inclination or disinclination, for compliments, or for the reverse. We do not want to disbelieve them; we would believe them if we could: but we simply ask, on the plain matter-of-fact ground, is it *possible?* We will do anything that is possible on the subject; but this is not possible. And when they not only make this declaration themselves, but actually proceed to make it the ground of a new exclusive test against others,—the climax is complete. Right or wrong, a test may be, but it is marvellous indeed that such a test should come from them: that they of all persons in the world should be stringently imposing that very original sense of our formularies which they have always rejected as obsolete; and that giving themselves permission to subscribe our Church's tests, while they disagree with them not partially, but totally—not in incident and detail, but in fundamental principle and real essence; should be bold enough to condemn the subscription of any other party, or any other school in the Church whatever.

It is only justice, however, to an honourable and manly portion of the liberal party to add, that this attempt, so far from receiving their sympathy, had their strenuous resistance. It is but due to gentlemen, who certainly represent no small portion of the talent of that party in the University, entirely to separate them from this egregious exhibition of unscrupulous inconsistency. There are two schools of liberalism: the one school has sometimes inspired us with the feeling of '*utinam noster esses*;' the other never has. We honour the openness of a liberalism which is really liberal, which has really the large-minded wish to comprehend all good from all quarters; we admire it upon its own basis. But a liberalism that confines all the benefits of its system to itself; that takes unsparingly, and gives nothing; that first claims indulgence, and then turns exclusive; and after talking a whole life against Tests, shows its sincerity by instituting one; a liberalism which is theoretical in its candour, and real in its hostility; which is afraid of its own dicta as soon as they come to be tried, and courts authority when it sees a rival; which hugs the formulary that it mocks, and tightens the grasp which it eludes—a narrow, frigid, evasive liberalism, cuts a poor figure in the philosophical aspect, and not a lofty one in the moral.

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But we must proceed to another stage of this history. The scene shifts, and the spirit which suggested the attempt we have been dwelling on, suddenly finds another vent and another channel. The New Test was obliged to be given up, in deference partly to the law of the land, and partly to the almost unanimous expression of opinion against it, in the University and the world at large. This was a retreat, and not a creditable one. How was the loss to be repaired? How was a false position to be rectified? How was the *hiatus* that would appear on the 13th of February to be filled?

A thought suddenly suggested itself. There was a tract called the 90th Tract, which had acquired much unpopularity, and excited much unfavourable, not to say much angry, criticism. It had, indeed, been published four years ago: it had received the censure of the Hebdomadal Board at that time. Its author had, apparently in consequence of that censure, and in consequence of the unfavourable notice taken of it in other and higher quarters, withdrawn from the University, given up College residence, and his parish in Oxford, and gone into retirement. After the first stir of its publication, the controversy on the Tract had ceased, so far as he was concerned. Not a word had come from him; not a breath been heard, either accusing others, or defending himself. The air around him was motionless. Waiving the privilege which all men take in such situations, he had made no stand, maintained no self-vindication; had not resisted, struggled, contended, disputed. The charge had been made, and he had retired. The judge and the censurer had done their work easily, and had had nothing to complain of. Serene, resigned, uncontentious—the object of their efforts had quietly seconded and anticipated them. The hand which was waving him off the scene found him gone while it was extending itself. A quiet pathway had conveyed him elsewhere, and his traces were visible all around—himself not seen. Did he make one effort to challenge or elicit force, to parry blows or to return them, though abundantly equal to the contest? Not one. He was wished away, and he went away. His presence was a burden to his judges, and he removed it. He gave them their way: he did what they wanted: he obeyed them. They had their will; and that should be remembered.

Such a course ought, at any rate, to be appreciated; and if persons did appreciate it more, they might find the mere feelings of side and party considerably tamed and softened by the view. There is, indeed, a type of mind in which all the great qualities, energies and powers, seem ultimately to express themselves in a deep, sustained meekness. As other vents of spirit and forms of action drop off from it; and as it casts off its successive

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moulds, one after another, and seems to arrive at each stage at something more satisfactory than it left, and to get nearer and nearer its own centre, this appears its destination. Spheres of action, outer callings, departments, pursuits and objects—the mind's actual embodiments, and very existence while she is in them, parts of herself and her identity—are really but dresses and expressions. She throws them off as she has done with them, and they pass away and float into the world external. She has her history, and her different selves; and, like nature, she throws out formations, and then empties and exsiccates them. The most penetrating and aspiring are the least tied to their present selves, the most ready to change and remodel. They suspect all shapes and forms of life and action in which they are, and despise the present weak inadequate representations of themselves. One sphere of feeling receives them after another, and life becomes more solid and deep. Power, energy, influence, direction, creation, the religious movement, and the war with evil, the combat and show of strength, and all the attitudes which it calls forth, seem tumultuous and external processes. The inner taste is dissatisfied with them: it yearns for a deeper and more inward life: it is ambitious of a more piercing and inward labour. It wants to be still, and to be quiet; and the meek standard more and more monopolizes it.

We do not mean to say that such greatness is not formidable; and that, if treated irreverently and harshly, its treatment does not, in some way, react upon the inflictors. Many a deep mind has, before now, resisted the world better by leaving it, and shaken it more by its absence than its presence. It leaves the antagonist in possession of the world's surface, bows to his power, submits to his will. But this is the very strength of meekness, its spiritual weapon, its esoteric arm. Silence is eloquent, and endurance strong. As such a mind retires in calmness from the strife and war, is there no chance of its very absence becoming its avenger? The highest form of retaliation is passive, is involuntary: it does nothing. It does not inflict or assail; does not wound and pierce, or throw, or strike: it acts by deprivation, by withdrawal, by departure: it undermines by distance, and stuns by negation. It lets the scene which is impatient of its presence have its absence instead; and lets facts simply operate, and have their course. There are secret springs of justice, and there is a lever of power which the world does not know of. It lies far below the surface, underneath the whole system which common wisdom sees. It does not show itself, or obtrude its motions on the eye. It does not move at all; it rests. From the immoveableness of a centre the effect comes, and an awful passiveness drains the world's strength from under it, dries up its antagonist, and leaves him a blank.

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But let this pass. We have only to do with the fact that we were speaking of—that Mr. Newman yielded to the cry against him, and that the University has lost him ever since. Of this retirement, and of this seclusion, those may complain perhaps who felt the sweetness of his presence; those who saw and heard him, who enjoyed his teaching, had his model before them, and identified Oxford with him. Those may complain of his retirement. It is a loss and a pain to them; and one for which they are inclined to accuse even him who makes the loss, who first gave a stay and then took it away when habit had adopted and appropriated it. They may complain: but not those who sent him away, who did not like his voice to be heard, and thought his simple presence an evil. He has done their bidding, and they should have been content. The grief has fallen upon others, who feel a *vacuum* that can hardly be filled up again, and are deprived of a support and source of strength which had worked itself into their very minds. They have now to go on, and give the Church those services and labours with resoluteness more than cheerfulness, and which strength of spirit more than animation inspires. The hard rock and stone now appear under their feet, and hollow murmurs accompany the long way. Never mind. The task of acting from themselves they must not evade because it is unpleasant. It is the very trial which they are called on to undergo. The course of a religious movement was never meant by Providence to be one overflowing with consolations and helps. Those who have been in it with those helps, must adhere to it without, and face the hard as well as the smiling aspect of the country. Let it be a call to greater self-sacrifices, more entire disinterestedness, and stricter devotion: to an abandonment of every private object and fragment of feeling that is not in the one stern ecclesiastical channel, and to a literal spread and diffusion of the heart over the Church which they would preserve. Let hearts be large and wide, clear and genuine, expanding and liquefying. Those who firmly believe in a Providence which intends something for our Church, and will make something of it, and turn it into something, and not allow all that body of good that is in it, and that is now working, and all those Catholic elements that she has, to go to nothing—will assuredly have their faith rewarded.

We must return. In this state of things, we say, it being four years since the tract in question was published, and Mr. Newman having in the interval given up all controversy and gone into retirement, in order to supply the place of the abandoned test, Mr. Newman and the tract were dragged forth for criticism and condemnation. The full contentious stare of the public was again directed upon one who had withdrawn to avoid

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it, and he was made, in spite of himself, to figure before it as before. A gap wanted filling, and he filled it. He had no credit given him for his quietness, and was treated just the same as if he had been ever so vulgar a disturber! He let his opponents alone, and his opponents did not let him alone. He had the worldly humiliation of his retirement, and not the benefit of it. Who in the present day has made the sacrifices that he has for peace and quietness' sake? The Tracts were objected to from an authoritative quarter, and he gave them up. The Hebdomadal Board censured him for what was called an evasive interpretation of the Articles, and he left the University. He had what is considered now-a-days a great position indeed—a pulpit which attracted its crowd every Sunday. He had the future race of English Clergy hearing him. Did he value, and feel tender about, and cling to, his position. Not at all. Would that he had been more tender about it than he was! but he gave it up as quietly as if he had been leaving a room. Every one knows that the popularity which a person has in his own circle, and side, is the most fascinating in the world. Mr. Newman had it pre-eminently, surpassingly. He had all the gifts which make a man the natural head of his sphere: he had the ornamental as well as the substantial talents; what enabled him to be it easily, flowingly, and brilliantly, as well as actually be it—powers of conversation, winning manners, and a mind that could leave its books and shine, as it is called, in society, and go through all the alternations, which a person in such a position has to do, with ease and self-possession. We state all this because we want to give the mere common, obvious, outside view which any man of the world would have taken of Mr. Newman's position. And this was the position which he left, and stripped off him. No great sacrifice to him, perhaps,—he did not care about such things; but how few, how very few are those who would have made it! We note such an instance when we see it, and treasure it in our memories. Mr. Newman gave up all for a life of retirement; and from that retirement, after an interval of years, is he dragged on the public stage again, to be the butt of a Convocational censure. This sudden, unexpected, gratuitous proposal came out only a fortnight before the meeting of Convocation, in the shape of a petition from 474 members of Convocation to the Hebdomadal Board.

With respect to those gentlemen who took the prominent part in bringing the matter forward, Dr. Fawcett and Dr. Ellerton, to whom we may add, we believe, as associates, Mr. Cox—Dr. Hampden's Vice-Principal, and Mr. Golightly, it is simply necessary to state, that they are not names that have hitherto carried either awe or weight with them, in University move-

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ments. If an unusual and irregular step was to be taken,—if the University was to put aside order, gravity, and *prima facie* equity on any occasion, we should have wished it to have been done upon some other authorities than these. We abstain from making personal remarks, except where persons put themselves into a distinct position which calls for them. The name of Dr. Fawcett suggests a long professional career, about which but one opinion exists. And we cannot but feel surprised at that taste, and that discretion, which allows him, under his circumstances, to put his name forward, and, by that act, recal impressions which must be unfavourable to him.

These were not the authorities, we say, that should have succeeded in recommending such an unprecedented measure as the one we are speaking of. Those who come strongly forward to condemn another's teaching should, at any rate, have some of their own to suggest in its place. They should not expel, except they could supply. But what would the united teaching of Dr. Fawcett, Dr. Ellerton, and Mr. Cox, come to? To a great deal, perhaps, if it existed; but it does not exist, to begin with. It comes under the genus—nothing. It does not answer the test of existence, that of creating an idea. It evanesces in the act of thinking what it is, and prevents investigation by vacuity. *Abiit, excussit, evasit, erupit.* A divided theology is no theology. A contradiction is nothing.

Under this entire absence of weight, either of name, or of principle, was the requisition of the 474 presented to the Hebdomadal Board, in the very week before the 13th. The Board has not usually taken the line of allowing or listening to suggestions from without; it is generally very internal in its proceedings, and also slow. Now, it sprang into instantaneous and irregular life, and exhibited what might almost be called saliency. A majority of 16 to 8 adopted it, only the week before the 13th. The thing was done in a moment. No time was given for consideration. The rules of the Board always postpone the discussion of a fresh subject till the next meeting; it is proposed on one Monday, and it is not discussed till the Monday after. In the present instance, the proposal, discussion, and resolution took place almost on the spot. The meeting was adjourned to the next day, and then it was regularly adopted. The proposed decree ran:—

'Whereas it is the declared purpose of this University to 'maintain and inculcate the true Faith of the Gospel, and to 'this end it is enjoined in the Statutes of the University, that 'every Student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-'Nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them on various occasions, '(Tit. II. Sect. 2., Tit. III. Sect. 2., Tit. IV. Sect. II. § 3. § 4.,

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'Tit. IX. Sect. II. § 3. Sect. V. §. 3. Tit. XVII. Sect. III. '§. 2); and whereas in the 90th Number of the Tracts for the 'Times, entitled "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-'nine Articles," modes of interpretation were suggested, and 'have since been advocated in other Publications purporting to 'be written by Members of the University, by which Sub-'scription to the said Articles might be reconciled with the 'adoption of Roman Catholic errors;—

'It is hereby declared and decreed,

'That modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the 'said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the 'Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling Subscription to them 'with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to 'counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due 'observance of the above-mentioned Statutes.'

We forbear to touch on the wording of the document itself at present, and will dwell on the act only. Was there dignity, was there academical decorum, we ask, in such a movement? If the measure was a proper one, why not do it till a requisition and a list of names recommended it? If it was improper, why do it because there was such a requisition and list? There is a betrayal even of that very gravity and steadiness which the Board has so especially affected, in performing such an instantaneous feat of compliance, and doing so immediately what a list of names tells them. Is not the Board, by such a step, taking the place of the straw which floats upon the wind, and receives its direction from the current of air that takes it, and giving up its originating position in the University? We have alluded to a prestige that the Board has had. Is this the way to keep it? A prestige is a tender thing, and is intimately affected by public acts. Public acts are those definite embodiments of the spirit of a system, which shows what it is, and what it is tending to; they are the notches in the stick—the numbers in the book of account. They remain, and they are thought of afterwards, appealed to, written down. They make an impression on men's minds, like actual, material strokes; and if one could see, with the bodily eye, into the world of mind around one, and the actual, invisible process in those inner hosts of minds,—the formation of public opinion,—going on, one would see men's opinions moving, bending, and settling, like malleable matter, under such acts. Public acts seem to re-act in this way, by simple necessary mechanical law, and not to be passive.

The fact of a Requisition, with 474 names, in short, was no proper reason at all for the Board adopting the step it did, still less for adopting it so immediately and hastily. There was nothing in the fact itself to force the measure upon them. They

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could have said 'No;' or they could have said, 'We will wait and consider;' or they could have said, 'We will appoint another time, and not mix up two proceedings together.' They might have made any one of these answers. The Requisition was an appeal that ought not to have moved them the least out of their ordinary line. And the names of Dr. Fawcett and Dr. Ellerton are really too insufficient, as weighty and authoritative ones, to have made any impression upon them. Without reflecting at all on many who probably signed it, as is often done, because they were asked, and because they did not think much about it, and whom we do not judge, we must say that there never was a Requisition, in its whole way of getting up, which so little demanded deference. To take advantage of it, was like catching at an opportunity—seizing an excuse. To take such immediate, such hasty advantage of it, was hardly respectable even. Nothing can well be supposed more undignified than such a sudden step, at such an impulse, for such an object. It was a manœuvre, and almost one which a respectable electioneering committee would not have liked. Take the impression of any respectable mind, and you will find he will disapprove of this twisting round a corner, and seizing on an unprepared victim; catching at an occasion, and following a sudden lead; repeating a censure, after the whole matter has long passed by; reviving an old grievance, and wounding the feelings of one who has long retired from controversy. The scourge should not stay midway in air, over the person in this way, and descend after its preparative movement has been forgotten. Of an act of punishment, the beginning and the end should not be four years apart. It should be one act: a thing done, and then over. Such a proceeding as the present does appear quite indefensible: and it must and it does encounter deep, serious, reflecting condemnation from all quarters.

Look at it in all its features, and do not say we are severe upon it. We only want to say what ordinary feeling positively makes us. Even if Mr. Newman was to be summoned thus, why at such a juncture, and in such a connexion, at such an inexcusably short notice? Was it fair to bring him and his Tract suddenly before a Convocation, coloured and preoccupied by attention to another book? to take advantage of an excitement about a new book that then lay before Convocation, to couple Mr. Newman's Tract with the latter, and fasten all the disadvantage of a most unpopular connexion upon it? In cases where a distinction really exists, any similarity in the direction of thought, displayed in the two books, would only make it the more incumbent, in point of fairness, to separate the two decisions, and keep each book apart. It is the more necessary, as

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an act of justice, to secure to each work a distinct independent consideration. 'Mr. Ward's "Ideal,"' to quote a pamphlet, 'is 'no republication of "No. 90," and reflects no responsibility on 'that tract. It was a book written in a very different spirit, 'and on a wholly different subject. There was nothing to sug- 'gest the notion of linking them together in a common con- 'demnation, except the obvious possibility of turning upon them 'one popular cry.' Look on this proceeding as a whole, and do not say we are severe: look at the hurry, the scramble of it. Surely when a person, who has, as a simple fact, attracted the reverence Mr. Newman has, is summoned from his religious privacy to a trial, it should be to a solemn one, to a calm one. Mr. Newman, at any rate, deserved a calm trial. A regular ceremonial, and a grave attendance, should, at any rate, have received so distinguished a criminal. A sobered atmosphere, a subdued and thoughtful scene, a silence, a check upon the temper, a weight upon the reason, a still attitude, a reposing look, a pause and a break amid the noise of religious strife, should have received such a theological mind. He should have been allowed to reflect some portion of his own depth upon the court which judged him. He should have had a trial to himself. Mr. Newman certainly deserved a trial to himself. He did not deserve to be brought in casually because another was undergoing the process, as an off-hand interpolation into the scene. He deserved to be treated with gravity, calmness, and dignity, if not with kindness: he should have had the consideration which his public aspect, at any rate, claims. Had he this? We look in vain to see it. We see a large and crowded Convocation before us, agitated for weeks by surmises and fluctuations, by points of law and academical system, cases and counsel's opinion; the Test discussed by twenty pamphlets, and then withdrawn; the press teeming, the papers full of a variety of topics to distract and excite them—this Convocation suddenly, with an entirely fresh person before it, with Mr. Newman placed before them at the last moment, and they told to censure him.

There is an instinct of nature which, amid ever so much strife and tumult of opinion, remains, and discriminates between the fair and the unfair in the contest. The bustle and the clang of weapons never quite drown it, the hurry and the glare never quite shame it away. Persons may act against it, but it remains in spite of them. There are things that may be done, and things that may not be done, in all contests and trials of strength. War has its rules. The sharpest campaign is conducted in deference to certain laws, which military taste, manliness, propriety, and honour, have established. The election and the

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public rivalry all over the world acknowledge certain bounds of taste and decorum, and have their laws of honour. In all cases of regular contest, there are advantages which may be taken, and which may not be taken; and license is nowhere infinite. The contrivance, the clever stratagem, the neat surprise, occur to the most managing heads on these occasions, and are rejected on this ground. They are not considered 'the thing,' to use the vulgar expression; they might gain a point, but it would be a strain to gain it in that way; such short cuts might tell against them in the long run, and it is running the risk of discredit, and of offending fair minds, to take them. The step, whatever it be, should be a fair one, and within the acknowledged liberties. The impartial public seems to stand as spectator, and say, Whatever you do, be fair. These courtesies and etiquettes of the field of necessary contention are peculiarly wanted. They are more than etiquette; they are charity and justice. They show that natural feeling has not forgot herself, and they vindicate a place for that feeling in all situations. These indefinite, but understood checks, are most necessary, even in a social point of view.

We put it to men's common sense and good feeling. They know the circumstances of the case: does this proceeding against Mr. Newman answer to one's ordinary notions of fairness, and of that plain unpretending good temper with which men, under any circumstances, should treat each other? Was it fair or just? was it a thing to do? was there the good feeling of an adversary shown in it? Undoubtedly the expedient answered in one way: it kept up the excitement which was dying away about Mr. Ward's case, and brought up masters from the country, which made up the majority of the 13th. It was a clever, sharp expedient. It did its authors credit in this respect. It served a turn. But was it a fair thing to do, even for such object? Was it not one of those clever manœuvres, the success of which is dearly bought by the name which attaches to it—by the fact, that everybody can say of it, 'It was too bad'?

We have only to add that we hope it will not be repeated. As our readers know, the Proctors, Mr. Guillemarde and Mr. Church, interfered with their Veto on the 13th, and would not allow the proposal to be entertained. They vindicated University order and equity, and they stamped, by the grave exercise of their constitutional power, that unconstitutional character on the proposal which it deserved.

A well supported Procuratorial Veto is a heavy censure. It is a test of the unconstitutional nature of the attempt it puts down, which it is not easy to dispute. It is authoritative, it is official. And though office and authority may be abused and

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used wantonly, where they are plainly not so used, they tell. Can any one, of any party, say that the Procuratorial Veto has been used wantonly on the present occasion; that it has been unfair, intemperate, or unconstitutional? If any one says so, will he say it because he really thinks so, or because he thinks that, on his side of the question, he ought to say so? The Procuratorial Veto has been treated in this case, as if persons, somehow or other, felt that they had no real right to complain of it; as if there was an impression, whatever might be said upon an ordinary party view against it, that the Proctors had, after all, a fair right to do what they did do. It has excited no noise that we hear of: it seems to have been tacitly considered not a subject matter for indignation. This is significant. Nothing is so rousing, so easy to run off upon, as an act of official assumption, where it is assumption. It is so easy a thing to expose, it lies open to so many popular criticisms; people naturally feel and make others feel so exceedingly indignant about it. Where this is not done, and apparently cannot be done, it is a tolerable sign that the act stands on pretty secure ground, and that there is not much to say against it. The Veto of Mr. Guillemarde and Mr. Church have this favourable sign accompanying it, on the side of omission. On the other hand, a body of 546 members of Convocation, including, not honourable only, but illustrious names, of which the University is proud, have presented an address of cordial concurrence in it. Compare the present Procuratorial Veto with the one given in Dr. Hampden's case. In the latter case, the Proctors stood almost alone against the whole University; and theirs was the unsustained isolated act of two individuals in office. It excited, whether rightly or wrongly, strong disgust and indignation on that very ground. There was no reality or solidity in it. The present Veto has a real solid character, and forces respect.

A counter address, however, to the Hebdomadal Board, has been preparing, and receiving signatures. We understand it has met with coldness from various quarters formerly friendly, and that many who signed the first Requisition have not wished to sign the second; and that it is consequently getting on poorly. As a mode of meeting this *hiatus*, the expedient is, we believe, entertained of considering all the signatures to the first Requisition as still going on, and those in the second as only additions to the first list. The fact of the same names occurring in both lists, seems to undermine this hypothesis. It is not, however, altogether improbable that the accession of new Proctors will cause the subject to be mooted afresh, and that an attempt will be made to induce the Hebdomadal Board to repeat the proposal of last term.

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We can conceive a variety of plausible arguments being brought to aid such a repetition of the attempt. It will be said that the Proctors are the only visible reason of its not passing last time, and that, that obstacle removed, it comes to be considered again on its old footing: that the Board are committed, by the first step they have taken, to carry the matter on, and that they will be guilty of inconsistency if they do not: that one argument used against it, in its first stage, will now be removed, for the proposal will not now be sudden, and take persons by surprise. It will be urged that the question has been stirred, and must be settled; that the Board cannot go on, with dignity to themselves, sitting under the stigma of a Procuratorial Veto; that the proposers of the measure are in a state of *quasi* defeat now, and cannot lose by another attempt, and may gain. Appeals will be made to the powerful mixed motive of consistency and party honour

Now we might really content ourselves with saying, on this head, what will come home to every practical man, that of all the motives that argument and rhetoric have ever abused, this one has suffered the most. And it is the argument, of all others, which when abused spreads devastation and mischief. It first makes the hole, and then lets in the water; first opens the door, and then invites the spoiler. You must go on, it says, you must advance: this is only a little part of the way you have gone already; there is much before you. It is no use stopping now. You are pledged; you cannot help yourselves; you have made the start; the rest is mere matter of necessary consequence. This is just the way in which evil works. It always endeavours to make persons feel that they must go on: and there is an imitation of reason and philosophy in the process. But the whole is a mere web; a word answers it. A person has only to say, I am not pledged, and I need not go on, and I can help myself, and I may stop, if I like. That species of consistency which relieves from future responsibility, and makes persons imagine that they have no longer to ponder each further step they take, is a false one. Such an argument cannot relieve the Hebdomadal Board from the task of further independent consideration on this subject, and the duty of looking to consequences, at every fresh step they take.

But the fact is, it is a much more invidious, a much stronger step, to repeat a proposal of this kind, than to make it at first: it is more invidious to do a thing twice, than to do it once. Grant that one single particular, which was blamed in the first proceeding, will not attach to the second; and that men, instead of having a week to consider about it, will have had the subject a couple of months before them. Is it not a poor apology to make for a false step, to repeat it simply with the difference of

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being two months after, instead of two months before? That is a difference which nature makes, and not choice. It is no concession of justice, if time simply moves; and if, when two months have passed since the first act, that act now dates two months back, and the subject has had two months' position before the public. If it was an unfair or irregular step anyhow, as brought on at first, it is a poor apology to make for it, to bring it on the very first opportunity, again. Repetition is a very strong and marked thing. If there is any kind of ambiguous shade, or any suspicion about the ground and character of a measure, it is straining a point a good deal to repeat it. The process of repetition is so accumulative, as showing animus. It is not only doing a thing simply one time more: it multiplies and intensifies, as well as adds. There is such effort, such determination in it. Where an act is quite certain and unanimous, and is by mere accident of time evaded, it is naturally repeated another time. But when it is a matter of effort, repetition makes the effort very invidious. An act reflecting on an individual is so like haggling, like punishing by piecemeal. Here is a writer who has left you alone, who has retired from the field. He was censured by the Board four years ago—once: Convocation is applied to censure him four years after—twice: are we to have this censure mooted again—three times? When are we to have enough of this subject? How long is Mr. Newman to be kept between one censure and another censure, and when will censuring and censuring be over? There is something, in the case of a quiet man, in striking him and striking him again, which is not magnanimous hostility. The first excitement of opposition over, the renewal of it requires the genuine Epicurean palate to give relish to it. Warmth subsides; a finer, but more depraved appetite succeeds. One regular effort made, and the subject becomes stale; to go back to it again is a forced, unnatural process, upon the common laws of human feeling. This second stage is not liked by persons. They may be forced up to it, but, when they have common kindliness, it goes against the grain. They feel a difficulty in the process, and they feel themselves in a wrong attitude. They seem to themselves to be mangling an opponent; and they would, if left to themselves, think the object, even if it could be gained, hardly worth such a mode of attaining it.

What we say—and every calm and moderate mind, we are sure, will go along with us in it—is simply this. If the attempt upon No. 90 had been an evidently unanimous one in the University; if there were no doubt as to the sentiments of the acting, thinking, and moving body of the members of Convocation being all on one side with respect to it; if it were, to use the common expression, a clear case, and the Procuratorial Veto

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were merely two individual votes contradicting the whole mass, the matter would stand differently. But obviously this is not the state of the case. The address of the 546 to the Proctors displays at once a large and substantial division of the University opposed to the attempt. Look at that list. Are there not names in it, which are and should be respected by all parties? Does it contain the names of young men only, masters just fresh from their regency? Are there only the names of 'boys' there? Some forty doctors head the list; and names come across us of men who have long been before the world, and are thoroughly known and looked up to. Can any one look at that list and say that the opposition is all from young men? This topic of 'young men,' is indeed getting now so very stale, and so obviously untrue, that it is hardly worth touching on. Yet look at that list, we will again say. Is it possible to deny its solidity and importance? Can such a list be put aside as worth nothing? The fact is clear, that a very substantial and large division of Convocation is opposed to such a line of proceeding. Grant even that a counter address could be got up with more names; suppose even a list of six or seven hundred to a counter requisition to the Hebdomadal Board. Still when lists get so near each other, and parties are so balanced as this, is it a legitimate use of an initiative power to drive matters to an extremity, to strain for a victory, bring up one-half of the University to struggle with the other, and gain a hard battle by a few odd votes? Even supposing this could be done, would it not be forcing and misusing the University to do it? And could they be sure that it would be done? Lists of names on paper are no absolute criterion. There is at any rate a risk—a considerable risk—of failure, taking the chances at the best; and when the case stands on such an edge, it does really seem more than unjustifiable to convulse the University again and again for such an object. These commotions must shake the University to its centre if they go on. And if those who have the power of bringing them on, think of nothing else but pushing for a victory, and will persevere in bringing on, one after another pitched engagement, it is too clear what the result will be. Whatever else is done, the University is weakened, and the Church fatally torn.

There is, moreover, an aspect in which the late proposed decree on the subject of No. 90 should be viewed, and in which it was not sufficiently viewed when it was brought forward. There was not time to draw out and lay sufficiently clearly then before Convocation, its latent force and purport as a Test.*

* See note at page 571.

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The University has just rejected an open Test, and it cannot consistently accept a concealed one; one, too, even more obnoxious than the first to many of the faults that it had. The words of the Decree, that 'modes of interpretation such as are 'suggested in the said Tract, are *inconsistent with the due 'observance of the above-mentioned Statutes,*' evidently throw a reflective meaning on those University Statutes alluded to, and are meant to act as an internal obstacle and conscientious bar to prevent a certain school from subscribing to the University Statutes. The vagueness, darkness, and cruel uncertainty of such a form of Test as this is inexcusable on any principle of equity we can think of. It does not say what the modes of interpretation are, except that they are such as are contained somewhere or other within the hundred pages of a certain Treatise, which exhibit the number of some fifty or more different examples of interpretation. A person might approve of the general principle, in the Tract, of interpreting the Articles by the standard of Catholicity; and not have examined or gone into the particular instances of interpretation at all. He might have gone into these instances, and yet he might agree with some, and disagree with others. This test does not say whether it is the general principle of Catholic interpretation which it condemns, or the particular applications of it, or which out of the latter it condemns. It says vaguely, loosely, and in a way absolutely exclusive of tangible meaning, 'modes of interpretations *such as are* suggested,' &c. At what point or turn of thought, when an individual is reading and weighing the meaning of the Articles, is he to begin to fear that the meaning he leans to is '*such as*' is similar to one or other of fifty different unspecified interpretations? Where the similarity commences nobody tells him; and to what the similarity is to be, nobody tells him. He is left to determine all that for himself. A wide indefinite field of theological opinion is thus either totally cut off, or left entirely open, nobody can tell which; or it is cut off at some particular point or other, nobody can tell where.

It adds to the perplexity of the case, that the Test, if such it be, is not proposed the least in the form of one—it has no act of subscription assigned to it. It lies in a particular meaning reflected upon certain Statutes, of which Statutes the observance is promised in the general oath of observance of all the Statutes of the University. It is the reflection of the reflection of a Test, still working round, however, from one angle to another, till it is supposed to meet the conscience of the member of the University. And the act of subscribing to the whole mixed body of Statutes, relating to faculties and degrees,

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convocation and congregations, caps and gowns, this general promise of academical good behaviour and obedience is thus impregnated with a crypto-test, not existing positively as an addition, but only as a colouring given of these Statutes by a posterior legislation. The Test is deficient in the stringent power of a test in this circumstance,—that it does not make itself taken. It does not come into actual contact with the subscriber. He is told that a certain sense is thrown upon some Statutes. But he is not made to say that he agrees with that sense. The new colour of those Statutes sits inertly upon them, and never comes forth to be received or rejected. Supposing the late New Test had simply asserted its sense of the Articles, without the affixed Declaration, which made the person say he took them in that sense, it would have been plainly *mancus*, defective in the link which connected the Test with the subscriber. The No. XC. Test is defective in this way. It has more than enough to harass, while it has not enough to bind; it is seen in the distance, and never touched; it vexes by a shadow, and pretends a coercion which it cannot execute.

If there is to be a Test, it ought to be an open one, and a positive one; not a reflected, implied, shadowy one: it ought to be a Test taken, and not looked at only. The present one insinuates itself sideways into the Corpus Statutorum, and tries to do what a Test does and not to be a Test, and gets a position by its own intangibility. It creates doubt and scruples, gives uneasiness, and oppresses from within; it makes the mind its own executioner, and leaves the doubting and anxious the cruel liberty of putting it in force upon themselves.

The subjects we have been considering in this article have all taken us in one direction, and have all been connected with one aim, and one tendency, observable in the present state of things, and the conduct of certain parties. And it may be well, before concluding, to state summarily what that aim is. It is time that we should understand and estimate it. It is time that Churchmen should look around them, should have an eye to the future, should weigh probabilities, should know what is against them and what for them, should be alive to their situation, and realize the views of their opponents and their own. As we stated at the commencement of this article, the antagonism of the two sections in the Church has assumed lately a much more definite and forcible aspect. A positive attempt has been made in two successive instances, in the University of Oxford, to institute an opposite Test. This is a phenomenon which should not pass unregarded. It is pregnant with meaning; it furnishes a most significant and grave symptom of the growing state of things and relation of sides, and seems to point to a farther and

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still more trying issue, most seriously affecting the English Church one way or another.

The fact is this: a school which takes the very opposite basis from that of our Church, wants to develop her according to their own standard. A Liberal school and an Evangelical one, combining and mingling, and gathering reinforcements from different quarters, where distrust of the Church movement happens to prevail, will only see in the Church of England the reflex of themselves, and identify her wholly with their own theology. They will not look at her in any other aspect; indeed they hardly can; the very position which they hold compels them to take the view they do of her. You may point to a whole Church basis, to a dogmatic creed, to a sacramental system, clearly and definitely stamped upon her. You may show the written formulary, the sentence, the line, the literal tangible evidence, that she holds and imposes such a belief. It will be to no purpose, for they possess a key for the universal solution of such difficulties, in the primary idea on which they start, that their system is to explain the Church's, and not the Church's dictate theirs. They do not allow the Church to speak for herself; their primary idea interprets her every where. Their own point of view, their own theological medium, fixes her. From 'she ought to be,' there is no interval to 'she is.' Whatever be her formal written system, whatever creed or canon may say, her system is meant to be, they think, what they make of her. They profess to take her meaning, her object, and not to allow the evidence of her form and fabric to be even brought into comparison with a supposed substantial spirit and intention. Their own standard dictates what is important in her, and what is not so; what is to be held, and what it is allowable to throw aside, as simply incidental and unintentional. It tells them what she intends to say, and what she says without intending it: they take the former, though she does not say it, and they reject the latter, though she does. This is their basis of interpretation. You refer to this and the other great important truth she asserts, and they make it at once an accident and an obsolete point: their standard unrealizes it. Whole features in her system, and whole doctrines are thus passed over, as *ipso facto* null and void; not intended to be believed, simply because they *are* those doctrines. That is sufficient. The Church fills out the theological image which their minds have engendered. She expands according to its proportions, and is the development of it. The fundamental intention they attribute to her, supersedes the written word, the formal dogma. And a religious society and institution which embodies that intention, is their Church of England. They know no other.

This is their view. They take it, we really believe, quite

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naturally. They think themselves quite right. They seem to see their way quite clearly. They have for a long time written and said, as a school, very much what they liked. They have suffered no restraint, and they feel no authority. The author has put into his book what came into his head and appeared clever and philosophical, without thinking a moment whether or not it was consistent with what the Church says. The idea would never occur to him. Such a relation between himself and the Church, if suggested to him, would have seemed unreal, almost without meaning,—an altogether airy and fanciful one. Reality is the function of habit. A perfectly strange notion is grotesque or shadowy. Let any one turn over the pages of Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, and observe the ease and unconsciousness with which he goes on laying down views on the subject of Church doctrine, which completely crumble and dissolve it all. He does it apparently without an idea that either the Church or any one else can object to it; in the pure literary, philosophical tone, as if he was writing for an encyclopædia. Speculation is his line; he follows it: he does not think of where, and in what system he is in: he goes on, on his own ground. Dr. Whately speculates cleverly and ingeniously: he uses clear illustration, and unfolds his argument well. He wants an illustration of a fallacy in his book on Logic, and he takes the Church's doctrine of the Trinity. He treats it with that scientific ingenuity which so peculiarly belongs to him, and then proceeds to some other instance of fallacy. All the time he is only using his professional gifts: it is not his object to contradict the Church, he simply does not think of her. He has his line, and he pursues it. Writers of this school have gone on thus calmly and as a matter of course, saying what they want to say. They have never felt the Church system of doctrine the least hindrance to them; and the latent theory—for there must be one to account for such procedures—has been, that the Church of England was a system, in which doctrine was quite secondary; an impalpable latitudinarian pale, which allowed free scope for all opinions, and the full march and expansion of the human mind.

To proceed: this school having attained some official position, sees a large and growing part of the Church taking quite another view of her to what they do; appealing to her formal basis, fabric, dogmatic creed, sacramental system; and wanting to use and unfold the Church upon her formal and professed basis, as they want to do upon her supposed latent one. They see a school that boldly put forward old Catholic principles. What is their view on seeing them? That they are simply interlopers; that these are not the principles of the actual English Church, and

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that the spread of them is a pure interference and invasion. They wave them off the ground with the feelings of owners of the soil, and tell them to carry their principles elsewhere. It is a matter of right and property. They look upon the Church as their own, and are familiarized with their own idea of her, and they do not understand what another school can mean by having another idea. They set it down as simple dishonesty. Putting aside their own points of difference with the Church, as mere incidental ones, and regarding themselves as her representatives, they will not see the ground which the other side have: they negative it, and push forward their own.

This state of feeling leads, in course of time, to a public act. They have obtained an entrance into the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. From this position they promulgate a New Test, for the purpose of cutting off that interpretation of our formularies which Churchmen appeal to, and narrowing them to an uncatholic sense, in which their opponents could not subscribe them.

The Test was no mere prevention of Romanism. The connexion in which it came out appeared to give it simply the Roman application, and to attach it only to Mr. Ward's 'whole cycle of Roman doctrine.' But look at the language of the preamble. It obviously points to other doctrines besides the Roman ones. It does so expressly: it mentions over and above the Roman, another class of doctrines which it describes as doctrines 'which, *hardly or not at all*, oppose the Roman ones'—doctrines, *i. e.* which come near, which border on the Roman—which might popularly be mistaken for the Roman ones—which have features in common with the latter, and have the same element in them. The phrase, '*vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur*,' is significantly vague, and is obviously meant to comprehend a general line of theology, which, though acknowledged not to *be* literally Roman, is considered to be *like* it. It excludes what are called approaches to Roman tenets, as well as those tenets themselves. Here is a passage from the Charge of the Bishop of Llandaff, quoted by a pamphlet on the side of the Test, on this particular point:—'If, for instance,' says the Bishop, 'in subscribing to the 'Article which condemns the 'Romish doctrine of Purgatory, he (the subscriber) mentally re-'serves the right of holding that doctrine, provided it differ *in* '*some respects* from the Romish, he betrays, according to my 'judgment, a want of principle, which ought to exclude him, not 'only from sacred functions, but from every office of important 'trust.' This is a strong thing to say. On a number of points of doctrine, that of the Real Presence, of Prayer for the Dead, and many others, the Patristic theology says a great deal of

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what the Roman says, or rather the Roman theology says a great deal of what the Patristic says. The Roman has a strong element in common with it. A mere popular standard would probably put them both together, and see no difference perhaps between them. This is what persons have been saying so long; this is just the view we are so familiar with. Put the high-Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence, or of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and show what they really assert, to the mass of persons, and they will say at once that they are tantamount to Romanism. They will say they do not understand fine distinctions, subtleties, hairbreadth lines; that, if there is a difference, it is not worth speaking of, but that they do not see one: that they take the broad common-sense view, and look at the genuine solid substance of the doctrines, and not at insignificant points. They will say that, if you teach one, you may as well teach the other; and that if the one should not be taught, the other should not be taught either. Do not all of us know, that high doctrine of all kinds has gone simply under the name of 'Popery' with a very large class? that every manifestation which has not bowed to the popular standard, has been set down as such; and that persons have not been able to open their mouths on some subjects, and explain the Church Catechism, without being called 'Romanists?' Such is the real meaning of the language of the Bishop of Llandaff, and of the Oxford Test,—its genuine practical force and bearing. A whole line of theology, that 'differs, in some respects, from the Roman,'—a whole system of teaching, that is '*vix aut ne vix quidem*' separated from the Roman,—that is considered to be the same in principle, and is, as a matter of fact, set down as Romanism, was aimed at in the Test. Is another phrase wanted? The preamble of the Decree on No. XC. gives one quite as symptomatic—a very safe one, indeed, in itself, but very significant in its associations. 'Whereas it is the declared purpose of this University, to maintain and inculcate the pure faith of the Gospel'—who does not know what the '*pure Gospel*' means in popular theology? what such phrases as the 'simplicity of Gospel truth,' and the like, mean? They explain themselves perfectly; they have a regular conventional drift. Do they, or do they not, convey a certain idea of a Gospel system, as opposed to that of a sacramental one, and as specially contrasted to the view which the Church school among us take of the Christian scheme? The 'sense of the University' comes in to crown the whole; the University is first supposed to take a particular line, and to manifest a bias, and then its sense of the Articles is imposed. The whole circumstances of the case, had the University passed that Test, would have shown its animus

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and real object in so doing; and that would have interpreted the Test.

If any one thinks that we are attributing too large a sweep to the Test, let him reflect for a few moments, and just ask himself what he really thinks would have been the case had the Test passed. Let him put to himself the situation which those who hold the opinions we speak of, would have been in under it; the reflections that they would have been subjected to, if they had not taken it in its broad meaning; the call that would have been made and urged upon them from the quarter that passed it, to retire, to leave a scene where they were marked, and not to struggle with a plain and palpable sentence against them. If any one thinks that we are attributing too large a sweep to the intention of this Test, let him remember the suspension of Dr. Pusey for preaching—what? Roman doctrine? Clearly not: he disclaimed it, *totidem verbis:* for preaching the high Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence; for preaching simply what he demonstrably proved the Fathers of the Church Catholic, and the high divines in our own Church held. That sermon was declared to be 'dissonant with the doctrine of the Established Church,' though it expressly disavowed Roman doctrine. Another field of doctrine then was aimed at in the condemnation of that sermon, besides the Roman: another field of doctrine, besides the Roman, was aimed at in this Test. We are not attributing too large a sweep to the Test.

One word more. This would have been a distinctly new move, a distinct change in our Church's ground. The Test, in condemning this indefinite field of doctrine we speak of, clearly condemned what the Articles do not. The Articles, where they condemn Roman doctrine, plainly condemn that doctrine, and not another; in condemning Roman doctrine, they do not condemn what is not Roman. This Test did. It alluded, under a comprehensive, indefinite phrase, to what it considered *tantamount* to Romanism, as well as to what *was* such. This, whether a right or wrong one, is a *new* theological department to condemn. The Articles do not mention it; it was an addition of the Test's. A distinct addition was made to our Church Tests, to meet the case of the particular opinions that were obnoxious. The Church was prevented from expanding in that direction, and that ground was cut off from her.

Now to this whole view, which unseats minds of the Catholic school from their place in the English Church, whether coming from the Latitudinarian or the Evangelical quarter, or from both, as it does—to this whole view, which regards them as invaders, and prevents them from using and bringing out the Church on its own basis—to that whole view of which the New Test was the

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expression—the Catholic school has one answer. They see that basis belonging to the Church as a fact. They see a sacramental system and dogmatic creed formally asserted by her—they see a whole fabric, which they accept, and which their opponents do not. So long as they see that, they regard the Church as their own, and not as their opponents'. Take away that ground, alter the Church formularies, and they will take another view of her. But so long as she has these formularies, they feel a right to her, which others have not. They feel that they alone can accept and make real use of her system. Others may develop her on their own basis, but they alone can develop her on hers. They want the liberty to do this if they can—a fair ground, and no favour. They want to exercise the simple natural right of impressing Catholic doctrine upon people's minds by those powers of persuasion, whatever they be, that they are masters of, and of vindicating and unfolding the professed basis of the English Church. Can the other side really use our existing Church system? Do they really take it one bit into account in their religious schemes? Do they not use the Church as a simple shell which covers them, as a mere inclosure, and treat a whole internal system of discipline in her as if it were not? The Ecclesiastical fabric is gutted, and made a case of, and they build up their own theory in the vacuum. But, in the mean time, there the internal system is—it is not cleared away—and a school comes forward, and wants to make use of, and unfold it.

Is it replied, that the system indeed is there formally, but that it is obsolete now? The answer is obvious: it is not obsolete while people wish to make use of it. The claim made supplies its own evidence in this respect. To prevent a system being used because it is obsolete, is very like arguing in a circle. If it can be used, it is not obsolete; and here are those who say they really want to use it. The fact of a large and growing school in the Church that wants to use her system, shows at once that that system has a hold on people's minds, and associates a reality with it. It exists on paper, and that supplies the form—it exists in people's minds, and that gives reality. When a regular movement wants to throw life and vigour into a system, the system has, at any rate, so much solidity and reality as this fact shows.

A Church that has this formal basis, and that has the feeling and spirit of her own sons to carry it out, cannot be interfered with without danger, in the way in which the late efforts have gone. It cannot be monopolized by those who have made the attempt to do so, without a split and a convulsion, that would endanger its very existence as an established institution. A

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school that feels itself strong in its Church basis, and its own earnestness—that has those numbers, names, consideration, and weight—that has that whole Church strength and footing that this has—is not one to be attacked without great fear and caution, even on the common political and general conservative ground. We trust persons will pause before they continue such a system of aggression. We trust that they will consider the formidable consequences, which must attend the final crush and collision of theological parties now existing in the Church. We hope that, if some are unmindful of these chances and heedless of results, so long as the pursuit is but kept up and victory plays before the eye, others, who occupy a more neutral position, will be more clear-sighted, and see that the Church must suffer. All we wish for is a calm, in which each side may peaceably try each other's strength on the field of sober argument, or moral influence. Let mind and temper, religious feeling, depth, devotion, self-denial, give the superiority, on whichever side it may be; and let the issue be one of natural and gradual transition, and not a rupture or a shock. Let the Catholic movement die way, if it has not spirit enough to sustain itself; if it has, let it cover the ground that it can gain, and occupy the position that it can rise to. At all events, whatever turn the present temper of parties may take, that school occupies a place now from which it will not recede; and it will endeavour, with God's blessing, to carry on that course which it has begun.

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NOTE TO PRECEDING ARTICLE, PAGE 561.

A LETTER which appeared in the TIMES from Mr. Hope, on the subject of the No. XC. Decree, and its bearing as a Test, explains this point clearly:—

Convocation [says Mr. Hope], like other legislative bodies, may either change its laws by repeal and addition, or clear them of doubt by explanation. In the former case it enacts, in the latter it declares. In the former, new provisions are introduced, or old ones abolished; in the latter, the language of the existing law remains as before, but receives a sense which was previously latent or ambiguous.

The Test recently withdrawn was in the form of enactment, and sought to insert in the body of a penal statute (Tit. xvii., sec. 3. § 2.) a declaration of the sense in which subscribers should profess their acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles. If they should refuse to make that profession, they were not to be allowed to subscribe; and if they should not subscribe, the old law had already pointed out the consequences.

The new 'form of Decree' adopts the other method—it does not propose to abrogate or add anything by way of enactment, but only to clear the sense of the existing law by way of declaration.

For this purpose it recites a variety of statutes respecting instruction and examination in the Thirty-Nine Articles and subscription to them; and, having also recited that certain modes of interpretation have been suggested by Tract 90, proceeds to 'declare and decree'—

'That modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, &c., defeat the object and are inconsistent with the due observance, of the above-mentioned statutes.'

This, therefore, is a declaratory statute; and if it should pass, all the statutes recited in it will receive their legal meaning from it, and must each be read as if the new interpretation had been verbally contained in the old text.

Let us, then, see, *e.g.*, how this would work in the particular instance of the penal statute which was made the basis of the former Test, and which being one of those recited in the new Decree, is to receive a meaning from it.

That statute (Tit. xvii. sec. 3, § 2,) vests in the Vice-Chancellor the right and power of ascertaining '*subscriptionis criterio*,' '*quo quisque modo erga doctrinam vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit*;' and any one in holy orders who thrice refuses to subscribe, upon the Vice-Chancellor's requisition, is to be banished. But by the new Decree, 'modes of interpretation such as are suggested in 'Tract 90, 'are declared and decreed' to defeat the object and be inconsistent with the due observance of this statute. And as every one who is bound to the observance of a law is bound to its *due* observance, and every one who has to enforce a law is bound to its *due* enforcement (for otherwise legislation becomes impotent), the scholar, who enters the University under an engagement '*omnia statuta pro virili observare*,' and the Vice-Chancellor, who on his admission promises a like observance, and also that he will 'faithfully execute all those things which appertain to' his office, would be obliged, the one to accept, and the other to enforce, this statute, in a sense which would directly exclude all such modes of interpretation as the Decree declares to be inconsistent with its due observance.

The consequences of this view are obvious: simple subscription having been, apparently, the only criterion imposed by the original text, subscription pregnant with a negative would be required under the declaratory Decree; and if an individual should scruple to subscribe in this sense, or if the Vice-Chancellor should by any means discover him to have subscribed in a different one, the penalties of the statute would at once apply.

If this be a right construction, it seems to me necessarily to follow that the distinction between the enacting statute which has been withdrawn, and the declaratory statute which is now proposed, must be considered one of form and degree, and not of substance.

Both create new tests,—the former by requiring a declaration of his meaning from the subscriber, the latter by giving a particular sense to subscription—the former by prescribing one mode of interpreting the articles, the latter by excluding other modes.

The utmost that can be said by way of distinction between the two is, that the former Test was more palpable, more easy of application, and more extensive and impartial in its bearings. Its character was not left to construction and inference, but was plainly announced. It was not to remain in the context of the law, but to be put into the mouth of the party. It was not directed against one set of errors only, but professedly against all.

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Note to Article on the Jerusalem Bishopric, p. 132.

If anything were wanted to complete the case which, in our last Number, we established against the Pruss-Anglican scheme, now upon trial at Jerusalem, such will be found in the following document, which has just appeared, of course 'by authority,' in the Ecclesiastical Gazette. It requires no comment: indeed, such on our part would be as painful as superfluous. For what possible purpose, save a judicial one, it could have been published at this juncture, we are at a loss to conceive. If our recent paper has contributed to elicit this most significant detail of principles, there is a melancholy sort of satisfaction, as far as we are concerned, in placing it upon record.

"*The Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.*

"The following is a copy of the Instructions given by the King of Prussia to his Extraordinary Envoy, with respect to the establishment of the Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem :—

'Should the Government of Great Britain appear disposed, upon certain conditions, to enter with the King's Majesty into an engagement, from which the attainment of these objects may be rationally expected, his Majesty then entrusts his Extraordinary Envoy in this special mission with the following commission.

'The Envoy shall, in such form as is approved by the English Ministry, and is strictly confidential, by means of a conference with the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of England, and the Bishop of London, as immediate head of the several congregations of the English Church in foreign parts, endeavour to ascertain—

> 'In how far the English National Church, already in possession of a parsonage on the Mount Zion, and having commenced there the building of a church, would be inclined to accord to the Evangelical National Church of Prussia a sisterly position in the Holy Land.

'Inasmuch as an accord of this kind concerns the most delicate points of the national life of both peoples, and the subject itself is of such exceedingly high and holy interest, his Majesty considers it necessary, for the avoidance of all misunderstandings, to speak out plainly and openly the convictions by which he is guided.

'His Majesty, in the first place, proceeds on the conviction that Evangelical Christendom has in the East, and particularly in the Holy Land, no hope of full and lasting recognition, nor of blessed and continued fruit and extension, unless it presents itself in those countries as much as possible as one united body.

'In the first place, both government and people in those countries

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have been accustomed to see those who acknowledge each other as co-religionists appear, and act together, in their spiritual affairs, as one body, with a common discipline and order. Thus Judaism presents itself. Thus, also, the corporations of the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians. If, therefore, Protestant Christendom were to present itself by the side of these, and demand recognition as an English Episcopal, a Scotch Presbyterian, an Evangelical-United, a Lutheran, a Reformed, a Baptist, or Independent community, and such like, the Turkish Government would certainly hesitate to grant such recognition, inasmuch as this act implies, for the heads of such recognised corporations, the highest political privileges. Thus, in the preceding month, the Bishops of the various Christian communities of Syria, in Damascus, were summoned together, with the Mufti and the Cadi, to deliberate upon the future administration of government in the land; and to each it was granted to name five deputies, of his own confession, for the Supreme Administrative Council of Syria. Before the Porte can resolve to grant, even provisionally, such a position and such power to the different evangelical congregations, it will first inquire after the number and condition of her subjects, who are members of each of the new corporations, and after the guarantees which a community of the kind can offer for its continuance; for it is of natives, subjects of the Sultan, that those privileged corporations have been, and are still, composed. But, at present, all evangelical communities together can point only to a few individual natives who have joined them. It is true, that of late years, in Armenia and Beyrut, several—and some natives of consideration—have expressed themselves inclined to come over to evangelical Christianity, or to have their children educated in it; but have been prevented, chiefly, by the impossibility which the missionaries experience of granting to such persons protection and safety. And yet it is as certain that equality with the ancient corporations must be demanded, without the power of exhibiting a sufficient number of persons of whom the new corporations are to be composed. But as to the guarantees, which they have a right to demand, what Government could and would grant them for such a crowd of communities? And, in this unwillingness the Porte would, beyond all doubt, be confirmed by the solicitations of the already existing religious corporations. But, even looking away from this, to what disadvantage would Evangelical Christendom, in such a state of division, appear beside the ancient Churches? Whatever these latter may want in internal life, they form a compact body, holden together by Church discipline, liturgy, and the Apostolic-episcopal respect of their see, and operate, by the power of Church-unity, still more than by the advantage of immemorial possession.

'Such are the political reasons which have brought his Majesty to the conviction, that, in this business, unity, in the first onset, must be the first, the indispensable condition of success for the Evangelical Church.

'But the conviction of his Majesty that, on the present occasion, the Evangelic Church must come forward as one in faith, rests essentially upon still higher considerations. The shape which Turkish affairs have at present assumed—most certainly not without the overruling Provi-

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dence of God, and especially the political position of England and Prussia, in reference thereto—have, for the first time, afforded Evangelical Christendom the possibility of demanding, as equal child of the universal Church of Christ, a position in the cradle of Christianity and in the Holy Land, by the side of the primitive Churches of the East, and in the presence of the Roman Church, which would secure for the Gospel a free proclamation, and for the professors of evangelical truth free confession and equal protection. The present moment is an era in the history of the world; and accordingly as it is recognised and improved, the Evangelical Church will be judged by history, and by the Almighty. His Majesty entertains not a doubt that the Evangelical Church owes it to herself, and to her Lord, at such a moment, and on such a theatre, not to present the stumbling-block of her disunion and dividedness; but, on the contrary, the good example of her unity in faith, and her union in action. Her object in appearing there, beside the elder Church communities, and in the presence of Jews and Mahometans, cannot be to persecute, to invade, to exclude—not to strive, to scatter, to dissolve; her wish cannot be to proclaim to the world her mission as a work of hatred and jealousy, but as a message of love, of peace, and of concord. How then can it be the will of her Lord that she should, for such a purpose, with such words in her mouth, on this her first appearance in the Holy Land, unfold the banner of internal separation and discord? Are not her missions already, besides being the pulse of her common life, so also a witness of the difficulty, in such a state of isolation and separation, of founding Churches, properly so called, and of forming and conserving Christian nations? And where would this internal disease be revealed more sadly than in that land where all Christian opposites are crowded together—in the face of the three Patriarchates, and the colony of Rabbies—in sight of the Mosque of Omar, and the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem? Is it not much rather in the purpose of God, that, in their missions, the feeling of the internal unity and concord of all the members of Evangelical Christendom should be kindled? May not, especially at the present moment, the favourite thought of the Church's Lord be this: that, in the old land of promise, on the place of his earthly course, not only Israel should be led to the knowledge of salvation, but also the individual Evangelical Churches, built upon the everlasting foundation of the Gospel, and upon the rock of faith in the Son of the living God—forgetting their divisions, remembering their unity—should offer to each other, over the cradle and the grave of the Redeemer, the hand of peace and concord?

'His Majesty, for his part, will not hesitate, on this occasion, in full confidence to hold out his hand to the Episcopal Church of England, which combines, with Evangelical principles, an historic constitution, and a Church existence, significant of universality.

'His Majesty, in accordance with Apostolic Catholicity, and in expectation of similar dispositions on the part of the English Church, entertains no fear in expressing his readiness to allow the clergy and missionaries of his National Church, in all mission lands, where a

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bishopric of this Church exists, to unite themselves with it; and, for this purpose, to obtain for themselves Episcopal ordination, which the English Church requires for admission to an office. His Majesty will take care that such ordination shall always be acknowledged and respected in his dominions.

'In the Holy Land in particular, his Majesty is determined to do every thing which can, on Christian principles, be required, in order that united labours may be possible. The English Church is there in possession of an ecclesiastical foundation on the Mount Zion, and his Majesty considers it to be the duty of all Evangelical princes and communities to join this foundation, as the beginning and central point of conjoined operations; for his Majesty regards this as a ground of great hope for the futurity of Evangelical Christendom. In the first place, their missions acquire thereby, throughout the extent of the whole Turkish empire, and in the primitive habitations of Christianity, a visible centre and a living lever, whose power, once set in motion, will soon make itself felt even to Abyssinia and Armenia. But besides this, another object of the utmost importance, and most earnestly to be desired, will also be attained. In the simplest manner possible, a Christian neutral-ground will be acquired, far removed beyond the bounds of narrowing nationality; and upon which, with God's blessing, by the conjoined operations of believing love, a gradual union of Evangelical Christians may be prepared with greater facility than under any other circumstances.

'Of course, it cannot be his Majesty's intention by such an union to sacrifice or endanger the independent existence of the National Church of his country. According to his Majesty's view, an evangelic, true, and living representation of Catholicity, is that only which supposes this unity to be upholden by the divinely-ordained multiplicity of tongues and peoples, and in accordance with the individuality and historic development of each several nation and country. Every national Church has, without doubt, like the people belonging to it, its own peculiar vocation in the great order and unfolding of the kingdom of God. Yea, every narrower, smaller Christian community in a Christian land, has, undoubtedly, in like manner, the vocation and the duty to seek within the circle of the universal Church, a peculiar sphere for the extension of love, and for which a particular opportunity, and a particular blessing, are given to her.

'But especially his Majesty, as German Prince, and King of his country, is penetrated with the liveliest persuasion, that the Evangelical Christendom of the German people is called to occupy an independent position in every representation of such Evangelic-apostolic Catholicity as long as the Word of God is proclaimed in German speech, and his praise sung in the German tongue. His Majesty lives in the hope, especially that in the present century, the position of the Evangelical Christendom of Germany, as soon as it becomes conscious of its vocation, will hold a position proportionate to the general intellectual and political position of that people, from whom, three hundred years ago, the blessed work of the Reformation of the Church proceeded.

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'In accordance with these convictions, the above-mentioned confidential conference must be governed by two leading principles. The one, the utmost possible unity of operation and labour in the Turkish empire, and especially in the Holy Land; the other, regard to the independent existence of the Evangelical German Church, and to the individuality of the German people.

'THAT THE ENGLISH CHURCH ERECT A BISHOPRIC OF ITS OWN at Jerusalem, the King's Majesty regards as first condition and beginning of combined operations. The foundation appears already laid, as it were, by a special Providence. The first-fruits of the Mission in Jerusalem warrant the fairest hopes. Its suspension and present melancholy condition* seem to render an Episcopal arrangement in that place advisable and of urgent necessity. Nothing but Episcopal superintendence and decision on the spot can be of any use; the subjection of the Mission to a see at Malta would not appear to his Majesty either a satisfactory or a truly apostolic arrangement.

'The Bishopric to be erected at Jerusalem would, therefore, connect itself with the foundation and buildings already begun on the Mount Zion, and comprehend all Evangelical Christians willing to take part in it. The high-minded sentiments expressed very lately at a meeting of the friends of the Church of England, at which the Venerable Archbishop of Canterbury presided, appear to his Majesty a certain pledge, that the idea so truly Christian, and for the present times so necessary, of founding firm Churches in Mission countries, will in this matter also be realized in a manner worthy of the object. His Majesty is willing and disposed, when a Bishopric of this kind is founded, to allow one or more clergy and missionaries of his subjects, for the sake of the Jewish converts who speak German, and for the benefit of the Evangelical Christians of the German language, to join this episcopal arrangement. As a manifestation of his sentiments, his Majesty will readily allow such persons to obtain ordination from the English Church. His Majesty especially desires to see this take place in Jerusalem itself.

'With respect to the position of the Privy Counsellor of Legation, his Majesty herewith empowers him, under the before-mentioned conditions, to confer confidentially with the heads of the English Church.

'With these instructions, the King's Envoy left Sans Souci on the 8th of June, 1841.'"

* 'Alluding to the time when the British Consul and others left Jerusalem in consequence of the war.'

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NOTICES.

Thoughts on the Proposed Dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society, suggested for the Consideration of the Members. By a MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. London: Rivingtons. Cambridge: Stevenson. 1845.

WE cannot conceal our unqualified apprehension, that the step contemplated by the executive of the Camden Society is one which reaches farther, and is more important in many bearings, than, perhaps, its Committee at present contemplate. We can speak, then, of this Society entirely *ab extra:* and we desire to be among the first to acknowledge how entirely and frankly we sympathize with its main object; an object which, apart from many peculiarities, and even some petulance perhaps, it has most usefully carried out. It is now high time, and we do so the rather because opposite views on some points have appeared in these pages, to acknowledge that the Camden Society has borne a willing witness against the cold, irreligious, grasping, rationalizing spirit of our own unhappy days. Its active members have nobly sacrificed much of peace and worldly advantages to what they, and in the main rightly, conceive the path of duty: they have acquired immense stores of a peculiar learning, and they have unquestionably done that for the Church of England which has never been done since the Reformation. The Camden Society has successfully vindicated for the Church of England its unbroken connexion with the ancient Catholic body; it has shown practically, and by a reference to facts, that the best way to make our own Church dignified and impressive upon the better part of man, his spiritual nature, is to bring out in the details and circumstances of worship, a heavenly spirit, costliness, and, above all, reality. It has watched against and prevented much profanity and irreverence; it has cultivated and formed a rising school of Christian artists, men who pursue their calling in a religious spirit: it has called out noble deeds of munificence and self-denial: it has enlisted in the service of the Church zeal and activity, which, without its auspices, would have been frittered away in unworthy pursuits; and all this apart from a cold, technical and æsthetical, and merely antiquarian skill. It has gained extensive confidence; and this, as it is high praise, would have been impossible, unless there had been something very noble in its main purpose and aim. The very fact of its remarkable success is a significant

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proof that it has, under a single phase, done the Church's work.

That all this expanding sphere of usefulness should be at once destroyed is a very serious thing—serious, that is, for the Church itself. For the Church practically to disavow and denounce this Society, amounts to an admission that all these works are not of the Church, foreign from its spirit, and matters not only indifferent, but worthless, for a Christian Society to entertain and pursue. This would be a very distressing conclusion to many earnest minds among us, who have not the slightest sympathy with the peculiar eccentricities of individual tempers. But we take the question on the very highest grounds, when we ask, What are the peculiar reasons which now render imperative or expedient the dissolution of a body, with such undeniable witnesses to its spirit in the main?

The implied and expressed withdrawal of confidence by authorities, to whom its Committee is pledged in certain ties of obedience and respect. And yet what does this lack of confidence amount to? To faults found with certain details, not to its main object. This is one view of the subject. But let the Committee think whether, after all, with such extensive objects and successes, they are bound by this technical view of deference to supposed authorities. Of course, in a healthy state of the Church, such a view ought to prevail. But is the Church of England in such a positive condition? Is not its *de facto* position one of anomalous duties and responsibilities? Are we not all, more or less, thrown upon individual, rather than corporate duties? Such may be, and is, an unhealthy and transitional state; but it is our condition in Providence: it is one in which we can no longer, much as we may desire it, act upon simple and comprehensive theories. If the living authorities of the Church did, as a fact,—or rather if they could, for we question not so much their will as their power,—execute all the Church's work, there would be no occasion for self-originated exertions. But we must take things as we find them. If we are convinced that we are acting in the Church's spirit, and in dutiful obedience to its laws, and doing the Church's work, these are opportunities and advantages mercifully thrown within our grasp, not lightly to be foregone. Our duties to dormant authorities are not the same as those to energetic ones. To abandon a course of usefulness from contingent perplexities, is other than an exercise of faith: it is a tacit admission that objections, which we know to be worthless, are, and ought to be, influential. It is not our duty to yield to aggressive influences, nor to admit their weight. Neither is it quite fair, even to those who are forced to condemn the Camden Society, to

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construe such condemnation too rigidly and technically. Great allowances must be made for those compromises which the best of men are forced to submit to; and we must not press too closely, or scrutinize too rigidly, what is extorted from them under such circumstances.

We are much mistaken, too, if the objections which certain parties had taken to these details were not fast vanishing. In point of fact, the Committee, in discontinuing their publications, such as the Ecclesiologist, had well nigh divested themselves of every thing in their proceedings calculated to give offence. That they were in the main sympathized with by a very large body of Churchmen, is notorious; witness the names proposed for membership at the very meeting which announced the Committee's proposal. And that their usefulness was not at all diminished, is clear from the applications for advice from various quarters up to the last moment.

Besides, the Camden Society formed a home and a life for those whom we should be sorry to see detached from their duties hitherto cheerfully paid to the Church of their baptism. With a rival communion adopting the same principles of action, and holding out formidable solicitations and engaging promises of sympathy, we should deplore the additional confidence which the breaking up of such a school as this Society has formed would afford to the Anglo-Roman body in England. Zeal and munificence, which is now spent upon us, might be offered to others, who would feel no scruples in attracting and absorbing it. We might be converting what, at the worst, is but a harmless and unprofitable speculation among ourselves into a compact and energetic hostility against us.

And however pure and high-minded the motives which have suggested a dissolution, the world will be tardy in admitting them. The world will attribute it to disappointed activity—to personal pique—to popular clamour—and to such unworthy motives. The dissolution must wear an unreal look, as it bears the marks of palpable haste; it must seem as though there were some personal motive held back—concealed, yet influential. It is easy enough to resign a post of usefulness because troublesome, but our probation may be to untie the knot, or to bear it, however galling, not to cut it. We think, then, that the Committee are bound either to reconsider their proposed step, or to take measures for reconstructing the Society on such a foundation as, admitting the force of present duties, and the inadequacy of present means to fulfil them, shall effectually prevent such a conflict of expediency for the future. For it is unquestionable —and this consideration has not had its full, or any, weight— that the great body of its non-resident members have no duties

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whatever towards University or other authorities, which press with such conscientious stringency on the present executive Committee.

Of the pamphlet which has occasioned these remarks, we have not much to say, except that, with some rather superfluous transcendentalism, it fairly enough represents the views which influenced the suggested dissolution. It does not pretend to suggest any future course: except the paradox, that the present objects of the Society will be best discharged, by its ceasing to do anything. A corporate existence has been the secret of its present success: individually, its members can do less than nothing. We are very sorry that the writer has been betrayed, at p. 7, into a piece of what looks like irreverence: but this comes of fine writing.

Utilitarianism Unmasked. A Letter to the Rev. M. A. Gathercole, on the Life, Death, and Philosophy, of Jeremy Bentham. By the Rev. JOHN F. COLLS, D. D. London: Bell. 1844.

IF Jeremy Bentham had been a good man, instead of what he was, he could not have had a meaner attack upon him than this pamphlet. The fact really elevates him: Jeremy Bentham seems to stand on high ground after reading a few pages; such extreme pettiness, littleness, tenuity, pervades all Dr. Colls has to say. There is an extravagant inferiority in the performance. The reminiscences are of an extremely immoderate paltriness, that exceeds, we think, anything we ever saw in the anecdote department. The issues of an unfriendly memory are apt to be small: these are the very smallest specimens of this small species. The author goes on, page after page, in this way, with imperturbable gravity, and utter unconsciousness of the exhibition he is making of himself. A style of unwearied, unbroken inflation bears him along. The materials are almost too poor even to be ludicrous. It is only occasionally that they rise to that level. *E. g.* the comments on the early affectionate period of his intercourse with Bentham:—

'I will not, however, do his memory so much injustice, as to 'refuse to admit that, during the first few years of my residence 'with him, he took every pains to impress me with a love and 'even a reverence for his character and talents, treating me with 'almost parental kindness, and frequently speaking of me as '"*his own boy*;" while, in his notes to me during my occasional 'absence from the "Hermitage," I was often so prime a favourite 'with him as to be addressed as his "*Ever dear Jack!*" *But I*

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'*never could bring my heart thoroughly to respond to these ostensible marks of endearment; since I always fancied I could discover, under the guise of all this external friendship, "the selfish motive" by which, it appears, he subsequently confessed that his conduct towards others was almost invariably governed.*' —P. 12.

Again:—'When at Ford Abbey, he would frequently, in the morning, before breakfast, play at "Fives" with me, in an inner hall, well adapted for the purpose, at the farther end of what used to be called "the Monk's Walk." This was a favourite game both at Merchant Taylors' and at Westminster School; but when he was at the latter—the "seminary of sound learning," (as he used ironically to call it)—he was too young and too puny a boy to take a part in such amusements: so slender and delicate, indeed, was he in those days, (as I have often heard him say,) that, in going up and down stairs even, he could only manage one step at a time; though when I first knew him, which must have been when he was about seventy years of age, he was active, hale, and strong: however, when playing with one so many years my senior, I felt that I ought to put the curb upon my inclination; and so, generally, allowed him to be the winner. But, once or twice, I was inconsiderate enough, in the ardour of the contest, to return his balls so quickly, as to become myself the victor. I tried to wear the laurels which I had so fairly won, with as much modesty as a lad of fifteen or sixteen could, under these circumstances, be supposed to assume: nevertheless, the palm of superiority, on the part of my grey-headed antagonist, was yielded with a very indifferent grace.'—Pp. 13, 14.

Another 'trial of corporeal agility' follows:—'In this instance, the most accomplished and beautiful lady (as I thought, in those days, my eyes had ever seen) had the satisfaction of beating him by the superior swiftness of her foot. The fair heroine was no other than Lady Romilly, who, with her amiable daughter and Sir Samuel, were then on a visit to their old friend for a few days during the long vacation. Bentham had challenged her ladyship to run with him to the end of the long gravel-walk in his pleasure-grounds; and, as usual, in the full confidence of his superior strength of body as well as of mind, vauntingly insisted that he would be the first to reach the goal: the challenge was at once accepted, and, at a given signal, they set off together; but "so light a foot could ne'er wear out the everlasting flint." Her ladyship took the lead at the first bound, and completely distanced her pursuer before they had run through half the course, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of her facetious host to get before her, aided and

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'assisted at every step by his right-hand man and faithful *aide-de-camp*, "Dapple."* A hearty laugh, as you may imagine, was one of the consequences of the defeat; though, when the vanquished hero came to a stand-still, he was too busy with his pocket-handkerchief to allow the lookers-on to take particular notice of the effect which her ladyship's superior fleetness had wrought upon him.'—Pp. 14, 15.

Small—very small, indeed! Surely anecdote never descended lower than to dwell with real satisfied revenge on the fact, that Bentham was beaten by a lady in running, and was once vexed when he was beaten at fives.

Sermons, chiefly designed to show the Practical Working of Faith. By the Rev. Fulwar William Fowle, *Prebendary of Salisbury, Rector of Allington, and Perpetual Curate of Amesbury.* London: Burns. 1845.

Mr. Fowle puts good plain common sense into good plain English; and some prevailing faults of the day are exposed with much truth and force. At the same time there is such earnestness and sincerity in his remonstrances that we cannot imagine anybody offended with them. He speaks from his heart. He sees that our congregations have fallen into bad habits and ways of thinking, *e. g.* that they do not kneel, and do not attend to the prayers, and think only of the sermon; and he fairly faces them, and shows them their fault with honest clearness and point. We give an extract from the Sermon—'The House of God the House of Prayer':—

'Now, then, let us see what are some of the consequences of thus exalting preaching above prayer. The first and most awful one is, that *we do not pray.* I mean, that the greater proportion of our congregations are not actuated by a spirit of prayer: we are not a praying people generally: it cannot be said of us, in the sense in which the Lord himself spoke of the converted Paul—"Behold, he prayeth." Many pray not at all; bear no part in the service, make no response; say not to themselves the prayers which the minister offers up aloud for himself and the people, nor so much as utter their "Amen" at the end of them. And if these persons do not come to pray, they come either to hear the sermon or as a mere matter of form, because, for very shame's sake, they do not like always to stay away. Does any one ask for a proof of this assertion, too—that the congregation generally do not pray when they come to church? Take that which I have already given. If they

* The appellation given by him to his favourite walking-stick.

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come to the house of God to pray, why do they not come when there is the service of the Church without the sermon? and, with respect to those who do not so come, it is a fair assumption that, when they come, they do not pray. Another evidence—to my mind a very convincing one—that people, generally, do not pray, is, that *so few of them kneel.* I know that some persons cannot do so from illness, or some infirmity, and that others cannot from want of room in their pews: to these, of course, my present remarks do not apply; they best know their own hindrances, and will, if properly impressed on the subject, agree in opinion with me, and feel it to be a real and no trifling source of regret to them, that they are not able to carry out their principle in their practice. Some persons, too, consider standing to be an attitude of prayer. We hear of the Pharisee and the Publican both standing, when the one professed to be, and the other really was, praying. And, certainly, standing is not such a graceless and prayerless attitude for the supplicating sinner as sitting: but how a strong, healthy person, who can go about his business, or his pleasure, or any of the active concerns of life, during the six days of the week, can *sit* and pray in the house of God on the seventh, I cannot comprehend. I am sure this is not the way in which a man would pray for his life: I am sure this is not the way in which a father would pray for a son condemned to death: I am sure this is not the way in which a man would pray to God, if he prayed at all, for a sick child, or some sick friend whom he loved as his own soul: I am sure this is not the way in which our Saviour said they were to pray, who would obtain power over unclean and evil spirits. We know that this was not the way in which that Saviour himself prayed, when he was in an agony in the garden, praying for the souls of others; for we are told that he "fell on his face, and prayed." I am sure that none, who are in earnest when they pray, will pray sitting, unless they have not the power of praying otherwise. There is, in all passions, a sympathy between the external motions of the body and the internal emotions of the soul. It would be easy to point out instances of this which every one would immediately understand and acknowledge; but it would call me off too much from the direct object of my present remarks: suffice it to say, that the mind instantly and involuntarily admits the close affinity that subsists between certain affections of the mind and the corresponding inclinations of the body. To make this intelligible to every one—Saul, who wasted the Church of Christ, was suddenly arrested, as he was journeying to Damascus, by a miraculous manifestation of that Jesus whom he persecuted. "He fell to the earth," "trembling and astonished:" "he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink." "And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias;" "and the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus; for, behold, he prayeth." Now suppose a painter, wishing to represent this striking subject, were to select the moment when Saul, under deep conviction of sin and the agony of an awakened conscience, was earnestly pouring forth his soul unto God in prayer; and suppose that, when this picture was shown to us, we were to see this

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same Saul, instead of kneeling, sitting on a chair or a bench—would not the most thoughtless and uninformed exclaim at the absurdity of the painter, and declare that nothing else could have been so contrary to nature and common sense? Yes, every one would say so; and, in so doing, he would be speaking the language of nature and common sense. Every person who is joining in the prayers of the Church, ought to consider that he is praying, as Saul was, for the forgiveness of his sins, the grace and the mercy of God, and the salvation of his soul; and nature and common sense will say, that no man can really be under such an impression, and yet be sitting carelessly and unconcerned on his seat. And I would be content to take the honest answer of one of these careless sitters to this simple question—Can you say, before God and your conscience, that you have been joining, devoutly, heart and tongue and soul, this day, in the prayers which have been offered up to God for yourselves and for your fellow-worshippers and for all mankind? I am sure that the honest answer would not be, "Yes;" for nature and common sense are against it. And I say that this is one proof, among many others, that one of the consequences of setting up preaching above praying—making the house of God an house of preaching, not of prayer—is, that men do not pray.'—Pp. 219—226.

Results of Reading. *By* J. Stamford Caldwell, M. A. *Barrister at Law.* London: Murray. 1843.

And certainly if such are—as in a sense they are—the results of reading, most fully do they confirm the deep saying of Scripture, 'of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh,' and a desolation of the heart too. Mr. Caldwell ought to have prefixed to his collection Milton's lines,

> 'Many books,
> Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
> Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
> A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
> * * * *
> Uncertain and unsettled still remains—
> *Deep versed in books and shallow in himself.*'

This work is a mere emptying of an (other than) extensive reader's common-place book—a cento of quotations from every imaginable source lying within the range of an ordinary and desultory reader. If the volume be intended as an index of Mr. Caldwell's research, we cannot think it very extraordinary: the books are not rare—the quotations are rather plentiful than judicious—and a stitcher of *purpurei panni* might, we think, have produced a much more showy patchwork than Mr. Caldwell's. Though France, Germany, Italy, England, Greece, and Rome,

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have been ransacked, some of the best and most accessible 'striking passages' have been omitted; and the excuse that they are too common for selection, will hardly be urged by Mr. Caldwell, for while quotations abound from such distant sources as Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare, Paley and the Spectator, Pope and Byron, Jeremy Taylor and Tom Moore, (the perusal of the present volume must be our excuse for this last grotesque collocation,) we can hardly award the questionable praise of extensive reading, or of judicious taste, to one who quotes Hooker once—Clarendon not at all—Spenser once (under the name of Spencer)—Wordsworth never, and of the whole range of Elizabethan dramatists only Shirley and Heywood, and each at second-hand. We are quite aware that Mr. Caldwell is not to be blamed for not having read everything, but when we have to pay for reprinting 'O fortunatos nimium,' &c.; 'O woman, in our hours of ease;' 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps,' &c.; we have a right to say that something a little less common-place would not have offended us.

But we have a far graver objection to urge against Mr. Caldwell than his narrow, as it seems to us, range of literature. From the whole class of 'Elegant Extracts' we turn with a decided aversion—not so much because, as in the case of Enfield's Speaker, at once the most popular and mischievous of school-books, they happen to be the easy manufacture of some Socinian hack compiler, but also in the way of principle, and that upon more accounts than one. These books of extracts, in so far as they have any proper use or meaning, are a practical embodiment of moral eclecticism. They seem to teach that, be a writer earnest or a scoffer—be he Jew or Turk—orthodox or heretic, so that he have written a well-turned or a fine-sounding stanza or sentence, it all comes to the same thing. And yet more; be the sentiment what it may, so that a passage sets well and sparkles brilliantly, the lesson which it conveys is altogether unimportant. Hence it is, that, unless Mr. Caldwell means one half of his quotations in the sense of an Expurgatorial Index, which was our first impression, we cannot divine his principle of selection. His classification under heads is illogical, because incomplete and inexhaustive; and the passages are so manifestly inconsistent in piety, reason, and taste, that no principle, save the wildest eclecticism, can reconcile them into an harmonious or a definite whole. We were once inclined to give Mr. Caldwell the benefit of this obvious difficulty, and to take the 'Results of Reading' as a jest upon general reading, though somewhat of the coldest: we could not have imagined that any man could have strung together pig-nuts and pearls with such hopeless unconsciousness of all congruity. We cannot understand the morbid

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taste to which the laystall and incense seem to be equally delightful. And yet that we are not misrepresenting our author, let him announce his own notion of his book:—

'The test of good judgment, in the selection, will be, not how much might have been advantageously added, *but what ought to have been left out.*'—*Preface*, p. vi.

Ought to have been left out! Why in extracts about religion, *either* Jeremy Taylor, *or* Dr. Channing, (chap. iv.); *either* Dr. Price, p. 10, *or* Bishop Jebb, p. 14; and to quote in the same chapter S. Matthew, the prophet Micah, Swift, Madame de Staël, Franklin, Locke, Lady M. W. Montagu, as all of the same apparent authority, and all equally accredited teachers and guides, does seem hideous folly, to apply the very lightest condemnation to it. Hume and Bishop Butler appear as parallel guides at p. 11, and Channing and Bishop Butler at p. 35; Gibbon's sneer about the rebuilding of Jerusalem (which we do hope that Mr. Caldwell copies with a happy though singular ignorance of its meaning) bears company with one of Johnson's noble sayings at p. 61; Channing (!) Chubb (!!) and Bishop Butler, divide p. 64; Shaftesbury and Boyle are pendents to each other on the next page; Hume pairs off with Sir Thomas Brown, at p. 206; and at p. 201 we caught William Wilberforce *poussetting* to Sam Foote, the buffoon. When all this infelicitous collocation is the staple of the book, we have a right to charge one who reads to so little purpose either with the dullest ignorance, or with a total absence of a healthy state of mind. While Burke, Butler, and Byron (the alliteration is not our own) are produced as in the same measure forcible and respectable authorities for—the truth of Christianity, at pp. 69, 70; and in a chapter headed, 'Woman,' Byron in Beppo—Voltaire—Rousseau—Don Juan—and such sayings as 'He comes too near,' &c. p. 106, are selected with the greatest *nonchalance* as a fitting supplement to Sherlock, Barrow, Taylor, and Sir Thomas More, in the previous chapters: this argues an audacious disregard of propriety which we are bound to condemn with great severity.

But to crown all, we hardly know how to express our intense disgust at finding the passage, 'My son, despise not thou the chastening,' &c. succeeded, in the very next line, by a quotation from the 'Nouvelle Héloïse,' p. 185. This almost reminds us of one of the most detestably wicked books which we ever saw, a manual for the use of a London meeting-house,* in which the

* A Sunday Manual used at the chapel in Beaumont-square, Mile End Old Town. London: Allman, 1840. This place was built and endowed by the late Mr. Barber Beaumont; he also compiled this frightful 'manual.'

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Scripture Lessons of the Church were travestied by a course of successive extracts from the Psalms, the Epistle to the Romans, Confucius, Isocrates, Epicurus, Seneca, Cicero, and the Koran; the hymns of this blasphemous collection being choice bits from the New Version, Dr. Watts, Pope's Universal Prayer, Mrs. Barbauld, and Dr. Bowring. After the like fashion, as we stuff a roll of paper into a packing-case to keep things from shaking, we sometimes find in Mr. Caldwell a text of Holy Scripture crammed into the midst of his heterogeneous farrago, for a sort of make-weight; as at page 216, 'Offer the sacrifice of righteousness,' &c. to which, as no reference is made, perhaps the selector did not know that it occurs in the Bible.

On the whole, we cannot but consider the '**Results** of Reading' a very melancholy publication indeed, and significant withal. Indiscriminate reading, without the corrective influence of a living interpreter, is a most dangerous pursuit. We trust that Mr. Caldwell, personally, has not suffered so much as we might almost anticipate; but we would as soon trust a young man in all the profligacy of London life, as turn him loose into a large library, with no other guide than half-cultivated and irregulated taste and feeling. A mere literary life, a lounging connoisseurship in sentences and periods, nay, a tasteful culling out of showy morality and luscious verses, is the worst possible education for a Christian; for the student, the practice is suicidal. It is the sensualism of the intellect thus to toy with the seductions of books, as mere books. The *homo unius libri* is a proverb for training the mind into sinewy strength; and nothing tends so much to enfeeble the higher powers of the soul as that indiscriminate diet, with all its enervating and corrupting virus, in which the dilettantism of reading, only for reading's sake, indulges. No man can range from Bishop Butler to Grammont, from the Bible to Lord Byron, from Chesterfield to Cudworth, which is Mr. Caldwell's avowed habit, and fancy that he finds—

'Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.'

The stern realities of truth—the inflexible opposition and contradiction existing between the work of the Holy Spirit in the writings of God's servants and priests, and doctors of the Church, such as Taylor and Butler, and the Satanic splendours of a Rousseau or a Byron—the moral sense—the severe rule of mental discipline, all these things are lost, or at least grievously perilled, by promiscuous reading. Intellectual defilements are akin to moral and physical ones, and there is an austere chastity, a reserved and chary temperance, to be observed, as in the pleasures of the

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world, so in the perusal of books. It is with man's soul as with man's body,—

> 'Of all God's workes, which doe this worlde adorne,
> There is no one more faire and excellent
> ——————both for power and forme,
> Whiles it is kept in sober government;
> But none than it more foule and indecent,
> Distempered through misrule and passions base;
> It grows a monster, and incontinent,
> Doth lose his dignity and native grace.'—SPENSER.

Abstinence in all things is the rule of Heaven to a corrupt and tempted nature; and we think that a very anti-christian spirit is creeping over what is called the literary world, the more dangerous because the more subtle, and in a sense beautiful. Indifference to dogmatic truth—syncretism in matters of taste—a pseudo-eclecticism in religion, which, under the taking guise of doing justice to, and allowing the truth of, every point in dispute, practically annihilates the one faith in all controversies—a relish for æsthetic beauty, apart from morality and holiness;—all these are but signs, in very different quarters, of a growing temper of the age, which, in its measure, must have influenced the compilation of Mr. Caldwell's volume, and it is upon this ground that we have spoken of its tendency. We commend to Mr. Caldwell's notice a true passage from a true poet* of our times:—

> 'A spacious garden full of flowering weeds,
> A glorious Devil, large in heart and brain,
> That did love *Beauty only*, (Beauty seen
> In all varieties of mould and mind,)
> And *Knowledge for its beauty*; or if Good,
> *Good only for its beauty*, seeing not
> That Beauty, Good, and Knowledge, are three sisters
> That doat upon each other, friends to man,
> Living together under the same roof,
> And *never can be sunder'd* without tears.'

After saying which it may seem superfluous to go through the merely literary mistakes of the 'Results of Reading,' such as a quotation from 'Bland's Oxford Prize Poem,' p. 112,—a work unchronicled in the annals of the Newdigate; another, at p. 45, from 'Bampton Lectures, by Mr. Grey, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.' Mr. Robert Gray preached the Bampton Lecture in 1796, but he was afterwards Bishop of Bristol, and not of Gloucester. At p. 104 a line,—'A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind,'—is given from 'Measure for Measure;' it occurs in 'Love's Labour 's Lost,' act iv. sc. 3; and at p. 278, is quoted from the 'Comus' a passage beginning, 'On the tawny sands and shores,' which is not to be found in the Comus, or in any of Milton's poems.

* Tennyson.

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Numberless other inaccuracies of Mr. Caldwell, were they worth the trouble, might be exposed; but to track quotations, of which the ordinary references are not more explicit than 'Sherlock,' or 'Paley,' or 'Cudworth,' or 'La Bruyère,' or 'Racine,' or 'Stillingfleet,' or 'Sir William Temple,' is but a 'bootless *bene*.' A very cursory perusal detected those which we have produced: and we always, from experience, suspect general unfaithfulness in references, where edition, chapter, and verse, are suppressed.

Much the same judgment may be passed on a work similar in design and execution, 'Literary Extracts,' by John Poynder, Esq., which has the grave fault of tediousness to the amount of two volumes instead of one.

Specimens of the Early-German Christian Poetry of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. With a Literal Translation, and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By EDWARD H. DEWAR, M.A. *of Exeter College, Oxford, Chaplain to the British Residents at Hamburg.* London: Burns. Oxford: Parker. Hamburg: Nestler and Melle. 1845.

THAT this very remarkable work has reached us late in the quarter must be our excuse for giving but a brief account of its contents. It is the first time that a knowledge of these, the earliest poetical compositions extant in the old German language, has been introduced into England. Apart from their antiquarian value, the selections are in themselves curious, as displaying that deep, and much neglected principle of missionary teaching, which, by a recognised economy, adopted the poetical temperaments of the Scandinavian tribes as the formal groundwork of Evangelical instruction. There are evident traces that, as in the Nibelungen, the old legends of the Skalds were clothed upon with the lives of the saints, and the great deeds of Christian heroism. And we suspect that the mutual influences of heathenism and Christianity have not been sufficiently traced. We have heard that the best accounts of the old Teutonic mythology are to be found in a work of the Danish divine Grundtvig, whose History of Northern Mythology ought to be translated. It is quoted more than once by Mr. Kenelm Digby. Very great credit is due to Mr. Dewar, who seems to be a ripe scholar in this valuable branch of literature, for indicating and commencing the working of this mine. The present poems are gnomic in form, but very pictorial and graphic, from a habit of

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dwelling minutely on the separate details of the Gospel history; with somewhat of that patient and accurate minuteness which is so remarkable in the austere school of early German art in its pictorial development. They remind us—and we are but pursuing Winckelmann's analogy of the sister arts—of the elaborate severity of the old scriptural paintings on wood, which have the sharp outlines and rich colouring of enamel. Mr. Dewar has added some learned notes *in usum tironum*. We are not quite satisfied with Mr. Dewar's assumption of the Pelasgic origin of the Scandinavian people. We do not say that it is not so, but we want something more than an allusion to this view as a fact, at least in times when Pelasgic is so often used synonymously with that of which we are altogether ignorant.

While Mr. Dewar is before us, we may mention that another of his works, 'German Protestantism,' published in this country, which we have had occasion favourably to notice, has been thought worthy of a long and elaborate notice by Dr. Neander, unquestionably the most able divine of Protestant Germany, in the 'Berliner Jahrbücher für Wissen schaftliche Kritik.' He makes the objection which every German would make, avowing the principle (the right of private judgment);—granting the existing state of theology and religion to be truly described, and lamenting it;—but denying Mr. Dewar's connexion of cause and effect. Mr. Dewar has published a reply, which embodying the usual arguments, familiar to ourselves, will do much good in Germany.

Beiträge zur Charakteristik der kirchlichen Dinge in Grosbritannien. Von Ad. Sydow, *Hof-und Garnisonsprediger. Erstes Heft, enthaltend die Schottische Kirchenfrage.* Potsdam. 1844.

This work derives a very considerable degree of interest from the peculiar circumstances under which it appears. The author is a distinguished clergyman of the Prussian 'Evangelical Church,' holding a high official situation. He was sent, with one or two more, by the King of Prussia, to make himself acquainted with the doctrines, discipline, and constitution of the Churches of Great Britain; with the design, as it was well understood, of bringing about a closer approximation between the Anglican Church, and that of his own dominions. Pastor Sydow directed his attention chiefly to Scotland, and in the fulfilment of the objects of his mission, passed some time in that country during the crisis of the secession. Upon his return to England, he was invited to an interview with the consort of our

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Sovereign, and desired by that prince, who told him that he wished for the judgment of an impartial person, and especially of a German theologian, to furnish him with his views on the subject. The work before us is the answer to this request; and it has since (we presume for the information of a yet higher personage) been translated into English, though we are not aware that this translation is intended for publication.

The book itself is a laboured and somewhat impassioned defence of the Free Secession Church, but would hardly supply any additional knowledge to well-informed English readers. The preface, on the contrary, is full of interest, and, considering the position and influence of the author, and the purpose of his visit to Great Britain, is of the very highest importance; and indeed we have reasons for believing that it has excited a powerful sensation at Berlin. A few extracts will serve to show how utterly those happy dreams of approximation are dispelled which at one time were entertained in both countries, and certainly desired by the sovereign of one. The writer begins by accounting for the fact, that the Church of England and the communions of Protestant Germany have hitherto had no acquaintance with each other.

'The cause of this was, on our side, twofold. In the first 'place, we can hardly say that we have a Church, in the full 'sense of the word. It is painful to say this, but it is necessary 'that we should no longer deceive ourselves on this point.' He goes on to relate how on two occasions, during his stay in Great Britain, he was made deeply sensible of this truth; first, during the discussion of the Bishopric at Jerusalem, and again, when consulted by the leaders of the Scottish movement. 'In such 'a state of things, a Christian religious life has, in individuals, 'continued to exist among us; but that part of our holy religion 'which consists in communion, with all the energies which our 'Lord has attached thereto, that is, the Christianity of the 'Church, has altogether fallen out of our knowledge and expe-'rience. But it is just the knowledge and possession of this 'latter which is the strength of the inhabitants of England.' On the other hand, he considers the theology of England, in a philosophical point of view, to be far behind that of Germany; and that, for these two reasons, there can at present be but little in common between the communions. In the latest events in the Scottish Presbyterian Schism, on the contrary, he finds a more immediate interest for Germany. 'I have, 'namely, the firm conviction that the time has now arrived, in 'which Protestantism must solve the question, which in the 'Reformation was, as it were, passed over and neglected; namely, 'to gain that form of existence AS A CHURCH which is best

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'adapted to its nature. The signs of the times point to this 'consummation; the events of the times are forcing us to it; 'and unless this great work is completed, even the protection 'of the Protestant princes will only bring about more and more, 'the very reverse of that which it is their benevolent intention 'to accomplish.' 'So far as I can see, the necessity that we 'Protestants should become a Church in the full sense of the word, 'is one and the same as the necessity that Protestantism should 'continue to exist; for without this we shall be beaten by the 'Church of Rome.' It is towards the accomplishment of this design that, in the author's opinion, 'the Scottish (free secession) 'Church has a great mission for the futurity of the Protestant 'world.' But when this Scottish-Prussian Protestant 'Church' is erected, what will become of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric at Jerusalem?

Die Kirche von Schottland. Beiträge zu deren Geschichte und Beschreibung. Von Dr. K. H. Sack, *Professor der Theologie zu Bonn.* Heidelberg. 1844.

Another work on the same subject, by an author who is already well-known to the German public by a work upon the Church of England, published in the year 1818. It takes the same favourable view of the Scottish secession as Mr. Sydow's book; but it is more complete as a historical work, and is enriched by a literal translation of documents and confessions, which appear for the first time in the German language.

Perran-Zabuloe; with an Account of the Past and Present State of the Oratory of S. Piran in the Sands, and Remarks on its Antiquity. By the Rev. Wm. Haslam, B.A., *Resident Curate.* London: Van Voorst.

This is an interesting little book, written with a reverent spirit and considerable knowledge of the subject. Its main object is to show that the ancient church of S. Piran is really a *British* building, in opposition to the opinion expressed by Mr. Bloxam, that it is of Norman date. We think that Mr. Haslam has satisfactorily vindicated its claim to a higher antiquity; though some of his arguments are sufficiently inconclusive. For example, he endeavours to eke out his reasons for believing that the ancient church in Britain was of Eastern origin, by comparing

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S. Piran's oratory with the churches described by the Greek historians of the age of Constantine. But what are the points of similitude? Exactly those which are to be found in every Catholic Church in the world, in the West as well as the East; namely, a generally symbolical arrangement of plan, with significant adaptations for the two great Sacraments. It is in the highest degree instructive and interesting to find in this ancient church, a Nave and Chancel divided by a rood-screen, just as Eusebius has described in the church of S. Paulinus at Tyre; but how is this an argument for a closer connexion with the East than with the West, when Constantine's own Basilics in Rome have the same characteristic? It is a very strong argument for the *Catholicity* of such an arrangement. Again, Mr. Haslam insists repeatedly that the ancient wayside crosses in Cornwall are *Greek;* as if the distinction between the Latin and Greek crosses were observed in every detail. Byzantine art influenced the whole West, till the time of Cimabue. Greek monograms abound in the catacombs at Rome. Exactly such crosses as he describes are still to be seen in Italy—*Greek* crosses, if he will—in S. Petronio at Bologna. Mr. Haslam is more successful in showing a connexion between St. Piran's and certain ancient ecclesiastical remains in *Ireland.* In contending that stone may have been used for church-building in Cornwall, at an earlier date than it was employed in England by S. Paulinus, as described by the Venerable Bede, Mr. Haslam has omitted to show that, from the absence of trees, Cornwall could never have used wood extensively in the construction of churches or houses. We remember to have observed ourselves, in the very neighbourhood of Perran-zabuloe, that iron is frequently employed where in other counties we should see wood. One of the most interesting things in this volume, is the proof that the body of S. Piran was entombed in this oratory. We rejoice to find that the stone altar-tomb has been restored, and the sacred reliques again enshrined. In the fifth century, Christians were not afraid of a stone altar, or of a Saint's body beneath it.

We are sure that our readers will be much interested in this volume; the account of the early Church in Cornwall, the description of the encroachments made by the sand on St. Piran's oratory, and of some other Cornish ruins swallowed up by the same enemy, and the brief sketch of Church-symbolism, will all suggest thoughts, and convey instruction. The book is published at the instance of the members of the Cornwall Royal Institution, before whom, at an evening-meeting, its substance was read as a paper by the author. It wants retrenchment, being diffuse almost to wearisomeness.

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Der Leipziger Glaubensbekenntnisstreit. *Von* JULIUS KELL. Leipzig. 1844.

Die Leipziger Bekenntniswirren. *Von* JOHANNES DEM THEOLOGEN. Grimma. 1844.

Theologische Zeitbilder. *Von Professor* THEILE. Leipzig. 1844.

Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche. *Von Dr.* HARLESS. Erlangen. 1844.

Der rechte Standpunkt. *Von Pastor* C. B. KÖNIG. Magdeburg. 1844.

Berliner Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung. Berlin. 1844.

ONE of the most encouraging reflections for those, who from time to time have sought and hoped for a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the continental religious bodies which have renounced her communion, has ever arisen from the fact, that the latter, in casting off much that was bad, and much that was good, ceased not to hold a belief in the same creeds which the former recognised, and even to constitute them the public confession of their faith. With melancholy feelings, therefore, do we in these days behold even this ground of hope sinking from under our feet. The Athanasian Creed, so highly commended by Luther and Calvin, has been discarded by the Protestants of Germany; the Nicene Creed has fallen into disuse; and from the works before us we learn that even the Apostles' Creed has been rejected, and that in Saxony, the birth-place of Protestantism, the cradle of the Reformation, a substitute for it has been provided, and used by the Church in one of her most solemn rites during the last forty years.

The rite we speak of is that of Confirmation. The first and most unavoidable effect of the Reformation was to diminish the reverence with which all those sacred ordinances were regarded, the efficacy of which depends upon the priestly and episcopal office. The rite of Confirmation accordingly is neither mentioned in the Enchiridion, or small catechism of Luther, which for two centuries supplied the groundwork of all popular religious instruction, nor alluded to in the form for the ministration of baptism, which he has appended to it. In Saxony, until the year 1773, it was only occasionally and privately administered, and then of course not by the proper officer. About that period, however, a new cause came into operation, which has gradually brought the rite of Confirmation as prominently forward as previously it had been thrown into the background.

Almost the first attacks of Rationalism, which was then beginning to spread, were directed against the holy sacraments.

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What could be more *unrational*, than to suppose that the Holy Ghost would be conveyed by means of water to an unconscious infant, and supply a new and divine principle to guide and direct its future life and conduct? On the other hand, it was much easier to conceive that a resolution seriously taken and solemnly expressed by a young person, just arriving at the age when the power of reason begins to be fully developed, should exercise a strong and lasting influence. Hence the efforts which have been made to render Confirmation as imposing a ceremony as possible; and the strenuous efforts of the clergy to produce a religious excitement in the partakers of the rite, and to make them feel, what they are taught to express, solemn vows and resolutions to lead a moral and upright life.

But it was unavoidable that the catechumen should, in addition to these promises, make some profession of his belief, and it might have been supposed that the Apostles' Creed would have been the most unobjectionable form for this purpose. Not so, however; it seems that some of its articles were thought unnecessary, some unsuitable, and some probably false. A new confession, purporting to be a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, was therefore drawn up by Dr. Rosenmüller, at that time superintendent of the clergy of Leipzig; and this came into general use throughout Saxony at the commencement of the present century, and has continued so until the present time. It is conceived in the following words:—.

'Having been early dedicated in baptism to the Christian religion, we here declare before God and these witnesses, that we hold the doctrine of Jesus to be divine truth, and pledge ourselves to receive and follow it, as members of the Christian community.

'We believe in God, the almighty Creator, bountiful Preserver, and wise Ruler of the whole world, and of our destiny. We make a sacred vow: to honour Him all our life as our Father, with reverence and obedience, with love and confidence.

'We believe in Jesus Christ, God's Son, our divine Teacher, Pattern, Redeemer, and Lord, who has brought us from error to truth, from ignorance to knowledge, from sin and vice to virtue and piety, and has sacrificed his own life for us; who, having risen again, lives and reigns in heaven, as Lord and Head of those who honour Him. We solemnly vow: to remain faithful to his teaching, to follow his example, to obey his commands, to trust in his promises, and by faith and piety to render ourselves continually more worthy of the mercy of God, and of the blessedness which he has obtained for and secured to us.

'We believe in the Holy Ghost, through whom God guides us, supports us in our weakness, and strengthens us in our warfare against sin. We solemnly vow: with his assistance to walk unto our life's end in the path of faith and virtue, with unchangeable fidelity and steady perseverance.

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'We believe in a future resurrection, an eternal life after death, and a just recompense for good and evil. Mindful of this account, and of the judgment which awaits us, we will ever, as Christians, conscientiously discharge the duties of our station; we will be full of love towards our neighbours, temperate in the enjoyment of our pleasures, patient in our sorrows; we will ever think and act as Christians; we will thus live, and thus die.'

The purpose of this creed is very apparent; it is designed to make men what is called religious, without any reference to the positive doctrine of Christianity. Vows and promises the catechumen has to repeat again and again; but he can repeat them without believing that Jesus is *the only* Son of God; that He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, that He was born of the Virgin Mary, that He descended into hell, that He ascended into heaven; he is almost taught to disbelieve the personality of the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the body; and he knows nothing of the Holy Catholic Church,* and the Communion of Saints.

During the last forty years, then, this has been the Christianity which the Protestant inhabitants of Saxony have learned to profess. In the early part of the present year a petition was presented to the Superintendent of the Clergy by seven schoolmasters and teachers of Leipzig, praying him to take measures to introduce the Apostles' Creed in the place of that of Rosenmüller. The clergy were accordingly called together, and it appears that a majority were in favour of acceding to the request. Unfortunately, however, it speedily became manifest that where tares are sowed, we cannot hope to gather wheat. During forty years have the inhabitants of Leipzig been practically taught that the Apostles' Creed possesses no value, and,

* With respect to this article of the Creed the following observations may not be out of place. Dr. Pusey, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1842, asserted that 'the Lutherans, on their views, have substituted for "the Holy Catholic Church," the words "a Christian Church," not in spirit, or in their common way of teaching, but actually and literally in the Creed.' In the letter to Dr. Pusey which this accusation elicited from Mr. Abeken, we find the following denial of the charge: 'On behalf of our Church, and indeed on behalf of any body of Christians, that may, correctly or incorrectly, be called Lutheran, I must beg leave to contradict and repudiate, positively and without qualification, this *fearful* charge of an alteration of the common Christian creed.'—'If you had looked to the authorized formularies of our Church, ... *or to any authoritative edition of Luther's Catechism*, you would have found "One Holy Universal Church."' Now we have before us an edition of Luther's small Catechism, printed in this present year, an exact reprint, word for word and letter for letter, of the original edition, preserving even the obsolete use of double capitals, and we have also four other copies of the Creed in different works; and in all these we find 'eine heilige *Christliche* Kirche.' Nor, we believe, has this article ever appeared otherwise in that Catechism, which is still used in almost every school in Protestant Germany. The word 'eine' may mean 'one,' but it is also the indefinite article; as in this case the sense might be doubtful, the German, if it was to express 'one,' ought to have 'die eine.'

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as might have been expected, they have learned the lesson. An outcry was raised; and not only the parents of the children to be confirmed, not only the children themselves, poured in remonstrances against the Apostles' Creed; but even the town council deliberated upon the question, and resolved by a majority of fifty-nine against one, that the decision of the clergy ought to be rescinded, as an infringement of Protestant religious freedom, and a retrograde instead of an onward movement. Finally, the minister of public worship interfered, and ordered the clergy to make use of Dr. Rosenmüller's paraphrase this year, while he intimated that he should hereafter issue new regulations. In the meantime, the Apostles' Creed has been made the subject of a great many publications, the greater part of which are distinguished only by their ultra-rational and unchristian tendency. The most deserving of notice is that which appeared in Dr. Theile's 'Zeitbilder,' one of the ablest organs of moderate Rationalism. He objects principally to those two articles in the Apostles' Creed which state that Jesus Christ 'descended into hell,' and 'the resurrection of the body.' The former of these, he maintains, was introduced into the creed in the fourth century, and directed against Apollinaris. He omits, however, to state, that although the Church may not before that time have had occasion to proclaim this article of her faith, the doctrine asserted in it is clearly to be found in the writings of the Fathers from the commencement, as well in those of Asia Minor and Alexandria, as those of Northern Africa and Rome. The article of the resurrection of the flesh, on the other hand, is contained in many of the earliest forms of the Creed, especially in those preserved by Irenæus, Tertullian, and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions.*

But there is another point connected with this question, which deserves a separate consideration. The German clergy are bound by their ordination vow to hold and to teach in accordance with the symbolical books, *i. e.* the Confession of Augsburg, Melancthon's Apology, the two Catechisms of Luther, the Articles of Schmalkalden, and the Formula Concordiæ. It is true, that in these books there is contained much which is not confession of faith; but they, one and all, distinctly assert, that the holy Scriptures, *and the three Creeds*, contain the rule of faith; and to these, therefore, the clergy are clearly bound to adhere. How far, then, do they feel and acknowledge this obligation? The last two works on our list may help us to a solution of this question; and they are highly valuable, because they pre-

* Bingham, x. 4.

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sent to us the opinions and principles, not of single and isolated writers, but of a powerful and organized party.

It appears that there is an association, consisting principally of clergymen, which has assumed the name of 'Protestant Friends.' They hold two meetings annually at Köthen, the point at which the railroad from Berlin falls into that which connects Magdeburg, Halle, Leipzig, and Dresden. At these meetings, which are open to every comer, theological subjects are discussed, and lectures delivered. The Protestant Friends have also offered prizes for the best essays, and have, moreover, established a newspaper. Their last meeting, which was held on Whitmonday of the last year, was attended by Professor Guerike, who shortly afterwards published in the 'Berliner Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung,' a report of the proceedings. The work of Pastor König has lately appeared in reply.

Dr. Guerike, well known as the author of, perhaps, the best ecclesiastical history in the German language, is one of the few Protestant theologians who appear to be animated with a living zeal for the faith which they profess. A strict defender of genuine Lutheranism, he submitted to be deprived of his theological professorship at Halle, rather than abandon his opposition to the union with the Calvinists which was effected by the late king. Pastor König is one of the originators of the association of Protestant Friends, a frequent, powerful, and popular writer, and deserves at all events great credit for the fair and open manner in which he states the principles and views of Rationalists. With the general tenets of that party our readers are doubtless pretty well acquainted; and we shall refer to them only so far as they are connected with the point at issue.

Pastor Uhlich, President of the Protestant Friends, having in the course of the meeting condemned many of the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and especially that of the Church, asserting that 'the Church is the cause of all the mischief that has arisen in the world;' and Pastor Wislicenus having maintained, that not the Scriptures, but the spirit, *i. e.* the spirit of the age, (der heilige Gemeingeist,) is the rule of faith; and having expressly denied almost every article of the Apostles' Creed, avowing at the same time that his opinions are unscriptural;* Professor Guerike demands of these men how they can continue to bear the name, and to discharge the duties, of Christian ministers, and to eat the bread of the Church, while they deny every article of her faith, and believe that she has caused all the mischief that

* Another meeting of the Protestant friends has since taken place, at which these sentiments, which might otherwise have been regarded as the private opinions of the speakers, have been unanimously adopted amidst great applause.

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has arisen in the world. To this question Pastor König replies, that the Church is the property of the people; that the small sect who still believe in the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Atonement, and Original Sin, can never again recover their influence; that the vast majority of clergy, as well as laity, are on the side of the Rationalists; and that 'onward' is the watchward of the German nation. He retorts, however, upon those who call themselves orthodox the same question. They have almost all rejected the Athanasian, and many of them also the Nicene Creed, as unsuited to the times; and Rationalists have precisely the same right to go one step further, and abandon the Apostles' Creed, and yet continue ministers of the Christian Church.

The 'British Magazine' for September contains an account, reprinted from the 'Record' newspaper, of a conference of the Prussian clergy, held, it is there said, chiefly for the purpose of determining 'on what particular symbolical book, or confession, the Church of Prussia should take her stand.' Now this report is calculated to convey several very erroneous impressions. In the first place, it was not 'a conference of *the* Prussian clergy,' but a simple missionary meeting (missionsfest), at which it may be readily supposed only those of one party were present. Hence, secondly, it is evident, that even had 'the pastors of the conference proposed and insisted upon the adoption of the Confession of Augsburg as the symbolical book of the Prussian ecclesiastical establishment,' this resolution would have had no more effect, and would no more have been an evidence of the opinions and wishes of the great body of the Prussian clergy, than a vote passed at a meeting in Exeter Hall is capable of representing or influencing the opinions of the clergy of England. But, lastly, it is far from being true that there was anything like unanimity in favour of the Confession of Augsburg; and in the course of the discussion (which was occasioned by the very report of the proceedings of the Protestant Friends of which we have spoken) not a few of the speakers, as, for instance, Mr. Eltester, one of the clergy of Potsdam, expressed their approval of the Confession, but declared they would never permit that it should be made binding upon them to subscribe it.

Melancholy are the feelings with which we have perused these statements. We cannot doubt their truth; we cannot doubt, that in the meeting at Berlin, 'it was insisted upon by most of the speakers, that a Church without a Confession was no Church at all;' and that the Church of Prussia is a Church without a Confession; and that yet they would not submit to be bound by any existing creed. We cannot doubt, on the other hand, that at the meeting at Köthen there were above one hundred of the clergy present; that 'thousands of their colleagues hold the

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same tenets;' that of six hundred and seventy clergymen in the province of Silesia, six hundred are Rationalists.

But what will be the end of these things? Whither is Protestantism hastening? Germany must, we think, either fall a prey to open infidelity, or unconditionally surrender herself to Rome. Thus alone, we are disposed to think, can she regain the treasure which she has wilfully cast away from her. And then, when she is once more Christian, once more Catholic, it will be time to think of a new reformation, and to commence once more the work of the sixteenth century, which has had such an unfortunate issue. It is no impossible, no improbable termination. 'Romanism,' says Professor Guerike, 'can wish for no better allies than it has found in these "Protestant Friends."'—'Protestantism,' says Father Ventura, 'is like the prodigal son, who left his father's house with his rich portion of goods; he has squandered his wealth; he has wasted his substance with riotous living, and he will soon be perishing with hunger: then will he long for the plenty of his paternal home, and will arise and return to his father.'

How can the Church Evangelize the World? A Sermon preached in St. Hugh's Church, Harlow. By THOMAS LITTLEHALES, M.A. *Rector of Sheering.* London: Burns. 1844.

THIS is a deep and closely reasoned sermon on the subject of tithes, as the divinely ordained, self-adjusting system of Church support; providing by its ever moving scale against all contingencies, and meeting all the fluctuations of property. But Mr. Littlehales shall speak for himself:—

'God would not have appointed a system supernatural in itself, but by His direction requiring human agency and support, without appointing at the same time the means by which these were to be kept in continual operation. A right apprehension of God's perfect wisdom leads us to this inference; and the finer our apprehension of this is, the more ready shall we be to recognise its exemplification in the completeness of the system He has ordained for the conveyance and perpetuation of religious truth. While dwelling, too, on the wisdom of God, might we not suppose that He who knew the covetousness of man's heart would not have left His Church entirely to man's mercy? Would not the conclusion be, that He would obviate this covetousness by making some specific decree? This decree God certainly did anciently make: to ascertain what this is, and how far it is applicable to ourselves, we must look to the Old Testament institutions, and to the analogy between the Church legal and the Church evangelical, which St. Paul here and else-

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where declares to exist. The Old Testament institution obviated all doubt on the subject; it declared the proportion of property men were to bring to Him, who was the Giver of all; it enjoined free-will and other offerings, but it fixed the tenth of all man's substance as a minimum due unto God in return for the ministrations of religion.'—Pp. 5, 6.

'It is no hard thing, certainly, that the Church should reap 'carnal for spiritual things:' this is but just; and its justice is the more apparent in the arrangement by which they are to be reaped, an arrangement which never presses harder at one time than another, but fluctuates in accordance with such blessing as God for His own reasons may think fit to give to each person. This is the beautiful and self-adjusting scale which God anciently gave in the tithe-system for the observance of His servants in the return they made of 'carnal for spiritual things:' the command was binding upon all persons for every kind of property, and, if analogy is any rule, must apply to the capitalist as well as the agriculturist even still.'—P. 8.

With respect to the relation in which the Church stands to the Mosaic system on this subject, he says:—

'Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil—this fulfilment consisted in bringing the Church to her evangelical state; in doing this He neither destroyed her eternal principles of natural religion nor her institutional character. He did not then act as though whatever His Father had done before was wrong. The Church, indeed, was always one and the same in essence; God always had this visible body selected from the rest of the world, and Christ was always watchful over it, though He may perhaps be more so now since He has become personally her chief Corner-stone on earth and her chief High-Priest in heaven. She has passed through the patriarchal and legal to the evangelical state, and from this she will again pass to her destiny of triumph in glory. Then God will be all in all, and temporal enactments be no more needed; but till that glorious day shall come, these must needs be—they are necessary both for discipline and maintenance.'—Pp. 4, 5.

'We see what God's saints in old time did, and what He Himself instituted. Did the Gospel Church repudiate this decree? So far from this, she took it to herself, and acting upon it enlarged her borders, and gathered of all nations into her bosom; thus faith was propagated, and souls brought through Christ to God. Taking analogy as her guide, as St. Paul directs, and may we not also say acting by Divine illumination (for surely the hand of God is visible in her success), she recognised tithe as her inheritance. The same sacred principle was asserted by her in this country; and England is indebted to it, under God as His instrument in its degree, for an endowed Church, and for that parochial system which we justly esteem so great a blessing. Had the Church here in former days, as she proceeded to make spiritual provision for the people, merely tried those expedients which in our present exigencies we resort to, we can only conclude that as little would have been then done as of late years has been. Like causes, as a general

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rule, produce like effects; and therefore we have a right to say, that had our present expedients only been then used, our cities and country parishes of ancient date would have been left in the same uncared-for condition our modern manufacturing towns now are in. But our old cities and parishes were not so left; the Church knew her Divine authority, and, claiming her inheritance of tithe, produced the blessings we now enjoy.'—P. 7.

The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry, &c. By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M. A., *Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, Diocese of St. Asaph.* London: Cleaver. 1844.

To such as from local circumstances, or other lines of study, have not hitherto thought much of the ancient British Church, this volume will prove deeply important. Mr. Williams certainly overstates the purity of the Bardic Church; and he dangerously apologizes for the fact of a mixed religious system, which could not have existed without external profanation to the Christian and exclusive mysteries of the Faith; but still we have read the present work with very great satisfaction and interest; and the only wonder is, that this very prolific mine of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Wales has not been fully opened before. The author seems to think that the Druidical system, or, more properly, Bardism, was the ancient patriarchal or Noachic religion, preserved in considerable, if not entire, purity in this island, especially in the west—that the systems of Gaul and Germany, described by classical authors, were a corrupted form of their aboriginal religion—that Bran, the father of Caractacus, was a bard, and in embracing the Gospel did not discard Bardism as an idolatry, but recognising the truth of the old pre-Abrahamic dispensation, continued it in the Church with much of the teaching and even some of the observances which the Bardo-Druidic Triads had taught. The author's views on the inter-communion of the British and Oriental, as well as Occidental Churches, combined with independence of the Roman patriarch, form an interesting part of this work; but its chief practical value to a certain school among us will be to show that doctrine and discipline, which, in their ignorance, many cannot distinguish from the practical Romanism of the sixteenth century, was taught and practised by the Britons in the fifth—those very Britons who rejected St. Augustine at the conclusion of the sixth century. It will be new to our readers to learn that Mr. Williams seems to make out that the first Christians of the Cymry used the ancient Druidical circles, and that

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Christian crosses still exist in some of them. How far this fact, if such it be, may have an influence on any theory of round churches we leave to other church antiquaries, or ecclesiologists, as they are now, it seems, to be called, to determine. The round towers in Ireland, even if they were employed originally for Phœnician worship, might subsequently have a Christian use by the same sort of economy which continued the bardic vestments, and, with a blameable licence, adopted the terms and form of bardic theology in the evangelical service of the Liturgy, and the Christian mysteries. A fact which illustrates this view has been produced by Mr. Haslam, in a work elsewhere alluded to, that the perpetual fire of the Irish Druids was kept up as a Christian emblem by St. Patrick and St. Kyran. Speaking of round churches, reminds us to mention that some have been discovered in Bornholm, of which we hope to gain a more complete account. These, we find, were Christian adaptations of structures of immense antiquity, originally meant for other, and often religious, purposes. We have indicated this series of facts, because it may serve, in the case of those who will be at the trouble of pursuing the line of thought, at least to suggest that our Missionary teaching should more fully and faithfully acknowledge the relative Divinity of all religion—and should absorb and clothe upon the religion which they find, rather than seek to annihilate it. Few things are to us more shocking than the accounts which we sometimes read of Missionaries, generally sectarian, commencing their labours by at once denouncing, in every form and degree, all that was held sacred by those to whom they sought to bear the better tidings. Thus, in India, would it not be well to use, more frequently than we do, the Temples—and would it not be a more healthy and primitive course of evangelization, to admit the eternal truth of what is true in such a wonderful, however corrupt, system as Brahminism, than at once to commence with Bibles and Prayer-meetings in new Bamboo sheds ?

It is very late to mention it, but our excuse must be, that 'Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs, by Mistake,' by Sir Wm. Hamilton (Edinburgh, Maclachlan), has only recently fallen in our way. This is the most valuable pamphlet which has appeared on the Scotch Secession: valuable not only for its bearings on that particular dispute, but for the exposition of Lutheranism which it contains. We commend it to all who can now procure it. But while we are on the Free Church subject, we may as well subjoin a useful paper which we have procured, showing, in a tabular form, the infinitesimal division of the old Presbyterian Schism. A further illus-

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tration is in progress; for we understand that the Secession of last year is already splitting again.

In the reign of Charles II. there were two parties of Presbyterians, called Resolutionists and Remonstrants; the first received a license from the king, the second would accept of no compromise, and, religiously, they answered, in general, to Moderates and Evangelicals. At the Revolution, they, for the most part, coalesced; but some Remonstrants would accept of no settlement not embodying the Solemn League and Covenant, and formed a separate Society, called the Reformed Presbytery. Thus they were—

A. 1690. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1733, a dispute arose at Kinross, about the placing of a preacher. A controversy succeeded, and, in 1740, eight preachers were deposed by the General Assembly, and formed the first Secession.

B. 1740. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. Seceders.
3. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1747, the Seceders divided on this point:—On admission as a Burgher an oath was to be taken to this effect:—'I do profess the religion presently established in this realm.' Some thought this to be generally against Romanism, and others to be positively in favour of the Establishment. They parted, and the first became Burghers, the second Anti-Burghers.

C. 1747. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. Burghers.
3. Anti-Burghers.
4. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1755 a difference arose at Jedburgh exactly similar to that at Kinross. Two preachers were deposed by the General Assembly, and formed the Relief Presbytery.

D. 1755. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. Burghers.
3. Anti-Burghers.
4. Relief Presbyterians.
5. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1806, some Burghers wished a declaration to be signed in favour of the union of civil and ecclesiastical authority; but others differed, and formed a new Society, called The Associate Synod of Original Seceders.

E. 1806. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. Burghers.
3. Anti-Burghers.
4. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
5. Relief Presbyterians.
6. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1821 the Burghers' Oath was generally disused, and the Burghers and Anti-Burghers prepared to reunite; but some Burghers would not

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coalesce, and formed the Original Burghers' Associate Synod, and the other Burghers, with the Anti-Burghers, formed the United Associate Synod.

F. 1821. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. United Associate Synod.
3. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
4. Original Burghers' Associate Synod.
5. Relief Presbyterians.
6. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1834, the General Assembly passed the Veto Act, which gave an absolute veto on the placing of a preacher, to the majority of male communicants, being heads of houses. This bye-law was declared to be illegal first by the Supreme Scotch Court, afterwards by the House of Lords. It was then formally repealed by the General Assembly in 1843; upon which 451 preachers left the Establishment, and formed the Free Presbytery; and now the Presbyterians stand thus:—

G. 1842. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. United Associate Synod.
3. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
4. Original Burghers' Associate Synod.
5. Relief Presbyterians.
6. Free Presbyterians.
7. Reformed Presbyterians.

On the whole, it will be seen that the Establishment has divided thrice, in 1740, 1755, 1843; that the first Secession divided in 1747; and that one of those Sub-Secessions divided in 1806. Each body has its own Presbyteries and Synods, and believes itself to be the true representative of John Knox's opinions.

'The Ecclesiologist's Guide to the Churches within a Circuit of Seven Miles round Cambridge' contains the substance of a paper read before the Cambridge Camden Society, by one of its Secretaries, Mr. Paley. Of course such a book will be chiefly valuable to the younger members of the Society, for whose use it was compiled; but the accurate description of fifty-one churches, in a county so celebrated for its village church-architecture as Cambridgeshire, cannot be without great general interest. In particular, we recommend the Introductory Remarks to all who wish to study Ecclesiology practically. The author most truly observes,—'The only way to learn 'architecture, is to examine ancient buildings: no adequate knowledge can 'possibly be obtained from books alone.' This, indeed, has been from the first the favourite and distinguishing maxim of this Society. To assist its members, it compiled the 'Church Schemes,' which contained a better classification and nomenclature of the parts of a church than had yet been attempted, and proposed a system of easy abbreviations, by which any one with a little practice might register very accurately almost every detail. We think experience has shown that this method has enabled many who have no skill in drawing, to gain a much more satisfactory knowledge of architecture than could be acquired by the more showy plan of carrying away from every church some spirited sketches or picturesque perspective

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views. Indeed, architecture must be learnt, like anatomy, by dissection. But of course the addition of measured sections of mouldings to the written description of a church adds incalculably to its completeness. And here Mr. Paley's book will be especially useful, as it contains the most lucid description we remember to have seen of the method of drawing every kind of moulding. Indeed, as one reads his explanation of the specimen-plate of sections, it seems so easy to draw architecturally, that we feel ourselves tempted at once to procure the necessary equipment of 'every good and practical ecclesiologist,' viz. the metallic note-book and pencil, the small T square, the compasses, and the two-feet rule, and to begin copying mouldings at once. But where can we find any mouldings to draw in London? If we even paid to go into the Abbey, the vergers would not let us draw; and in St. Saviour's, Southwark (of course we do not mean its *Nave*) 'no one is allowed to take notes here, Sir,' without the permission of the rector, who is some layman, chief of the trustees who administer the spiritual concerns of that unhappy parish. In short, it is a subject of growing regret with us, that there is so small a field for architectural study in London. We are locked out of the few old churches, and the new are not worth going into.

'Sketches of Christianity in North India,' by the Rev. M. Wilkinson Missionary (Seeley), is in many respects a very interesting work: interesting, that is, as every thing connected with the undoubted self-denial of the early Protestant missionaries in India must be,—interesting too, as another proof, where unhappily none is wanted, of the complete failure of the Protestant system in missions. Mr. Wilkinson is, we believe, in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, an institution which we fear is no improvement on the unpromising Lutheran and uncommissioned ministrations of those otherwise so holy, as Swartz and Ziegenbalg. Quite unconsciously, as it seems, the present book reveals the mode of converting, or rather trying to convert, the Hindoos. In a Mr. Knorpp's journal (p. 389)—a very able document it is,—we find him at one of the greatest heathen festivals of India: doing what?—'giving away tracts by hundreds to persons *who first proved to us that they could read*,'—which is a qualification to receive the Gospel of which we cannot recall an instance either in Scripture or ecclesiastical history. How would this good man have acted had he been in the place of St. Boniface or St. Augustine? How many tract-readers would Saxon-England or Germany have boasted? and how many converts did the Evangelists of old without 'letters' produce? It were needless to say that we have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Wilkinson's tone: but as we cannot but have much in common with him, it is with unfeigned surprise that we perceive him to be either so prejudiced or so weak as to reproduce a ridiculous story (p. 15) of a Romanist clergyman, forty-four years of age, of the order of the Dominicans, educated and ordained in Europe, and for seven years inquisitor at Goa, 'getting for the first time in his life a sight of the Bible in Latin.' It is only the old myth about Luther. A sort of attack on Bishop's College appears uncalled for. Perhaps the most painful, and yet instructive, part of the book is the

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melancholy light which is thrown upon the '*devilish*' policy of the Indian Government, in throwing every obstacle in the way of converting the Hindoos. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we find 'the Most Noble 'the Governor-General in Council referring to the very dangerous conse- 'quences which might be experienced were this procedure of Mr. F.'s [*i. e.* 'the baptism of a Hindoo soldier] supposed to be coupled with the official 'duties of his situation as government chaplain,' (p. 253),—and this in the year 1837. The day of retribution for this miserable system must arrive; and we have only heard the first muttering of the coming storm.

'A Concise View of the Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Validity of Lay-Baptism, including also that of Heretics and Schismatics,' by the Rev. A. T. G. Manson, B.C.L. We agree with Mr. Manson in thinking that our Church does not disavow lay, or even schismatical baptism, *i. e.* that it does not think it necessary to rebaptize in such cases. But because baptism out of the Church need not be repeated, it does not follow that it confers any Church privileges out of the Church. This distinction is a most important one to keep in mind. Besides, Dissenters' baptism is a different thing again.

The fulness of heart, genuineness, and feeling in Tholuck's 'University Sermons' (Clark, Edinburgh), make them a striking volume. They do not, however, quite rise out of the German atmosphere. Their amiableness wants refinement.

'The British Churchman' has variety, but of rather an unconnected sort. The opening of the article on the '*Threefold Ministry*' is too wide— 'A leaf shaken by the wind—a reed swayed by the water—a bubble on 'the stream of life—a billow on the ocean of eternity—headstrong as the 'tempest in its fury, yet changeful as the breeze before a calm: such is 'mortal man.' The scene before the Poor-law Guardians in 'Winstone Court' is amusing and spirited.

The writer of a 'Scriptural Solution of Baptismal Regeneration' (Seeley) takes a different line from his school. He comes round to the view of the eighteenth century divines, and allows regeneration in baptism, but makes regeneration only a difference of outward state. The writer thinks this a perfectly new view, of which he himself is the lucky discoverer:—'I do not 'hesitate to state that High Church and Low Church, Puseyites, Evangeli- 'cals, and orthodox Dissenters, have been, and are, wrong in reference to 'this subject.' His doctrinal speculation as to the state of infants is bold indeed:—'*All infants, independent of baptism, are in a state of favour with God!*' He argues, from Rom. v. 18, that, 'as the guilt of Adam was imputed to all unto condemnation—so the righteousness of Christ is imputed to all unto 'justification—to all who are born after the death of Christ, whether they 'are born of Christians, Jews, Turks, Pagans, Infidels, or Heretics.' Can the writer know what he is saying?

'The Questions of Repeal and Federalism considered.' (Cleaver.) A writer who is so severe on the political dreams of others should not have

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his own :—'The days may be counted,' he says, 'of Sweden and Norway, 'when a separation will take place between them, *and they shall be blotted out* '*as a nation altogether*, Sweden falling to the lot of Russia, and Norway to 'that of Great Britain; unless the ministers of the British crown shall repeat 'at that time their present policy, and allow the opposing and important 'coast of Norway to fall into the hands of Russia, as, in violation of the 'most solemn treaties, we have seen the northern coast of Africa (*on which* '*Gibraltar*, in time of war with Spain, *is dependent for supplies*) surrendered 'into the hands of France. Should it please God that the crown of Sweden 'and Norway should descend to an heir female, and the Scandinavian Prin-'cess accept the hand of the Prince of Wales *and Connaught* (as, out of respect 'to the ancient glory of Ireland, it were well that the heir-apparent to the 'British crown should be styled), those countries, under the name of East 'Britain, may both yet be incorporated with us; an event long looked for, 'and ardently desired, by their people.'

'A Plea for the Prayer-book' (Islington, Boyd) is a well-principled appeal to one of a body on whom every argument must be, as it has been, thrown away; and to whom, more than any other set of men, our present distresses seem attributable. We allude to the Islington clergy, and to what their Bishop is reported to have said of them in the recent distressing proceedings in Tottenham.

In 'Consolations and Prayers for the Time of Sickness,' by Mr. Plumpton Wilson, of Newmarket (Rivingtons,) we think there exists, though modified, a Lutheran bias. Otherwise, it is noticeable that no reference occurs to what has so prominent a place in the Visitation Service Examination, as to soundness in dogmatic faith and the benefits of absolution. Neither can we think it right to use the Collects before Baptism, under such circumstances; the new nature of conversion is analogous to, but surely not identical with, that of regeneration. Hence Mr. Wilson appears to lay greater stress upon present feelings than on the sense of the gift of salvation. There is, however, much of affecting thought in the volume.

'Songs and Ballads for Manufacturers,' by Mr. J. Mason Neale (Deck), have, we believe, classical authority in their favour, and different spinning-wheel ballads have been handed down to us. Were not such examples against our own feelings on the subject, we should have thought that artizans would have realized in their labour-songs rather the beautiful world from which their daily toil excluded them, than have sought to relieve the spirit by images taken from the work before them. At any rate, we can hardly fancy a Spitalfields garret resounding very cheerily with the silk-weaver's

'*Pass seven, take two; pass seven, take four;* now turn the piece about;
'*Pass three, take five; pass eight, take six;* our rose will soon be out.'

Be this as it may, we desire to speak respectfully of the kindly temper which has suggested the attempt. The poor man's solace is the great end, and song of some sort the right instrument: and the present work has ingenuity and flow.

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The Bishop of Down and Connor has published a Letter (Grant and Bolton) to Sir Robert Peel, on an insult offered by that gentleman to some of the Irish prelates; which has elicited a characteristic reply, printed in the newspapers.

'The Amelioration of Ireland,' (Cleaver,) is the first of a series; of which the author takes a strangely inconsistent mode both to avow and to conceal his responsibility.

Two books of very considerable importance, to which we hope to find occasion to allude more fully, have appeared: indeed, we owe some apology both to their authors and to our readers for the retiring place which their titles occupy in this number. The one is Mr. Radcliffe's 'Illustrations of the Creed of St. Athanasius' (Rivingtons), by parallel passages from the Fathers and Scripture. Mr. Radcliffe leans to what is most likely the true view, that this symbolical hymn, like the other Catholic creeds strictly speaking, has no author: it is the voice rather of the Church than of an individual doctor. We can hardly sympathize with Mr. Radcliffe's expectation that his book will find readers in the middle class: and apart from this hope, the quotations should have been, we think, in the original.

The other is the work of the learned American divine, Dr. Jarvis, of Connecticut, 'Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church.' (Cleaver.) The subject is so extensive, and the points so debateable, that we cannot venture upon a hasty statement upon them. Dr. Jarvis has certainly done much in correcting the Consular Fasti: contrary to, and without acquaintance with, Mr. Greswell's conclusion of April, he fixes the date of our Lord's birth at Christmas. The work is written in a good and dutiful spirit, and the Harmony will be found useful even to unlearned readers. We welcome the book as the first-fruits of transatlantic scholarship and study.

A second edition of 'The Choral Service as used in the Parish Church of Leeds,' has reached us; and we are glad to find it improved in several respects. In an appendix, the General Confession is given in unison; but the editor 'strongly recommends the use of the harmonized Confession, as 'he considers it more in accordance with the practice of such of our cathedral 'choirs as are most worthy of imitation.' Here we beg leave to differ with him; and we would, on the contrary, strongly recommend the adoption of the simpler form. Full harmony in the Confession appears to us particularly objectionable. We would even omit any harmonies to the Amens until the Doxology, after the response, 'O Lord, make haste,' &c. This, too, is a practice in accordance with many choirs; though which are the choirs of most authority, or 'most worthy of imitation,' must be matter of opinion: it is a point we do not choose to decide. We may remark, however, that the mode we recommend has the sanction of Tallis' Service, as given in Boyce; a better authority, we should think, than the practice of any modern choir. The book before us would make a very useful manual for the ordinary week-day service; while, on Sundays and festivals, the still finer harmonies of Tallis may be employed.

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'Drops from the Cup of Uniformity, Unity, and Peace,' by the Rev. G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. (Rivingtons.) This is a sensible pamphlet, and contains many good suggestions as to arrangement of church interiors, and the mode of conducting the services. Mr. Hodgkinson is a practical man; and we can assure the reader, who may be apprehensive from the title, that it is the only sentimental demonstration in the book.

'The Law and Rule of Life to the Christian. Considered in Eleven Lectures on the Decalogue,' by the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, Vicar of Gainsborough (Cleaver). The title of these Lent sermons shows a good aim in this volume. The Sermon on Ash-Wednesday comments seriously on the loss of that 'godly discipline' which the Commination Service mentions. 'It is a matter of grief,' says Mr. Bird, 'to see the distrust which 'still exists in men's minds with regard to Church discipline—a distrust 'which is, unhappily, kept up after the original causes have ceased to justify 'it—a distrust which cripples the efficiency of the Church, as the great instru-'ment of inculcating true religion, and guarding the morality of the country.' After mentioning the use of the 'open penance' of former times, as making sin shameful, he continues: 'Need I ask whether the name of Christian is 'held in such honour at the present day, that the moment a stain is brought 'upon it, all persons, even the offender, agree, that public reparation must 'be made, and the honour of religion and morality vindicated, for the general 'good? Alas! I need not. We all know that offenders now look a minister 'in the face from the midst of a congregation without a blush, even though 'they be of the character mentioned by our Church, "unmerciful, fornicators, 'covetous persons, slanderers, drunkards,"—men who, if the old discipline 'were restored, would either not be allowed to profane God's house with 'their presence, or would be standing before the congregation as penitents, 'dissolved in tears, and thankful to be put to pain in their bodily feelings, 'that, by the blessing of God on their affliction, they might be brought to a 'sense of their danger.'—We do not, of course, agree with all the sentiments in these sermons; but, in spite of differences, we have pleasure in noticing a very serious and well-intentioned volume.

Mr. Maurice, of Guy's Hospital, has republished 'Law's Remarks on the Fable of the Bees,' with an Introductory Essay. It is a treat to read any controversial treatise of Law's. There is a force, point, and accuracy in his arguments which make him almost unique as a controversalist. The Introductory Essay is written in Mr. Maurice's usual style, which is rather remarkable for its deficiency in those qualities for which Law's is pre-eminent. The Essay, though the product of a thoughtful mind, appears to do very little towards bringing out and explaining the treatise, and might as well perhaps have been appended to any other treatise as to this. We are obliged to Mr. Maurice, however, for the republication.

The first number of the 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' edited by Dr. Hook, promises a useful series. The lives of the two Abbots, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Salisbury, are very full and descriptive. Dr. Hook will allow us to make one criticism, which is, that the run of comment accompanying the narrative is too much in the style of a periodical.

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A regular historical work should be more guarded and sparing. We say this, perfectly agreeing in a great part of (though not all) the comments themselves, and only questioning their suitableness, in point of style, for this particular sort of work.

'The British Churchman' for February has one able correspondent in an 'M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford,' who writes on Mr. Ward's case and the New Test.

'Considerations on the Exercise of Private Judgment by Ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland, in Matters connected with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church,' by James Parker Deane, D.C.L. (John W. Parker.) Dr. Deane is of opinion that 'every minister of the 'Church is bound by laws expressed in terms singularly free from doubt, 'and unclouded by obscurity, and, he may say, bound in conscience too, by 'self-imposed regulations, to a strict and literal obedience' to all the regulations of the Rubric. This is the view that a legal eye must take. Dr. Deane simply sees that Clergymen bind themselves by certain pledges, and he thinks those pledges ought to be fulfilled. It is no credit to the Church, if such a view has become, by the course of events, a rather too severe one to apply to her ministers.

'Islaford, and other Poems,' by George Murray (Smith and Elder). There is point and sharpness often in Mr. Murray's poetry, and he puts natural objects clearly before us. But he wants ease and flow. He arrests us occasionally, but does not carry us on.

'A Family History of Christ's Universal Church,' by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D. (G. Virtue.) We should like to see a few more numbers of this work before we give our opinion. At present we can only say that it appears written in an easy style, and that an interest is thrown upon the early martyrdoms and miracles of the Church, which seems to show Dr. Stebbing not at all a disciple of the Sceptical school. There is an approach to a dangerous theological view, however, in the remarks on Irenæus's doctrine of the Eucharist. Dr. Stebbing says, 'In the case of the pure 'Apostolic Creed, all is simple, clear, and authoritative; in that of the 'Father's speculative inferences, it is evident that the mind may, and must 'be left in doubt, if it cannot follow and admit his arguments. With the 'Articles of the Church's Creed it is altogether otherwise,—the few particulars of which it consists are so stated as to oppose speculation, instead 'of inviting it. Hence private opinion, though that of the holiest and most 'enlightened men, could not be set up in opposition to the common voice of 'Christ's people. And this supremacy of the Creed, as handed down from 'generation to generation, was a real protection to the purity and holiness 'of the Church; and as soon as the principle on which it rested was lost 'sight of, the flood of mere opinion flowed in—the barriers of primitive truth, 'if not broken down, were covered by the rampant waves of speculation,' &c. Now, we do not mean for a moment to say that Irenæus, as an individual Father, might not hold doctrines unwarranted by the Creed of the Church at large. But Dr. Stebbing does not attempt to show that Irenæus *does*

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stand thus alone among the Fathers, or that, in fact, he at all differs from the other Fathers in this view of the Eucharist. This question is not entered into, and therefore Dr. Stebbing's suspicion of that Father's view of the Eucharist, resting as it does on a wholly independent ground to this, would stand just the same if the whole *consensus patrum* supported Irenæus. Now this is treading on dangerous ground. If a certain doctrine, whether on the Eucharist or any other article, appears in the whole body of patristic writings, and we are yet at liberty to put aside this doctrinal witness and appeal from the written Creed of the Fathers to some hypothetical contemporary Creed of the Church, from which it is a departure and a falling away, there is an end of all doctrinal certainty, and we are completely at sea. If the writings of the Fathers, as a body, do not represent the Creed of the Church, what does? What other evidence have we of what that Creed of the Church was? It is vain to say Scripture, and the three written Creeds, for the question is as to the sense and manner in which Scripture and those Creeds were held and interpreted. If the Church did not hold them as her great doctors did, in what way did she hold them? Dr. Stebbing should be prepared with definite and positive evidence of such a hypothetical counter Creed existing, if it did exist—evidence equal to that which the Patristic writings certainly, *primâ facie*, afford on the other side. The question is, Are we, or are we not, to take the Fathers as the exponents of Church doctrine, and witnesses of the Church Creed? To appeal from *their* system of doctrine to an unknown hypothetical Church standard which has never come down to us, and whenever we encounter the sublime, mystical, and dogmatic in them, to imagine a certain 'simplicity of the faith' in the Church body, which the Fathers do not represent, but distort and obscure,—is to abandon the acknowledged and established laws of evidence, and deliberately to reason from what we do not know, rather than from what we know.

A very remarkable book has appeared, which seems to be running through many editions, 'Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation,' (Churchill). Its spreading mischief has been met by a seasonable and searching antidote from Mr. Bosanquet, 'Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation exposed.' (Hatchard.) We trust to take up the subject shortly.

A Few Plain Observations upon the Right of Private Judgment, in a Letter to a Dissenter,' by an English Priest, (Edwards and Hughes,) is a forcible little tract; though the style might have been chastened here and there with advantage. In the Preface, the writer says, 'The term Protestantism has now come to take its proper value, and to signify something very little differing from Dissent.' There is much truth in this observation. We have been much struck ourselves with the rapidly deteriorating sense of that term, even in general society. Its artificial associations are withdrawing from it, and exposing a naked, unattractive reality to our view. The expression, look, and intonation, which accompany the word, betray a lurking opinion in the speaker, that it is not a lofty or inspiring symbol; and Protestantism, whatever other advantages it may be considered to offer, hardly appears any longer in the chivalrous, or poetical, or venerable

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aspect to the educated public mind. Even among its friends, an unconscious, significant smile seems to apologize for the absence of these qualities, and to point to other advantages, of a more solid and matter-of-fact sort, in compensation.

We are glad to notice 'A Short Devotional Service for Family or Private use during Lent,' by the same Author.

A little compilation, called 'Devotions for the use of Young Persons,' (Burns), is a useful attempt to supply a great *desideratum*, and will, doubtless, suggest other efforts in the same line.

'Poems,' by Elizabeth Barrett, author of the Seraphim (Moxon). Those who like Miss Barrett's poetry, must like it exceedingly. We cannot imagine a moderate admiration of it. For ourselves, we do not like it; and we do not think it poetry. Poetry, to be cognizable as such by the mind, must have definite form and expression; Miss Barrett's has not. Her sea of ideas contains the elements of poetry, in the same sense in which a fine mass of sound contains the elements of music, and in no other.

'The Goldmaker's Village,' translated from the German of H. Zschokke (Burns). The story has run through seven editions in the German. It is written with a philanthropic object, and is the framework of a number of useful hints, moral and economical, addressed to the poorer classes chiefly.

'The Treasure-Keeper; or, the Cold Heart;' from the German of Hauff (Burns). A beautiful little story, and calculated, we think, to make a real impression on a child's mind.

'A Mirror of Faith. Lays and Legends of the Church in England;' by the Rev. J. M. Neale (Burns). 'It has been well observed,' says Mr. Neale, in his Preface, 'that, in relating the various contests between the 'Church and the world, historians have always sided with the latter against 'the former .... In direct distinction to this popular view, the object of the 'following Ballads is to set the principal events of the Church history of 'Britain before the reader in the light in which they appeared to the con-'temporary Church.' Mr. Neale has an easy spirited flow; but many of the poems are too much in the ballad style for the subjects they are upon. Martyrdoms and saintly deaths do not quite harmonize with the quick off-hand pace of ballad metre. Other subjects it suits very well; *e. g.* 'King Charles the Second's Public Entry on Blackheath,' which is very successful. There is grave feeling in the 'Martyrdom of St. Edmund;' also in 'L'Envoy,' at the end.

'British Blessings,' a Poem, in three parts, by a Layman (Nickisson). We ought, all of us, to be truly thankful for our national blessings; that is quite certain; and we cannot but commend the well-intentioned author of this poem for that strong sense of gratitude which has induced him to write a set of verses on the subject. He has obviously much religious and Church feeling. But what a mixture! He is grateful, sincerely and devoutly grateful, in one and the same breath, for Newton, Bacon, Milton, the British Saints, Shakspeare, and Charles the First, for our army and navy, the

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Church, the Cotton trade, the East India Company, and all the shipping from London Bridge to Deptford. Our Catholicity and our traffic, our doctrinal purity and our enormous quantity of money, our freedom, Magna Charta, the British Lion, the Union Flag, the Gospel, the Reformation, the Duke of Wellington, Nelson and the Nile, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are all equally holy, pious, wealthy, prosperous; equally religious, national, generous, festive, proud, belligerent, evangelical associations.

'Hail to that Sceptred Isle, where freedom reigns,
Whilst the strong law strict public peace maintains,
Whence noble minds, of powers surpassing, rise,
And cast a splendour on her northern skies;
There Milton, Bacon, Newton, Shakspeare seen,
* * * * *
'Whilst foreign commerce, inland trade, create
A peaceful toiling enterprising state,
High-favoured race! *What gifts divine unite*
To form thee thus.'

Gifts divine! that is to say, 'foreign commerce, and inland trade.' What a religious nation we must be, to have such exports and imports! Rule Britannia!

'Hail, English Church!—pure Catholic branch, star-bright,
With mild, calm radiance shines thy heavenly light.'

Lastly, the author, and we believe him to be quite sincere and earnest in his anticipation, looks forward to an epoch, when the religion and the budget of the country shall experience a most gratifying renovation; and when, the national debt being liquidated, the Isle of Saints shall once more come to view, in connexion with an improved education and Church-extension system.

'Skilful Finance, and Education sound,
Form now the modern statesman's firmest ground;
Now, whilst we prosper, liquidate the Debt,
Should we decline, its weight must us upset.
* * * * *
'Right paths thus shown, and such example set,
Britain might hope continued blessings yet.
* * * * *
'Isle of the Saints! resume that ancient name,
And train thy sons to vindicate the claim.'

Seriously, will the author, and many like him, take a hint? He is one of a class, and his poem is a type of a whole nationalizing line of thought, which prevails. Indeed, he is rather an improvement upon it; for he adds to the old mixture, some patches of the new Catholic movement. Will he and others make a common-sense, plain distinction between what we are as a nation, and what we are as a Church, and look at our religious and our secular character under their respective heads, and not mix up both in one jubilant idea of Britannia? Let people express what they mean correctly. It is really hardly an exaggeration to say, that a great many people who most sincerely think it self-evident that we are the most religious

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nation upon earth, would, if examination were instituted into the real idea in their heads, be found, under the term religion, to mean simply and solely, that we gained the battle of Trafalgar. Why cannot they let spiritual be spiritual, and earthly earthly?

'Lays and Ballads, chiefly from English History,' by S. M. (Burns,) are dedicated 'To the seven dear children for whose amusement they were originally written.' They are extremely pretty and elegant; and their smooth swing makes them very well adapted for children's recitation. We will mention 'The English Merchant and the Saracen Lady;' 'The Lay of King James the First, in his Captivity;' the 'Lament of Eleanor of Bretagne;' 'The Death of Bruce.'

It is noticeable that Scottish History has supplied a similar series, 'Ballads and Lays,' by Norval Clyne, M.A., (Edinburgh, Shand;) in which the spirit and feeling of the old ballads is successfully reproduced, without any affectation of archaism in language. From our commendation we except the Union Song, which has a very decided twang of the Crown and Anchor. The preface is modestly written.

'A Prospectus and Specimen of the illuminated and illustrated edition of the Book of Common Prayer' (Murray), has reached us. Words fail us to express how unutterably paltry and bad it is in every possible way. To attempt to apply illumination to our common mean Roman types is absurd: the inks are not only those choice pigments used in play-bills, but are always misplaced, half the *rubrics* being *blue;* the details of the so-called illuminations are incorrect, and most of them utterly without authority, Mr. Owen Jones being perhaps *the* man in England who knows nothing of what is suitable to Service-books. And as to the wood-cuts, they are either so badly cut, or so badly printed, that there is literally not a single line perfect in them; while a yet graver fault remains. By a perverseness quite melancholy, a subject from the most divine pictures in the whole range of Christian art, the life of Christ by the blessed Fra Angelico, has been debased from its awful grandeur to a mean little block, which would be discreditable to a penny ballad. We feel so strongly the contingent, yet distant, value of illuminated books, that we trust the attempt will be altogether abandoned; at least, till we get types, books, paper, and artists fit for it, not one of which is at present in existence. Modern illustration, caricaturing mediæval art, is becoming a perfect nuisance. We should be thankful to Mr. Parker, of Oxford, if he would get rid of his little vignettes, which are not only poor, but hacknied.

A reprint of 'Walton's Lives' has been published (Washbourne). It is, with slight modifications, Major's very beautiful edition: that is, the notes, and very useful they are, have been brought from the appendix to the foot of the page; and the cuts have been reduced and copied, not always with success. On the whole, it is a creditable publication.

Mr. Frere, in the preface to his treatise on 'Confirmation' (Rivingtons), endeavours to obviate an objection which had been taken to it in its un-

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published state, that it seemed to exalt Confirmation somewhat at the expense of Baptism. Although it may be quite true that the gift of the Holy Ghost in Confirmation is the especial outpouring of the seven-fold influence to those who rightly receive it, yet it by no means follows that the grace and life of Baptism is not also a gift of the same Spirit. Otherwise it would seem to follow that the remission of sins, and that strength which is sufficient to salvation, in the power of which dying infants are undoubtedly saved, the new birth, is not the gift of the life-giving Spirit. The dispute, if such it is, seems verbal; otherwise the present publication exhibits the learning and good feeling which Mr. Frere is known to possess.

For an inferior class we can highly recommend a letter on 'Confirmation,' by an English Priest. (Ashby of Newbury, and Burns).

'Bishop Andrewes' Latin Devotions' have appeared in an English translation. (Oxford: Parker).

'The History of Christian Altars' (Stevenson), is a paper read before the Cambridge Camden Society; and an extremely able one. Why Mr. Collison has suppressed his name we are not aware: we take the liberty to supply it.

A curious Correspondence between the Church Pastoral Aid Society, through its Secretary, and the Rev. Mr. Irvine of Leigh, has appeared. (Manchester: Simms and Dinham.) The former body withdrew their grant towards the support of a *Curate* in Leigh, because a *lay-assistant* employed by Mr. Irvine in that parish circulated a magazine which seems to prefer the Propagation of the Gospel Society to the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Irvine very properly defends the magazine in question, and its circulation; but with this High Churchmanship we cannot see how he could have felt 'a faithful and friendly spirit' towards the Church Pastoral Aid Society, whose principles and practices are pretty well known by this time. This spoiling the Egyptians by taking Puritan pence to preach Church doctrine we think hardly fair. With a Medusa-like tenacity Mr. Irvine still clings to the Society, and compels them to write him down Local Associate. This produces some very characteristic shuffling from Mr. Secretary.

Count Björnstjerna has published an extremely useful work, 'The Theogony of the Hindoos' (Murray). Not that we are quite satisfied with this very accomplished nobleman's principles: the fact that he does not at once scout Bailly's views of Indian chronology will sufficiently indicate the quarter in which our fears lie. The definition of the relation between Buddhism and Brahmaism as analogous to that between Protestantism and Catholicism, is as real as correct. In alluding to the Syrian Christians of St. Thomas still existing in India, what does the Count mean by saying that 'they do not recognise the *sanctity* of the Virgin?' p. 121.

'Notes on the New Testament,' by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener (Pickering), is too important to be dismissed with this brief notice; but as only the first volume is finished, in *many* respects an able one, we shall defer our opinion till the work has advanced farther.

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The small Tracts giving separate accounts of our foreign Missions and Dioceses published by the Propagation Society, are a new, and promise to be a successful, feature in its management. Since it seems to be admitted that trying concessions must be made on every side for the sake of these Societies, we may well be thankful that, as things go, there is so little to find fault with in this quarter. The Quarterly Papers, however, want weighing now and then.

'The National Society's Report' is enriched by a remarkable letter on St. Mark's College, from Mr. Coleridge.

Mr. Rymer Jones' 'Natural History of Animals,' at present only embraces the invertebrate animals. The cuts are as well executed as those for which the publisher (Van Voorst) is so famous. His series of Fonts is succeeded by one of Decorated Windows, under the editorship of Mr. Sharpe. The first number promises well.

'The Church and the People. A Series of Tracts and Stories,' (Simpkin). These are productions of 'Arnoldite' genius; and they might be supposed to be written to illustrate his correspondence. They come out in defence of that newer, richer, and more poetical liberalism, that we have heard so much of lately; and they are in fact controversial works, under the form of stories. Their watchword seems to be 'REALIZATION.' 'The next era of Christianity must be neither that of Romanism, nor Protestantism, but REALIZATION.' The German philosophical language which often occurs is in keeping with this commencement, as when we are told that '*Christ comprehended the life of universal humanity, and published its laws*'—that 'perfect obedience can only flow from perfect liberty'—that 'the true purpose of authority is to preserve the *deep*, *necessary*, and *universal*, over the *superficial*, the *arbitrary*, and the *temporary* elements of human nature.' A clever amiable dreaminess is their chief characteristic. The style is rich and flowing, but wants spirit and point. A mixture of poetry, and the love of nature and the picturesque, are introduced, and mingle with the theology. The 'Widow of Mitton,' the first number of the series, is too scattered and rambling in its composition; and consequently, with all its cleverness, becomes heavy after a few pages.

'Poems, Sacred and Miscellaneous,' (Rivingtons) by R. Parkinson, B.D. Canon of Manchester. This is a kind of poetry which clever persons are able to write, from the fact that they are clever. It runs in a certain groove, and does credit to the author more as clever composition than as poetry. Mr. Parkinson's pleasing volume is rather an instance of this class.

'The Two Catechumens' (Burns), is an interesting, engaging little book, under a rather too theological title. The characters—two young ladies—are well drawn, the letters natural, and there is a refined tone throughout.

Mr. Barton's 'Abridgement of Scripture History for Parish Schools' (Hatchard and Rivingtons), appears to be a useful attempt, in this department. 'The intention of these Tracts,' says the Preface, 'is by no means to 'supersede the use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament in Parish Schools, 'but rather to point out the passages in those Scriptures which are more

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'immediately connected with Christian doctrine, to give children a general 'knowledge of the history of the Bible.'

We suppose that one of the reasons which makes us dissatisfied with Mr. Lathbury's 'History of the Nonjurors' (Pickering), is, that we expected very great things from its announcement. In style and arrangement it is almost uncouth, and it conveys very few new facts; while of the real value of the principles held and not held respectively by the Nonjurors, Mr. Lathbury has but a loose grasp, perhaps, as it seems, because his own views on most important subjects are not at present quite clear. Mr. Lathbury is consolidating, and is a writer of considerable promise; but a subject so noble as that which he has now chosen, should have been reserved for something better than an empirical opportunity for acquiring information. The best part of the book is the correspondence of the Nonjurors with the Greek Church, now first published from Bp. Jolly's MSS. In a work which might, and ought to have been a classic, how could Mr. Lathbury think of introducing *The Record* and *The Times*, and Mr. Walter and the Offertory at Hurst, and such trash?

Charlotte Elizabeth has written a 'Letter to Miss Martineau' (Seeley), in which she unequivocally connects this lady's famous cure by Mesmerism with Satanic influence. Of course Christian prejudice, in the better sense of that word, would tend the same way; but we want more cautious observers of facts than Charlotte Elizabeth,—especially when the imputation is at once easy and awful.

'The Mysteries opened,' by Dr. Stone, of Brooklyn, United States (Harper, New York), must have been a very perplexing book to write. Knowing that it would not be quite safe to deny the Christian Sacraments altogether, Dr. Stone was put to it to invent words to define them which should sound well and mean nothing: and we are bound to say that this task has been discharged with a curious and annoying felicity. Baptism, p. 241, is defined as that which 'embodies the *evidence of a moral monument* [sic] to the iden-'tity of the Church and to the truth of the Christian revelation, through 'all ages.' One baptism for the remission of sins an 'embodiment of a 'moral monument!' This is 'opening mysteries' with a vengeance. Surely this writer's own cold hard patronymic, *Stone*, must have helped him to this frigid metaphor, especially when he goes on to speak of the Holy Eucharist as the 'solemn sister at the side of baptism, more unchangeably 'enduring than the pyramids on the plains of Egypt.'

A new edition of Mr. Digby's famous 'Broad Stone of Honour' is published by Lumley, and a re-issue in parts of that glorious dream, 'Mores Catholici,' by Dolman: the former is as neat and compact in form as the latter is ugly. For books of a kind like this in double columns we have the most unmitigated aversion: otherwise, the publication is most acceptable.

Mr. Burns's series of cheap books, the 'Fireside Library,' being already in everybody's hands, we shall do enough to acknowledge it. It is a bold, but, we think, successful experiment, and certainly presents a curious evi-

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dence of the Church's plastic and flexible power to meet the tastes and requirements of a particular age. The re-issues are the works of Messrs. Gresley, Wilberforce, &c.; from the 'Englishman's Library;' some of the tales of Fouqué, Chamisso, &c. And among original works, there is a capital selection of 'Ballads,' and a delightful volume of 'Fables,' from Lessing and similar sources. In the extracts from the 'Gesta Romanorum,' we could have dispensed with the somewhat clumsy thread on which they are strung. 'Frank's First Trip to the Continent' is an admirable specimen of that clear English common-sense which distinguishes Mr. Gresley.

'Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners' (Burns), is a practical manual of great reality. Amongst all our drawbacks, the genial flow of such works is most cheering: among them we are glad to mention 'A Form of Self-Examination' from the same publisher.

A second edition of Massinger's 'Virgin Martyr' (Burns), in which Pickersgill's beautiful illustrations are better displayed than in the former impression, has appeared.

A new and more accurate translation of 'Sintram,' with Vignettes, has appeared. It now ranges, in type and illustration, with the other 'Seasons' of Fouqué.

Dr. Stonard's 'Exposition of the Church Catechism' (Whittaker), seems on the whole sound and full. Perhaps the covenant is rather more strongly dwelt on than the gift of salvation: and we noticed an incorrect gloss on the words 'generally necessary to salvation.' Generally, *κὰτα γένος*, not *plerumque*, is its sense.

We must assign to Mr. Strong, who has printed a volume of poetry, 'Sanctæ Vigiliæ, or, Devout Musings on the Heavens,' in verse (Pickering), the praise of considerable force in diction; but, at present, he has not displayed any invention. His subject is badly chosen, and leaving neither beginning, middle, nor end. Meditations on the material world can be but a series of projections. To be sure, a poet may say anything about anybody, when the whole universe is his theme; and we suppose that it is on such a principle that we find the following stanza. 'Here,' that is, in Hereford Cathdral:—

'Here lie entombed, each in bowery niche,
'The puissant lords of Pembridge and Bohun,
'Peter de Aqua Blancha, who did reach
'His Crozier from Savoy, Robertus de Betun,
'Guilliem de Vere, and Abbot Foliot,
'Who erst retiring to his couch did hear
'This voice, Dum tu revolvis tot et tot
'Deus tuus est Iscariot, unmoved with fear,
'He answered aptly, from the words of truth,
'Mentiris O Diabole, est mihi Deus Sabaoth.'

Though this is hardly fair upon Mr. Strong: if this were a specimen of the whole volume, it would be more curious than it is. Many of the

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rhymes and words are very queer: such as 'nebulæ' and 'obey,' 'peak' and 'stake,' 'out' and 'chariot;' and mintages, such as 'eterne,' 'effringing,' 'pave' (for pavement), 'atramental,' 'efflote.' We give Mr. Strong the benefit of a careless printer; but such words as Asinoe, Cassiopæa, Ursus major, have an odd look.

'Christian Heroism' (Burns, Walters), by Mr. J. Mason Neale, is a collection of tales, inculcating the higher range of the Christian character, for the use of young people, told with that writer's well-known power.

The labours of the Oxford Architectural Society are very gratifying; but will they allow us to suggest that they might cull the public reports of their 'Proceedings' with advantage? The exhibition of the process of acquiring knowledge is not very useful: we allude to the debate on Romanesque.

Mr. Gresley's little work on the 'English Church' has reached a second edition, published in a cheap form for distribution.

'A Letter to the Pew-Renters of Stamford-hill Chapel,' by Mr. Heathcote, has just reached us. It deserves a very attentive reading, and indicates a much higher tone on the "Innovation" question than we have heard lately. The right ground is to prove that ritual and ceremonial are a privilege. If congregations claim from their pastors the abandonment of privilege, let them feel that with 'their heart's desire,' they receive 'leanness to their souls.'

It seems superfluous to do more than announce a volume from Archdeacon Manning. (Parker, Rivingtons.) The conclusion of the 5th November Sermon gives a very favourable specimen of this author's style, which, if it has a tendency towards deterioration, seems slightly deficient in sinew. It is almost too graceful: the language flows on with so rich a melody, that we are almost detained from the solemn thoughts by the sweet music in which they float.

Of general Sermons, we have to acknowledge volumes by Mr. Armstrong of Exeter, on the 'Festivals' (Oxford, Parker), very sound. Six Sermons at the consecration of S. John's, Jedburgh, (Grant & Burns) in which one by Mr. Keble is singularly effective. Expository discourses by Mr. Berkeley Addison of Edinburgh. Also very earnest and seasonable single Sermons, by Mr. Oldknow, of Birmingham, on 'Sacerdotal Remission and Retaining Sins;' by Mr. Cecil Wray, of Liverpool, on 'Ritual Conformity;' by Mr. Browne, of Bawdsey, Suffolk, on 'Fasting;' by Mr. C. G. Perceval, 'Plain Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew;' the first of four volumes on the same subject.

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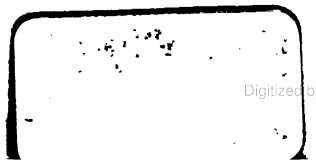
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